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PROGRESS IN THE NORTH.

North Shields, 25 Sept. 1832.

I CAME here this forenoon, and am to lecture at the theatre this evening. This place is about eight miles from Newcastle, down the river TYNE towards the sea; and as much like Wapping it is as any two peas were ever like each other. SOUTH SHIELDS is just opposite, on the other side of this "LITTLE THAMES," called the TYNE; and such places for stir and bustle, on the sides of the river and on the river, never were seen, except at London itself; and, really, these places seem to surpass even London in this respect. To describe to an inhabitant of London this famous group of towns, NEWCASTLE, NORTH SHIELDS, GATESHEAD, and SOUTH SHIELDS, a very few words are necessary; the Tyne is the Thames; Newcastle is the city of London; Gateshead is Southwark; the bridge that connects these is old London-bridge; North Shields is Wapping; and South Shields is Deptford: and all these are so precisely like the big thing in Middlesex and Surrey, that it would almost make one believe that the former place had bred, and that this was a young one. As you go over the bridge from GATESHEAD to Newcastle, there are the ships innumerable, lying below the bridge as far as you can see down the river; and there are the barges and the boats above the bridge; and all the same sort of people at work, and all the same sort of work going on. When you get over the bridge there is the Thames-street turning round the corner to the right and to the left; and

there is the Custom-house; and there is the Billingsgate, only with the fish a little fresher, and with fishwomen not quite so drunken nor quite so nasty; and there is the "Fish-street-hill," just as much like "t'other place" as if it had been spit out of its mouth, only that it has not a *lying monument* as t'other place has. NEWCASTLE is a really solid fine town; just such streets as the city of London; just such shops; and just such industrious and busy-looking people. Nor is it (worse is its luck!) destitute of a corporation, yielding, as far as I can find, in point of wisdom, justice, honesty, fair dealing with the people, not one jot to CHARLEY PEARSON, FIGGINS the printers' tinker, and the rest of the THING under which we have the happiness to live in Middlesex. To be sure, there is here not such ample scope for guttling and guzzling; but this corporation, too, is allowed to raise taxes *on the river*; it has the fingering of public property of various descriptions; and I am well assured, that the manner of its management, and the application and distribution of the funds, are such, that CHARLEY PEARSON'S Common Council and HUGHES HUGHES'S Court of Aldermen have no reason to blush at hearing the corporation of NEWCASTLE called their legitimate offspring. Not to be deficient in anything belonging to the parent, the child has a DEBT, too; a *funded* debt; and, like t'other THING, which, again, resembles the great THING of all at WESTMINSTER, it can never pay off! So that in all things this famous town of Newcastle resembles the city of London; and GATESHEAD and the two SHIELDS resemble those bustling appendages before-mentioned. It is impossible, by the use of any words, to give an adequate idea of the stir and bustle upon this river, of which there seems to be scarcely any square yard of water which experiences one half hour at a time without something or other being floating upon it.

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PROGRESS IN THE NORTH.

Sunderland, 26. Sept. 1832.

FROM NORTH SHIELDS you look across the water to SOUTH SHIELDS; and there is a steam-boat taking passengers across every half hour. By this steam-boat I crossed at twelve o'clock to-day, and got to this place about two. SUNDERLAND is seven miles from SOUTH SHIELDS, in a south-easterly direction, near the mouth of a river called the WEAR, on the right bank of which, going downwards, the greater part of the town lies. To go into the town you go over an iron bridge of very beautiful architecture. The river is narrow, running down between rocks which are nearly perpendicular and of great height. The bridge crosses this river from rock to rock, and is so far above the water that ships of considerable size go under the bridge by only lowering their top-gallant-mast. The main street at SUNDERLAND is, they say, *a mile and three quarters long*; and it has innumerable shops, finer, on an average, than those of the STRAND, FLEET-STREET, and CHEAPSIDE; so that, though there are nothing but coals produced here, they cause the other parts of the world to bring hither all manner of conveniences and fineries. There are considerable glass manufactories here and in the neighbourhood of NEWCASTLE; but these also are occasioned by the coals.

But the most interesting and valuable product of this part of England is, the people, of whom it is impossible to speak too much in praise. My readers will remember well the famous speeches and petitions sent up from NEWCASTLE during the discussions on the Reform Bill. They will remember well how much we admired the speeches of Messrs. ATTWOOD, DOUBLEDAY, LARKIN, FIFE, and others. Not a man of my readers, I dare say, has not wished that he could have seen or heard these men, whose speeches and proceedings absolutely gave a tone to the whole country, and whose names became familiar in the mouths of even the chop-sticks of Sussex and Kent. I have now seen these men with my own eyes; and they are a fair *sample*, perhaps rather a picked sample, of the whole of the peo-

ple of this district of the country in Durham and Northumberland, which seems to have been always famous for men of great genius and energy. In going from SOUTH SHIELDS to SUNDERLAND we went near to JARROW, so famous as the birth-place of "the venerable BEDE;" to be sure, as to *venerable* there was some difference between him and the two SCOTTS, ELDON and STOWELL, and that MITFORD who was afterwards LORD REDESDALE; but they also were natives of NEWCASTLE and the neighbourhood; and having had the good luck to go to the South, they astonished the natives, and became great men, which *they never would have been if they had remained here*: and so conscious do they appear to have been of this, that they have all taken special good care never to come back to settle here again. They have sent their new and fine names to be put up at the corners of the streets, which have hitherto escaped the fate of that of WELLINGTON; and in all probability will now continue to escape it.

Let me now give my readers in the South, if I can, something like an adequate idea of the face of the country, of the *farming*, and of the collieries, and of the state of the working people, which last is always the most interesting object with every man of sense, writing upon the state of a country. Observe, that, in going from NEWCASTLE to NORTH SHIELDS, you go a road pretty nearly parallel with the river, and get seven miles nearer to the sea. Along this seven miles the farming is excellent; fine corn-fields, large and beautiful fields of turnips of both kinds, sowed in rows with inter-cultivation; and I saw not one field of turnips which was not fine; the pastures very fine; the haystacks, containing from forty, perhaps, to seventy tons of hay each, made even neater than those in Middlesex, and thatched with greater care. No barley, but prodigious quantities of wheat and of oats; the stacks much larger than those on the road from Leeds to Newcastle, and in some cases from twenty to thirty of them in one farm-yard. The cows, the finest that man ever set his

eyes on; a good deal of white in their colour; some quite white; short horns; strait back; just like those in the **HOLDERNESSE** country of Yorkshire, and in great abundance as to numbers though the proportion of pasture land has been, unwisely, so considerably diminished. The turnips are for winter food in the stall for the cattle.

From **SOUTH SHIELDS** to **SUNDERLAND** the country still the same, or rather better as it lies nearer the sea. There are no barns such as we have in the South. All the farm buildings are of stone; each has a place sufficiently large for beating out the corn by a thrashing-machine; and there appears to be no such thing as a *barn's floor* or a *flail* in the whole of these counties. The terrific word "**SWING**," which was at once a signature and a signal, is the name of that part of the flail which the thrasher brings into contact with the straws. Therefore Mr. **SWING** never was heard of in this county; but his doings would have been heard of had it not been for a reason very different indeed from that of any difference that there is in the *character*, in the morality, or in the intelligence, or understanding, or education in those who labour on the land. **SCOTT ELDON** and Dr. **BLACK** used to prate away about the *good sense* of the labourers in the North, and about the *pro-rates* not being excessive in the North. They did not seem to know, that here agriculture is only a small part of the business of the county, and that in the southern, eastern, and western counties it is the sole business. They did not seem to know that there were no farm labourers living in cottages here; and that there was scarcely an instance in this part of England of a person working upon the land, not living, or, at least, boarding, in the house of the farm on which he worked. A man who has been paid as a statesman for pretty nearly fifty years, and another who has been a professed enlightener of the people for twenty years, ought to have known that there was no such thing as a village *purely agricultural* to the north of **LEEDS**, while the southern, eastern, and western counties consist

of very little else; such men *ought* to have known this; but they did not know it, therefore they spread about error instead of spreading what ought to be called knowledge.

Durham, 27. Sept. 1832.

In coming from **SUNDERLAND** to **DURHAM**, a distance of fourteen miles, I came from the sea-beach to the centre of the county, and gradually to inferior land. I perceive, that the county of **DURHAM**, along by the sea-side, has a strip of land, varying in width from five miles to ten or twelve, resembling the **HOLDERNESSE** country in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, to which, indeed, it joins it at the southern extremity of the former. The **HOLDERNESSE** country is separated from the rich part of Lincolnshire by the **HUMBER**; and thus this fine land runs all along by the sea-side from **LYNN**, in Norfolk, to the mouth of the **TYNE**; and then it goes all along the sea-coast to the **TWEED**, including in its way the estates of Lord **GREY** at the hamlet of **HOWICK**; and from the **TWEED**, it continues on to the **FIRTH OF FORTH**, taking in the fine farming countries of Berwickshire and **EAST LOTHIAN**, to behold which is a pleasure that I yet have to come.

This eastern part of the county of **DURHAM** is, like all the rest of these counties, generally level; or, at least, much more so than the counties in the South and the West. The country is fine, but not pretty: the harvest was all in; but the stubbles and the stacks proved it to have been good; and, as to the pastures, the turnips, and the cows, they exceed everything of which a Southern, or Western, or Eastern, farmer can have an idea. The sheep appear to be of the **LEICESTER** breed, the **CHEVIOT-HILL** sheep not having found their way into these rich pastures.

But the great business of life here relates to the produce of the sub-soil still more than to that which comes from the surface. The *collieries* are the chief part of the property of this county. **SUNDERLAND**, the two **SHIELDS** and **GARRESDALE**, and **NEWCASTLE** itself, have

been created by these collieries. Here is the most surprising thing in the whole world; thousands of men and thousands of horses continually living under ground: children born there, and who sometimes never see the surface at all, though they live to a considerable age. The thing is not like the mining in Cornwall, which causes so much tumbling about the surface and disfiguring the face of the country. You see here and there a group of large buildings, and see the smoke issuing from some place where there is a steam-engine amidst those buildings. Out of a hole somewhere amidst that group of buildings come everlasting ship-loads of coals. There is a railway from the pit to carry the coals to the ships: the wagons carrying the coals are made of sheet iron; they are all of a size. A whole train of them marches one after the other, sometimes drawn by a horse, but more frequently impelled by the pulling of a rope, or a chain, which passes along a little gutter below the surface of the ground, which rope or chain is pulled by the force of an engine, and thus you see a score of these wagons loaded going one way, and another score of empty ones passing them going the other way, without your being able to discover any cause for their motion. The coals are lifted up out of the pit by the same engine and tipped into the wagons; then, when the wagons get to the ships, they are seized by another engine and tipped into them. Then there are *railways down under ground for bringing the coals to the mouth of the pit*, and horses living there to draw the wagons upon those railways. Some of the horses go down and live there for ten or dozen years; and a gentleman told me, that Lord DURHAM, or his father, I forget which, had eight hundred horses under ground for years together. Now, when the old women at SURTON SCOTNEY are putting their tea-kettles, those sources of such comfort, over the handful of coals that they have got from WINCHESTER, let them have the gratitude to thank the fellows great and small, that take so much pains and exercise so much ingenuity to send them

this sort of fuel to assist their scanty supply of wood. All that you see of the collieries are the railways, the wagons, and the group of buildings of which I have spoken. While the men are at work below sending up the coals, the surface consists of corn-fields, pastures, and turnip-fields, as fine as man ever set his eyes upon. The coal-pits are considerably distant from each other, and some of them as much as fifteen miles from the ships, the wagons marching backward and forward without either horse or man to attend them. The engines occasion no very great deal of smoke, so that the country is but little disfigured by these stupendous proceedings. In the vicinage of each colliery there are extensive rows of small houses, in which the families of the *pit-men* and other workmen reside. These are all built of stone, and covered with tiles. All very solid, and very good, and invariably well furnished; hardly one without a good chest of drawers, and other evidences of good living. Kept very clean, too, and their ground before their houses generally very clean. I particularly observed, ay, and I observed it with singular pleasure, that there were scarcely any potatoes to be seen, either in large pieces or small pieces of ground. Very few appear to be planted except in the vicinage of towns; and everything shows that this root is used here merely as *garden-stuff*; and that the people live, as they ought to do, principally upon meat and bread. No wretches go to work here with "*cold potatoes in their bags*," as they did in Hampshire *before the times of the fires*, and as the farmer was proceeding to tell the jury that they did, when JUDGE VAUGHAN stopped him, and told the jury that that *had nothing at all to do with the matter!* And, here, let me observe, that it was unfortunate that the Prime Minister had lived all his life amongst the well-fed farming people of Durham and Northumberland; and that he was exposed to the terrible danger of acting upon the representations of others who lived in Hampshire and Wiltshire. Lord GREY can know nothing of the lives which the labourers in those two coun-

ties have led for some years past : it was impossible that he, residing as he has done so constantly at home, should be able to bring his mind to an idea of what was passing in those two counties, nor in any of the counties of the South, East, or West. I said at the time ; I believed it then, and I still believe it ; that, if it had been possible for him to know the situation of the labourers in the South, Hampshire would not now contain pretty nearly three hundred children made fatherless by the Special Commissions ; and, I hope, that his Lordship is yet to have the satisfaction of reflecting that he *has restored fathers to those children*. If he could see the widows and the mothers and the children that I saw only at *SETTON SCORNEY* in July last, I will not believe that this act of mercy would be delayed for another four months. At any rate, it is *what me the very first object* ; an object which I will never either abandon or neglect. If those men of the southern and western counties ; and, indeed, of all the counties involved in the transactions alluded to ; if all the men engaged merely in those violences which arose manifestly out of their sufferings from want ; if these men be brought back to their wives, their children, and their parents, then let the whole of the matter be buried in oblivion ; but, if they be not, life shall quit me before I cease to make every effort in my power to keep alive those transactions, in every way that I, legally, can do it ; and in thus acting, I shall only be pursuing those precepts which I have taken so much pains to impress upon the minds of others.

This city of *DURHAM* is, like all old towns and cities, of shape very irregular, and the streets are by no means what we call handsome ; but the inequality of the ground is so great, and the situation of the castle and the tower and of the cathedral church (which was formerly the church of the Abbey of *ST. CUTHBERT*), the little hill on which these are situated is so lofty, and so nicely guarded and ornamented by the river *WEAR*, which comes pretty nearly round it in the form of a horse-shoe, and then goes

off under two bridges over which you pass in going through the town from *SUNDERLAND* to *NEWCASTLE* ; all these make the sight of this city the most interesting and beautiful that it is possible to conceive. The Bishop, *VAN MILDERT*, whose father was brought over I believe from Germany by old Queen *CHARLOTTE*, is a sort of sovereign prince here. He has his court of Registry, and all manner of offices such as belong to regal dominion and revenue. The Dean and Chapter are a sort of petty sovereigns, too ; each of them having, perhaps, a revenue exceeding that of the King of Hanover. They have "*royalties*" of coal-mines and of lead-mines ; they have the tithe of the lands above : they have the rents of the lands above, and of the mines beneath. I wonder what law, *MOSAIC*, *APOSTOLIC*, *CANONICAL*, *COMMON* or *STATUTE*, ever gave them the right to sell, and *cause to be carried away*, the soil of the lands given to them in trust. I wonder where they can find law for taking away part of the earth, and not leaving to their successor that which they have so received in trust. However, we shall, I trust, proceed, with regard to these matters in a way that will preclude all necessity for any *legal inquiry* of the tedious description at which I have just hinted.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 28. Sept., 1832.

I lectured at the theatre at *NORTH SHIELDS*, on the 25th ; at *SUNDERLAND*, at the theatre, on the 26th ; and in a room at an inn at *DURHAM*, on the 27th. This evening I have given a third lecture in the play-house at this place. And now for a little "*EGOTISM*," as the stupid and envious vagabonds call it. A stupid publication called the *Westminster Review*, set up about six or seven years ago, began, from its very start, to hold forth *JERRY BENTHAM* as the *greatest of law-givers* and the *greatest of men*. It was, and has been, conducted principally by that *BOWRING* who is called a doctor, and who is not half so legitimate a doctor as my *DR. BLACK*. *BOWRING* was the editor at any rate, and *JERRY BENTHAM* the hero

of the work. The appellation commonly given to BENTHAM was, "THE GREAT BENTHAM." Well, great as JERRY was, death smote the great mortal at last. He made a WILL, which BOWRING was stupid enough to publish; and, from that WILL, it appeared that JERRY was and always had been the proprietor of this *Westminster Review*! Out then came the fact, that this miserable queer old coxcomb had either been calling himself the "GREAT BENTHAM" for seven years; or, which was worse, had been paying a base hireling for doing it! That was "EGOTISM," indeed; that would cover the name of BENTHAM with everlasting infamy if it were not screened from our recollection by the total insignificance of the incomprehensible conundrums that he was continually putting upon paper. For a man who is attacked by scores of those base and envious creatures whom POPE called "the race that write;" for such a man to assert his own claims to public attention, and in his own name, too, is not "EGOTISM," but self-defence and public duty. Is it egotism in me to say, that I foretold that the country banks would blow up, and that WELLINGTON'S name would be rubbed from the corners of the streets, and his picture come down from the sign-posts? Is it "EGOTISM" in me to receive marks of respect from anybody, and to put an account of them upon record? Why in me any more than in anybody else? When ministers or kings are addressed, the whole matter is a thing of previous contrivance. A copy of the address is communicated to the party beforehand; the answer is studied and got ready; the parties know one another well; and the motives, on both sides, are sometimes supposed not to be the purest that ever animated the minds of men. These marks of respect bestowed on me, must of necessity be voluntary and be sincere; in this case especially, they came from persons whom I have never seen before, and the greater part of whom will, in all human probability, never see me again. Be this as it may, however, I received an ADDRESS at SUNDERLAND; and, "egotism" or "egotism" not,

here I publish it with all the names subjoined to it, and which, I was told, would have been twenty times as numerous, if I could have spared time to stop for the signing.

"SIR—We, the undersigned, take this opportunity, which we have long desired, of conveying to you our feelings of respect and congratulation on your arrival at Sunderland. In you, Sir, we behold the instructor of youth, the advocate of the weak, the defender of the oppressed, the great champion of the labouring classes in England, the unsparing exposé of all abuses, and the firmest and most able supporter of the rights and liberties of the people. In your writings we find displayed the most powerful reasoning, combined with the greatest beauty and simplicity of style, with knowledge most profound, and serenity and penetration which nothing can elude. In your hands, subjects the most intricate and complex, become easy and intelligible to every capacity; and while your works display talents of the most unrivalled description, they were never surpassed in point of ability. You have studied politics not merely in the mansions and palaces of the great, but in the cottages of the poor: and while you have exposed the ignorance of the men who have for years wielded the destinies of this great, but oppressed country, you have made subjects too deep even for their comprehension, familiar to the minds of the poor and humble.

"Grateful as we are to you for your advocacy of reform, we are not less grateful for your powerful exposition of the fraud of the paper-money system. Upon this subject, your writings have been at once profound and prophetic, and stamp you in our estimation as the greatest statesman of the age: events have been the commentators on the wisdom of your writings on this subject; and we read those truths of your predictions in the poverty and wretchedness which 'Peel's Bill' (that statesman whose ignorance and conceit you have so

" admirably exposed) has disseminated
" over the country.

" We beg to congratulate you on the
" passing of the Bill of Reform ; like
" every other work of human intellect,
" it is imperfect ; but imperfect as it is,
" we believe it to be the first stone in
" the foundation of the liberties of
" Englishmen, liberties which have too
" long been a sound and not a substance.
" Your admission into Parliament, we
" trust, will be one of the most im-
" portant consequences of that bill.

" We wish you health, happiness,
" and long life, and that you may, ere
" you submit to that decree, which
" limits all human efforts, behold the
" full triumph of your opinions, and the
" complete humiliation of all your
" enemies.

Thomas Wright
John Charles Robertson
Robert Robinson
J. Gibson
William Penson
Michael Craig
John Wiham
John Hastie
Robert Johnson
George Goldsmith
Thomas Fairbairn
William Robinson
Alexander Reed
William Jackson
Thomas Bliss, jun.
Edward Maddison
Henry Taylor
Thomas Armstrong
William Sharp
Taylorson Sharp
Francis Thomas
Thomas Robson
James Dunning
William King
John Lister
John Marley
William Miller
Thomas Hubberthorn
John Davison
Thomas Taylor Watson
John Stephenson
John Blagburn
John Harrop
Anthony Humphrey
Robert Wardropper

John Hobson
John Burnand
William Ranson
Edward O. Smith
Ra. Lodge
Richard Osbaldiston
George Moffat
George Rochester
J. Kidson
Thomas Boys
William Thurlbeck
Newson Sharn
Thomas Stubbs
George Johnson
Joseph Jackson
Cuthbert Sharp
William Revely
James Shocklock
James Atkin
Thomas Rippon
Thomas Johnson
Joseph Collingwood
Robert Davison
George Richardson
Robert Jowsey, sen.
Robert Jowsey, jun.
William Wilson, sen.
William Wilson, jun.
Thomas Reed
James Lanham
William Miller
Thomas Clark
William Aliizon
George Thurlbeck
Thomas Bell
William Marchel
William Vickens
Peter Telford
Hercules Sharp
J. Tate
William Dodds
William Chalk
James Dunn
John Lindsay
John R. Moffat
Thomas Mart
James Houghton
William Chalk, jun.
Joseph Graham
Alexander Blayland
John Craggs
William Robson

Morpeth, 1. Oct. 1832.

From Newcastle I came to MORPETH,
on Saturday, the fore part of the day, in

order to lecture here on Saturday night, which I did to a very respectable audience in the Town-hall, sitting, for the first time in my life, where the judge used to sit, and where the chairman of the Quarter Sessions sits now, I believe. Being thus seated on the bench, and looking down upon the big table around which the lawyers used to sit, I could not help letting my thoughts fly off to WINCHESTER, VAUGHAN and ALDERSON and DENMAN and WILDE ("our right trusty and right; " entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, THOMAS WILDE, one of our " venerable Sergeants at Law"), and WILDE, I say, and CHARLEY PEARSON, and WILKINS the mountebank, whom the POTTERS have got at *Pipkin's*

I could not help letting my thoughts ramble away thus to the South, and bring the two MASONS, poor COOK of MICHELDEVER, FARMER BOYES of OWSELBURY, Ladigo NORTHESK, Mrs. LONG, and all the tribe of the RICKETTSSES, and Mrs. FUSSELL and her son, and VAUGHAN forbidding the farmer to talk about the "cold potatoes in the bag," while he listened to and complimented an Irishwoman of the name of CAVAN, whose chap is called a *lord*, and who and whose chap receive a pretty good sum of public money every year; while he listened to, and complimented this woman for evidence tending to show that the labourers *were well treated*. Being in the judgment seat, it was impossible for me not to think of these things; therefore, if I wandered lecture, which I dare say I did, I trust my very indulgent hearers, will, if any of them should read this, have the goodness to excuse such wandering; and that my readers will, from like motive, have the goodness to excuse the wanderings in which I have immeshed myself here. It was impossible for my body to be so situated without thinking of WILKINS the mountebank, TOM PORTER and the pumpings of the children of his neighbour, "our right entirely beloved" WILDE, his co-judges, ALDERSON, VAUGHAN, and DENMAN; DRAYTON the auctioneer, TAFFY JENKINS, FARMER BOYES, and HENRY COOK, whose *spirit*,

though the body be wasting in the grave, is, and will continue to be, mightier than if the body were alive : of all these, and of TOM BARING, and of that fine estate, which has come to him from the GREAT ALFRED himself; of ALEXANDER, and of the famous BINGHAM, his first-born; of FRANCIS also the son of Tom; of the handcuffs put round Mrs. DEACLE's little beautiful wrists; of ALEXANDER's recent adventure as Chancellor of the Exchequer : of all these things (each of which will hereafter have to be discussed in a more formal manner) it was impossible for me, placed, as I was, in the *seat of judgment*, not to think; and not to think seriously, too.

But it is time now, at any rate, to return to my subject, reserving these matters for future opportunities. From NEWCASTLE to MORPETH we came away from the eastern coast, or rather towards it; for though MORPETH is to the north of NEWCASTLE it is also to the west of it. Before, however, I proceed to any chopstick observations, I must step back a bit to NEWCASTLE, where, after the lecture at the play-house, on Friday night, something took place which offers another very plausible occasion for my indulging in my "*egotism*."

I was informed, during the day of Friday, that some gentlemen intended to come upon the stage at the close of the lecture, and there, before the audience, to present me with a copy of the "*History of the town of Newcastle.*" the author of which, the late Mr. ENEAS MACKENZIE, was renowned for his devotion to public liberty, even in this town so distinguished for the public spirit of its inhabitants. Accordingly, this ceremony took place in the presence of an audience consisting of upwards of nine hundred persons, amongst whom were many of both sexes, of the first figure in the town. The deputation appointed for this purpose, consisted of about a dozen gentlemen, the spokesman being that Mr. DOUBLEDAY whose speeches we read with such delight in London: and amongst the gentlemen who accompanied him was that Mr. LARKIN whose speech, upon one occa-

sion in particular, made the ears of the boroughmongers tingle so nicely; and so worked upon the delicate feelings of the coal-merchant, VANE TEMPEST LONDONDERRY, as to make him, it was said, pretty nearly as black in the face as the goods that come up out of his pits, which he rents, by-the-bye, of the Dean and Chapter of Durham; and which, if he rent them at all, he shall, if I can have my will, rent of the nation, in a very short time, because as the DEBT is the nation's, I do not see why the Dean and Chapter's coal-pits should not be the nation's, too: black as these coals, it is said, did the reading of the speech in question turn the face of this great coal-trading peer, the son of old SAUNDERS STEWART, and the brother of the soft and gentle CASTLE-REAGH, who, at the very time when he was filling all the offices of the three secretaries of state, cut his own throat and killed himself at NORTH CRAY, in Kent, the Kentish jury declaring, on the oaths of true men, that he was mad when he did it; and that, of course, the three offices of secretaries of state (one of which was entrusted with the deciding on matters of life and death) were in the hands of a madman: black in the face as the coals that come out of his pits, or as the garb of his landlords at DURHAM; black as these, was, it is said, the face of the illustrious descendant of STEWART MACGREGOR, when he read the speech just alluded to; and impassioned, indeed, was his eloquence, when he complained of that speech in the house of Nobles, who, at last, so benevolently passed the Reform Bill: amongst the gentlemen who did me this honour, was the maker of that blood-stirring speech. Mr. DOUBLEDAY brought the work (in two volumes), elegantly bound in morocco; and, laying it on the table before me, addressed me, in pretty nearly the following words:

"Mr. CORBETT,—I am deputed by a body of your friends, respectfully to beg your acceptance of these volumes. They contain a history of the ancient town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and we trust they will not be less accept-

able in your eyes, when we tell you, that they were written by one who, to the minute accuracy of a historian, added a zeal for the rights of the people and an unwearied activity in their cause. We take this public way, Sir, of presenting these volumes, before this large and respectable audience, to testify, as strongly as possible, the sense we entertain of the utility of your exertions, whether by speech or writing; and we take this opportunity of adding, that we trust, that those exertions, so successfully made out of Parliament, will soon be made within its walls. We trust, Sir, your reception here has been such, that, when, in after times (and may many years of happiness be in store for you!), your eye shall meet these volumes, you will see them with no other emotion than that of a pleasing recollection of your visit and of your friends in this town. Philosophers say men act from mixed motives, and, perhaps, you will think them right, when I conclude by making a request of you. It is the earnest wish of your friends, Sir, that you should not leave this town without favouring us with one lecture more; and it is their wish that the subject be *the Paper-Money System*."

Now, to recollect what I said in answer; for, as to preparing an answer beforehand, without knowing what was to be said to me, that would have been impossible; and, indeed, got-up addresses and prepared answers are things that belong to the humbug, by which this nation has so long been cheated. My answer was necessarily suggested by the words that had been addressed to me; and, from the report which I am here about to give of it, nearly a thousand witnesses will be able to say how nearly my recollection is correct.

"Gentlemen, I receive this book with very great pleasure for several reasons: first, because it is presented to me by gentlemen whose speeches and efforts, during the struggle for the Reform Bill, had so considerable an influence, by the example which they gave to us in the SOUTH, in causing

"the final success of that great measure : second, because it is the production of the pen of a gentleman, whose memory is dear to all who knew him, from a recollection of his various virtues, but particularly for his long and undeviating course of disinterested labours in the cause of Parliamentary Reform : thirdly, I receive this present at your hands with peculiar pleasure, as being the history of that town, whence came the first petition (began under the auspices of your excellent townsman, Mr. CHARLES ATTWOOD), praying for the sparing of the lives of the ill-treated labourers of the South, amongst whom I was born and bred up, and to better whose hard lot while it has been my duty, has always, since I had understanding of the matter and capacity for the purpose, been the greatest object of my life ; and, though their sufferings were, at last, deep and terrible, their blood was, in part, at least, spared, in consequence of your petition, which called forth so many others to imitate the humane example. For my own part, I have said before, and I here repeat it in the presence of an audience on whose good opinion I set the highest possible value, that, rather than see the working people of England reduced to live upon potatoes, I would see them all hanged, be hanged myself, and be satisfied to have written on my grave, 'Here lie the remains of WILLIAM COBBETT, who was hanged, because he would not hold his tongue without complaining, while his labouring countrymen were reduced to live upon potatoes.' This book, gentlemen, will not be necessary to remind me of the town of NEWCASTLE ; the recollection of the great kindness and indulgence that I have received in which, can never be effaced from my mind. With regard to the request which you have made to me, gentlemen, respecting another lecture, the honour is too great not to be eagerly accepted by me ; and I will, therefore, relying on the very great indulgence which I have heretofore experienced, present

"myself before you here on Friday, the 5th of October."

There, Dr. BLACK ! There, 'ye loons o'th'Sooth !' There, you chopsticks of the Isle of Wight and of Sussex and Kent ! that's the way we do things i'the North ! There, you Surrey chaps, that creep about amongst the sandhills ! that's the way that we go on in the country where the stuff comes from that warms your fingers in the winter. Faith ! when I get back again, with all the additional "*antallact*" that I am collecting here, I will not take things as I have done ; I will rule you with a stiffer hand ; I will make your tongues, as well as your heels, move a little nimbler ; I shall not suffer you to move as if your legs were tied together ; I shall not suffer them, at Epsom, at county meetings, to be drawing out their words a yard long, their sentences a mile long, and their speeches as long as from EPSOM to GUILDFORD ; I shall not suffer DENISON to be clapping his hand to his heart, and turning up the whites of his eyes, and think, that that *is enough*, in addition to a good breakfast that he has given to the voters. Faith ! I will put you to rights ; and I will tell Dr. BLACK (between him and me !) something about his native place, Berwickshire. In short, I will put things in order ; and, therefore, prepare yourselves for my return.

In coming from NEWCASTLE to MORPETH we came over land vastly inferior to that on the eastern coast. The farms appear to produce much less ; the pastures are not nearly so good ; and, which is very curious, the cows *change their shape*, as well as their *colour*. They get to be swag-backed, pinhaunched, their tails thick and rough, their heads coarse, their faces broad, ribs flat, and horns thick and rather long. This is very curious, that, in so few miles, we should have nearly lost the beautiful HOLDERNESS cows, and got in their stead these ordinary-looking things, like those of the commons and forests of Surrey and Hampshire. I saw some little KILOR OXEN, as I came along, which, when fat, weigh about a third part as much as the NOTTINGHAM hog ;

of which I bought the ham ; that is to say, about fifteen score, or three hundred pounds. The beef of them is very good ; and I should suppose that they will fatten upon food which will not fatten a Devonshire, a Herefordshire, a Lincolnshire, or a Durham ox. However, as to these farming matters, I must say more after I get to HEXHAM, which takes me into the western part of the county, and to which I am going this afternoon, for the double purpose of seeing and talking to friends there, and of seeing an acre of my corn. There is some little of it growing here, a specimen of which I have seen, and which is as fine as any that I ever saw in my life. And now for a word or two about politics, which ought not to be wholly omitted, seeing that I am now within a few miles of the residence of *him*, on whose intentions and whose measures so much will now depend !

We hear of meetings of the Ministers at Howick, which is not many miles from this place. They may meet ; but everything must depend upon my Lord GREY himself. My Lord HOLLAND is, I am afraid, too infirm to meddle much with the matter ; and as to all the rest, they are "*colleagues*," to be sure, but they are either so destitute of talent and knowledge, or so wrong in notions and feelings, or so fickle, perverse, conceited, and of such cormorant and coarse ambition, that it will be utterly impossible for Lord GREY ever to bring them to an *agreement* with him, with regard to those *great changes* of which I hold it to be impossible that *he must not now see the absolute necessity*. He must ask himself, "What have I made this re-
form *for* ? *why* have I exposed myself to the ill-will and lasting hatred of so many powerful persons ? for what reason have I quitted this tranquil home, where everything about me is so well ordered, and where all the people that dwell near me are so happy ? why have I exchanged this scene for the storms of London, and the torment everlasting with which the discharge of my office is beset ?" The answer *must* be, that he has done it for the sake of the peace, the happi-

ness, and the perpetuity of the power of his country ; and having laid down these premises, the conclusion in his mind must be, that the Reform *Bill* which he has caused to be carried must be considered by him only as the *means* of effecting *some great change* in the state of the country, and therefore it is reasonable for us to conclude that he has determined upon some such change, to effect which *he has the power completely in his hands*, and to effect which, *in a peaceable manner*, and in a manner which would reflect honour on the character of the country for ever, *no man upon earth but himself has the power* ; and this is to me as clear as the sight of the sun at noon-day.

I have frequently expressed my wish and my hope, that the whole thing may be put to rights under his Ministry. I can see no path to a peaceable settlement without that. He is a man of great experience, great knowledge, and great talent. He must anxiously desire to see a happy settlement accomplished. But, be the rest as it may, there is *no other man*. Amongst the wishes and opinions that are afloat, some are wild and some wise, but all men agree that there is now no other man, and that, to raise up another man in whom the country would confide to the extent in which it confides in him, would require something very nearly approaching to a total breaking-up of this form of government ; and, if there were any truth (which there cannot be) in the various stories which we hear about "*his retirement*," and about BROUGHAM becoming Prime Minister ; if there were any truth in these stories, which appear to be some of the last droppings from theropy brains of the WELLINGTON faction ; if there were any truth in them, we might begin to prepare ourselves for something like what the CROMWELLIANS called "*a thorough godly revolution*." Oh, no ! my Lord GREY cannot "*retire* ;" he cannot retire either with honour or with safety ; and, in short, it is impossible for him to do it. Seeing all the plagues that he has had to endure, and has still to endure, it would not be at all wonderful

if he were at times, forgetting for a moment the just claims of his country upon him, to repent of having meddled with the matter; but, having meddled with it, he must go on; to advance he may deem dangerous; but to stop, he must know, would be death to his reputation.

Yet he cannot remain without proceeding at once to make great changes. I do not say proceed to make them in a *hurry*; but, to show, at once, an intention to make them. He is sure that he will have the people at his back. He can do what he likes for the people, who now know the extent of their power. For many, many years they have not known it. They have been kept in sickness and in slavery, by that system, the intrinsic feebleness of which they now see. They are patient, they are not unreasonable; they are full of knowledge; they yield not to their forefathers, of any age, in point of real patriotism; they desire to overthrow nothing that ought to remain; to assert of them, or any portion of them, worth speaking of, that they seek anarchy and a scramble, is the most atrocious slander that ever was uttered by mortal man: but, they do desire justice; they do desire to have their burdens lightened; they do desire impartial laws, impartially executed; they do desire that they may keep their earnings to themselves, and, as their forefathers did, they desire to live like men, and not like hogs and dogs. In addressing the Lords, some time ago, I endeavoured to convince them, that in the whole body of the industrious and working people of England, there was scarcely a single man to be found, that had ever entertained the slightest thought of envying his richer neighbour, of wishing to share in his property, of wishing to see all men pulled down to a level. In the whole kingdom there is not a man who knows the sentiments of persons of this description so well as I do. The sentiments of how many thousands upon thousands of them have I heard; and I should not be afraid to take my oath; nay, I would freely take my oath, that I never could gather from one single working man during the

whole course of my communication with them, that he wished for anything beyond; that he wished for any change other than, that which would leave him the enjoyment of the fair fruit of his earnings. There never was a working people in the whole world, so reasonable, so just, and so easily satisfied. These are the materials with which Lord GREY has to work. By making timely and sufficient concessions, he may do everything with these materials; and, if he, at once, show a disposition to do that which is required to be done, none but a perverse man, actuated by some petty selfish motive, will endeavour to thwart him by urging him to go faster than reason could prescribe. The old saying, that "Rome was not built in a day," will apply here; but, then, in order to encourage men to hope that the building will be finished, it must be begun; and I do hope, that it will be begun in the *King's speech* to the first reformed Parliament; and that Lord GREY will then tell the country from the mouth of the King, the state in which he finds the kingdom, and give us a solemn pledge that he is determined to alter that state. This is what *he ought to have done before*; but, hampered with colleagues, who have been instrumental in bringing the kingdom to its present state, he said nothing about it: he must say something about it now, and he is the only man in the kingdom, known at all to public authority, who can say it with propriety and consistency. Let us hope, then, that he will do it; let us hope, that he sees the necessity of great changes to be made; let us hope, that he will set about those changes in earnest; and, then, shame upon the man who shall endeavour to thwart him, or to drive him on faster than reason and justice demand.

Whether schedules A and B, be to meet any more, self-condemned as they are, to make laws to govern us and vote away our money, seems yet to be a matter of doubt. It appears to be impossible to have an election according to the bill, without something being done in this way; and yet there is something monstrous in the thought of

schedules A and B meeting again. If they do meet, I trust it will be for the express and sole purpose of making such alterations in the bill as will make the elections take place agreeably to the intention of that bill.

WM. COBBETT.

BATH ELECTION.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

THE following is the communication from Bath to our contemporary (the *Times*), to which reference was made by that paper.

To the *Editor of the Times*.

Bath, Sept. 20, 1832.

SIR—We, the undersigned electors of Bath, think it necessary to transmit to you the following facts connected with the elections for this city, for the purpose of correcting the impression which may be created by an article in your paper.

Mr. Hobhouse is not, and never was, a resident in this city. Your statement that he is a resident is not therefore true.

Mr. Hobhouse was a stranger when he presented himself before us, and the first inquiries we made related to his opinions and abilities. His opinions he did not at once openly state; on the contrary, he first expressed himself unfavourable to some measures, and afterwards favourable to them.

He was at first unfavourable to the immediate repeal of the Septennial Act. Fourteen days afterwards he declared himself favourable to its repeal at the earliest possible opportunity.

He was not favourable to a repeal of the assessed taxes when he came amongst us; he is now favourable to their repeal.

He implored us not to be always anxious for reform. We think reform necessary as long as abuses exist.

He is not desirous of the BALLOT. We, seeing voters intimidated, are desirous to protect them in the conscientious discharge of their duty.

He is not willing that the corn-laws should be repealed. We think them

impolitic and unjust, and ought not therefore to exist.

We are, moreover, desirous that municipal corporations should be remodelled—that a good system of national education should be established—and that many measures connected with the finances, the trade, and commerce of the country, should be brought forward in the next Parliament. We therefore inquired respecting the abilities and talents of Mr. Hobhouse, and are satisfied that he is not capable of devising such measures, or of supporting them. We, therefore, sought for another candidate, who could do justice to our opinions, and advance, not simply our interests, but those also which we are bound at all times to regard—the interests of every person subject to the Government of this country.

If those who act with us had been a small and insignificant party—if Mr. Hobhouse had been supported by the leading reformers of this city, we might not have been justified in bringing forward another candidate. Mr. Hobhouse was not so supported, nor do our friends form an insignificant body.

Mr. Hobhouse has no title to be regarded as a reformer, and they who are reformers cannot consistently support him.

Mr. Roebuck has not been thoughtlessly brought forward or supported. We have ascertained that he is possessed of great talents and abilities—that his studies have peculiarly qualified him for the performance of the duties of a representative—that his knowledge is extensive—and that he is singularly able to give effect to the principles we profess.

The personal testimony of Mr. Hume to his merits were desired by us in order to correct the reports which were unfavourable to Mr. Roebuck. Mr. Hume distinctly stated, that he could not interfere in the election for this city at the request of only a few electors, and it was not until a requisition, numerously signed, was presented to him that he consented to attend the public meeting at which Mr. Roebuck was introduced to the electors of Bath.

(Signed)

William Hunt, Chairman of Mr. Roebuck's Committee.

A. P. Falconer, Hon. Sec. to Mr. Roebuck's Committee.

Henry Smith, Chairman of the Bath Political Union.

James Crisp	Henry Stothert
Thomas Davies	Samuel Fisher
William Patteson	James Strange
Edmund Davies	Samuel Orchard
Matthew Riley	James Senior
Stephen Williams	John Rutter
John Dean	William Young
Giles Young	John S. Moline
S. J. Falban	E. M. Harris
Charles Hannan	George Cox
John Brice	Thomas Endicott
George F. Dill	William Haddock
Thomas Haydon	John Stainfield
William Combe	John Spreat
Solomon Bettie	Thomas Townsend
John Scott	G. A. Jones
John Browne	John Allen
Thomas Cross	William Brown
Daniel Hull	H. Baines
J. Gollledge	John Young
Francis Pole	Charles Lewis
Robert Uphill, Coroner for the County.	

DR. BLACK'S REMARKS.

There appears to be great misunderstanding as to the nature of the contest now going on at Bath, and also as to the conduct of Mr. Hume in the matter. It has been said that the reform interest is endangered by Mr. Hume's interference, and that by the division of votes likely to take place in consequence, the Tory candidate will come in; that Tory candidate being supposed to be Mr. Foster. The truth, however, is, that Mr. Foster's appearance in the field is not from any hope entertained by that gentleman of being successful, but merely in consequence of an idle love of notoriety. His share of the contest is the burlesque part of the scene that is being enacted. The real struggle is between Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Hobhouse. The contest between them is not influenced by, nor is it likely in any way to influence, Mr. Foster. Should this gentleman find twelve people in Bath silly

enough to vote for him, the thing will appear miraculous to the whole city. So much for this Tory candidate.

The great mistake in this business, however, is to suppose Mr. Hobhouse a liberal candidate. He is in truth the Tory candidate, though he be called a reformer. Putting the other silly gentleman, Mr. Foster, wholly out of the question, we ask what ill can arise from the present contest as respects reform interests? A contest takes place between two persons, both said to be reformers—one or other must succeed—both cannot be defeated. Of these candidates one is supported by the Tory portion of the corporation—by the very men who hitherto have elected a man of declared Tory principles; and, although he be known to the rest of the world as the brother of Sir J. C. Hobhouse, to the inhabitants and electors of Bath he appears in the character of the favoured candidate of a close Tory corporation. Fearing, from the manner of his introduction, and the mode in which he was supported, lest he might be of the same character as their present Tory representative, the electors of Bath questioned Mr. Hobhouse; and so displeasing was the result of this inquiry to the electors, that a large number of them wrote to Mr. Hume, requesting that he would name to them some person who held opinions similar to those held by Mr. Hume himself; one, also, who possessed the same industrious habits as that gentleman. Were the electors of Bath unwise in thus acting; or was Mr. Hume officious in doing as they desired? By no means. The electors very wisely resolved not to be duped by names. Mr. Hobhouse called himself a reformer, but he was not a reformer of the stamp they desired. What little they knew of him was to his disadvantage. He went a stranger amongst them—they tried him, and they found him in their opinion wanting. They very properly determined to seek for some one else. And whom could they apply to more deserving of confidence than the upright, courageous member for Middlesex?

Mr. Hume very well knows, that in

the coming Parliament we want men unconnected with the parties who have hitherto struggled for ascendancy in the country. The great fight of reform is not yet fought. Abuses are not remedied by the Reform Bill. We have simply in some measure the means of remedying them put into our hands. If the electors select men sincerely interested in reform—men of talent, probity, and industry—reform may be accomplished. But if they send mere Ministerial followers into St. Stephen's, reform will be as distant as before the passing of the Reform Bill.

It is idle to say that Mr. Hobhouse, because the brother of Sir J. C. Hobhouse, must be a reformer. Why judge a man by his relationship in preference to judging him by his words and his actual supporters? Publicly questioned on the matter, Mr. Hobhouse declared himself favourable to the Septennial Act. Can any man pretend to the name of a reformer, and wish this long lease of irresponsible power. Since this questioning, it appears that Mr. Hobhouse has changed his professions. He now desires the repeal of the Septennial Act. This sudden changing conveys no very favourable impression as to the sincerity of his declarations. His opinions respecting taxation, it seems, have undergone a similar alteration. He professed one thing yesterday, another to-day. In truth, the electors of Bath would do the great cause of reform little benefit, should they select a person thus ready to suit his professions to present emergencies.

But it is said that the friendship of Sir Francis Burdett is sufficient guarantee for the true liberal feeling of Mr. Hobhouse. Now, we are not desirous of questioning the worth of the hon. Member for Westminster—that is a topic not now to be discussed; but we ask, if his friendship be a guarantee for liberal opinions, is not the friendship and strenuous support of the Tory corporation also a guarantee for illiberal opinions? Is it not much more likely that the good nature of Sir F. Burdett has been deceived, than that the Tory corporation have been imposed on? Is it

not more likely that the Tory, fierce Tory partners in Mr. Hobhouse's bank knew more of Mr. Hobhouse's real sentiments than a mere casual acquaintance? The people are quick in these cases, and we are more content to trust their judgment in this matter, than any which our contemporaries may form respecting it.

To us it appears also, that as a matter of principle, the conduct of Mr. Hume in this case has not been properly appreciated. One, who, like Mr. Hume, lives in the world of politics, is much more likely to be acquainted with men of political knowledge, than could be the inhabitants of a quiet, retired provincial town. These inhabitants, by their mere application, prove that they know no man among themselves possessed of the qualities they desire. Of their own neighbours they are the best judges—among these they find none fitting. But when once compelled to go beyond their own immediate experience, their wisest course would be to take as a guide some well-known and trusty public man; and this man they have found in Mr. Hume. There is no cause for vituperation in this case—none for disparaging insinuations; and yet such have been employed. The facts we now shall state, and leave the public to draw their own conclusions on the matter.

The reformers of Bath, not satisfied with Mr. Hobhouse, made two separate applications to Mr. Hume—the applications were to this effect, that he would mention to them the name of some person in whose talent and integrity he (Mr. Hume) could confide. The applications were, as we have said, separate. One class of reformers, belonging to the Political Union, first applied to him—and then, unconnected with these, a body of moderate reformers did the same thing. Such an application may be displeasing to the party now in power, but it does honour to the sagacity of the people, and shows that an honest politician is duly appreciated. To these applications Mr. Hume returned for answer, that he would mention no name, unless the electors under-

took to bear the expense of the election. This being promised on the part of the electors, he mentioned the name of Mr. Roebuck. When the electors applying to Mr. Hume had made inquiries respecting Mr. Roebuck, and became satisfied as to his talent and principles, they sent to him a requisition, in which they invited him to come forward as a candidate, and also pledged themselves to bear the expenses of the election. Mr. Roebuck accepted the invitation. It was then that an invitation was sent to Mr. Hume to accompany Mr. Roebuck to Bath. He, however, declined to take this step, unless a numerously-signed requisition to that effect were sent to him. Such a requisition was sent, and he introduced his friend, Mr. ROEBUCK, to the electors.

One word now as respects Mr. Roebuck. To us Mr. Roebuck is personally known. We know, moreover, that his most intimate friends are among the most honoured men of the community; that among these men he is held in high esteem—and that his name and writings must have been familiar to the very persons who declared that they knew nothing about him. The friends of Mr. Roebuck are well known, as forming a body of the most remarkable political writers of any age or country. They certainly, more than any others, have produced the great revolutions that have taken place within the last fifteen years in the public mind of England; and by those even who most fear and hate them, they are invariably allowed to be men of a peculiarly bold and original character of mind—searching, and closely logical reasoners—patient in investigation, possessed of commanding knowledge, and of intellects, in the most extensive sense of the phrase, philosophic and masterly. He who is honoured by such men deserves respect from others: and of the fact that Mr. Roebuck is thus estimated, we ourselves have personal cognizance.

PAPER-MONEY.

MEETING OF THE UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN OF BIRMINGHAM.

ON Monday last, a meeting of unemployed workmen was held on Newhall-hill. On the Friday preceding, it was announced by handbills that the meeting would take place in St. Philip's Church-yard, but in consequence of some objections made in a friendly manner by one of the churchwardens on the Sunday, it was resolved to meet on Newhall-hill.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by reading the placard calling the meeting. In *Aris's Gazette* of the 10th instant, a writer, under the signature of "Dabitan's," had insinuated that there was no particular distress in Birmingham. It was to refute this wicked and atrocious insinuation that the present meeting was called (Hear, hear.) He (the Chairman) exhorted them to behave, as he was sure they would do, in a peaceable and orderly manner, but at the same time to be fixed and determined in their resolves to have their present wretched condition speedily changed. (Loud cheers.)

WILLIAM BAKER moved the first resolution. His appearance was very wretched, but we have seldom heard a speaker of any rank of life deliver himself with more fluency or becoming propriety; and he seemed to have a perfect knowledge of his subject. He addressed them as fellow-sufferers. The middle and higher classes had long been trying to persuade them, the working classes, that their bellies were full, when they were alarmingly and feelingly convinced that they were empty. (Laughter and cheers.) Or, if they allowed that distress did exist, they were always very ready to attribute it to idleness and profligacy. (Hear, hear.) It had long been the custom of those who were fattening on the products of their labour, and absolutely wallowing in wealth, not a particle of which they had created, to turn round upon the workman who was in want, and tell him it was because he was drunken, vicious, and immoral; forgetting their own vice

and immorality in procuring luxuries at the workman's expense, and leaving him without necessaries. (Loud cheers.) This was, however, the time to show them that the working classes would no longer suffer themselves to be plundered in this shameful manner. It was a heart-rending scene to see their wives and children wanting food and clothing, when they were told that their productive powers had increased fifty-fold within the last half century. He believed that one great agent in bringing them to their present condition, was a false system of paper-money, which had the effect of enriching the few, but had produced nothing but wretchedness, discord, and misery among the workmen. (Cheers.) They had borne these things too long, and it now became them to speak in a voice of thunder, and tell their oppressors that they would bear it no longer, and that unless they soon relieved them, they must and would take the affair into their own hands. (Great applause.) During the long and bloody war which this country had waged against France, if the working classes complained they were told to wait patiently until the return of peace, and then all would be well. When peace came, however, they found none of the blessings which ought to be attendant upon it; but instead, their condition had been getting worse ever since. The fact was, they were reaping the bitter fruits of an unjust and unholy war. At the conclusion of that war, the monopoly of trade which we had enjoyed with foreign countries was broken up; many of them manufactured the articles for themselves, and were enabled to meet us in other markets and undersell us, because we were living at war prices. (Hear, hear.) The consequence was, many thousands of us were dismissed from our workshops, and sent to work on the highways at a shilling a-day. We were then told it was the sudden transition from war to peace, and that things would quickly adjust themselves. (Laughter.) Now his opinion was, that a great portion of their distress was to be ascribed to the contraction of the currency, which took

place immediately after the termination of the war, without any corresponding reduction of the burdens of the people. (Hear.) As a proof of this, they found that in 1817, the currency was expanded, and produced a show of prosperity, for it was by no means solid. In 1819, Ministers concocted what was called Peel's Bill. He (Mr. Baker) would sound the iniquity of that bill in Peel's ears, until he was made to disgorge those vast sums of which he had robbed the working classes. (Loud cheers.) In 1820 and 1821, they were thrown like black-bats upon their backs, kicking a little, but not having the power to help themselves. (Laughter and cheers.) They then saw there was no hope until they got a reformed House of Commons, and they consequently cried out as one man for that reform. But how were they answered? By gagging bills, dungeons, executions, fines, and imprisonments. Their leaders were torn from them, and from their innocent families, and thrown into prison, and in some cases brought to a mock trial and convicted by packed juries. (Hear, hear, hear.) All this was done in the hope of stifling their cry for reform, and of convincing them their bellies were full when they were empty. (Laughter and cheers.) Lord Liverpool said there were none asked for reform but those whom Burke called the "swinish multitude," and boasted that the middle classes were yet with the Government. (Hear.) This was true, the middle classes cruelly abandoned the workmen to their unhappy fate; but at length the distress bore down upon the middle classes, and then the county meetings began to be held; and at one in Berkshire in particular, the speakers told the Government that, unless their grievances were speedily redressed, they would starve their rulers into submission by abstaining from the use of excisable articles. (Cheers.) Thus, Liverpool's sophistry was blown into air at once, and finding that something must be done to ward off reform, they pushed out paper again in 1823, which again produced that false show of prosperity during that and the

following year. The workmen then began to turn out for prices; but they had scarcely got a little higher wages to assist in meeting the increased price of the necessaries of life, than they discovered that they were on a wrong basis, of which the awful crisis of 1826 lamentably convinced them. If the infamous war had not called forth Pitt's paper-money, they would now be in the enjoyment of the proceeds of their industry, instead of being compelled to meet here, to refute the false statements of a newspaper writer. (Cheers.) They had borne all sorts of misery, and distress and contumely in addition, with the most exemplary patience and resignation, because the middle classes had been made to feel the weight of the burden, and had at last joined them in a cry for reform. They began to find their property being blown into air, and the Exchequer mop sucking it all up, (laughter,) and then they stepped forward and demanded reform. It was stated that forty thousand pounds were collected in the parish of Birmingham alone for the relief of the poor. It was true that sum was levied under the name of poor-rates; but he should like to know how much was left to be divided among the poor, when the thieves and thief-catchers were provided for out of it? (Laughter, and cheers.) The sum which was left allowed about half-a-crown a head per week, for the out-poor, and what was this miserable pittance to do for them? (Hear, hear.) Then there were the revenues of Mother Church, amounting to ten millions annually; more than the revenues of the whole clergy on the face of the earth besides. (Groans.) This must be taken from them, or applied to the purposes for which it was originally intended. (Great applause.) By the false paper-money system, during the war the clergy had vastly increased their incomes, and an enormous debt had been created by the boroughmongers, which, but for paper-money, never could have existed. (Hear, hear.) He contended there was no other substantial remedy but a very large reduction of taxation; not a thrifty reduction of a few hundred thousands,

but many millions. This cry ought to respond throughout the entire kingdom, previous to the ensuing election; and although they had been deprived of votes themselves, they might to a considerable extent influence those who had votes. (Loud cheers.) They had got an enormous debt entailed upon them, which they had no voice in creating; the burden of that debt had been doubled by their changing the currency, and it was the best and most honest way to cut down the debt one half at once. Unless this was done, they need not look for bread, or beef, or beer. (Laughter and applause.) It was true, there were certain theorists who maintained that an issue of paper-money would bring about the same result. This he contended, however, was false; it would leave open every source of corruption as before, and working men would not be benefited. (Hear, hear.) Unless Cobbett's plan was adopted, there would be no peace for the country; and he conceived it was a more honourable way of setting the thing to rights. (Cheers.) He would conclude by moving the following resolution:—"That for a long time past the working-classes of this town have been in the most distressed and miserable condition, arising from reduced wages and loss of employment; and that at present great numbers cannot obtain even the coarsest necessaries of life;—that this distress is daily increasing, and, unless some change speedily take place, threatens the most awful consequences."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Parkin, and passed unanimously, with three times three cheers for the mover.

Some resolutions in favour of universal suffrage, vote by ballot, &c. &c., were then agreed to.

Mr. Bourne moved the following resolution:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, a system of high prices, produced by paper-money, is injurious to the interests of the working classes, and to our foreign trade." This speaker proceeded to show, from various documents, that the position laid down in the

resolution was a correct one. He contended that wages never rose in proportion to the rise of commodities, occasioned by a great abundance of paper-money. It might be, and no doubt was, beneficial to the interests of the employers, but he denied that it was so to the workmen. The productive powers of the country had increased enormously during the war, and yet the means of working men, in all the great branches of industry, had been lessened. It was true they had a great nominal amount of wages, but it would not purchase so many of the necessaries and comforts of life as the smaller amount of wages, previous to the introduction of paper-money. (Cheers.) Among other documents he would produce the following, which was the result of the experience of a working man in London. It contained the cost of ten principal articles which entered into the weekly consumption of a working man's family, in the two several years, 1785, before paper-money was introduced, and 1805, when a very large amount of it was in circulation :—

1785.	s.	d.
Meat, 8 lbs., 4d. to 6d.	3	4
Bread, 4 quarters	2	0
Butter, 1½ lb.	1	0
Potatoes, 6 lb.	0	1½
Sugar, 1½ lb.	0	7½
Tea, 2 oz.	0	6
Beer, 7 pots	2	0½
Coals, 1 bushel	0	10
Candles, 1 lb.	0	7
Rent per week	1	6
	12	6½
Wages, per week	18	0
Leaves	5	5½
1805.	s.	d.
Meat, 8d. to 11d.	6	4
Bread	5	0
Butter	1	9½
Potatoes	0	4
Sugar	1	1½
	14	7

	s.	d.
	14	7
Tea	0	10
Beer	2	11
Coals	1	8
Candles	0	10½
Rent	3	0

Wages, per week £1 3 10½
1 6 0

Leaves 0 2 1½

From this document it appeared, that whilst prices had nearly doubled in consequence of paper-money, wages were not quite 50 per cent. higher. The truth of the statement might be tested by any one who would take the trouble to look at the prices and wages of the two years. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Mr. Baker seconded the resolution. Experience told him it was true. They could not have high prices without paper-money; and they would find that the necessaries of life got up long before the workman's wages. (Hear.) Before the rates of wages could be raised, they must wait till all the hands were brought into full work, and then they would have in most cases to turn out, and get into serious quarrels with their employers, before they could obtain an advance. (Hear, hear! and applause.) Again, if prices were raised, the Government had a pretext for high taxes, and this enhanced further the necessities of life, and made it more difficult for a man to live. They must excuse him from saying any more, for he felt quite exhausted; the fact was, he wanted some of the beef, and bread, and beer, of which they had heard so much. (Laughter and cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution, which was carried with about twenty dissentient voices.

Three hearty cheers were then given for Messrs. Wheatcroft and Co., for the gratuitous use of the wagon which formed the hustings; after which thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the meeting, which had been conducted with the greatest order, quietly broke up.—*Birmingham Journal*.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

THIS is a book price five shillings. Every young man in the kingdom ought to read it at this time. I cannot get it into their hands in any other way than that of republishing it here; and I shall, therefore, go on, as I have room, until I have republished the whole of it in this manner. I beg young men to read it with great attention; and if they do, paper-money makers will never deceive them again.

LETTER I.

GENTLEMEN,—During the last session of Parliament, a committee, that is to say, ten or twelve members of the House of Commons, were appointed to inquire into the cause of the high price of gold *bullion*, that is, gold *not coined*; and to take into consideration the state of the circulating medium, or money, of this country. This committee have made a *report*, as they call it; but it is a great book that they have written, and have had printed; a book much larger than the whole of the New Testament. Of this report I intend to enter into an examination; and, as you have recently felt, and are still feeling, some of the effects of paper-money, I think it may not be amiss, if, upon this occasion, I address myself to you. I have introduced myself to you without any ceremony; but, before we part, we shall become well acquainted; and I make no doubt, that you will understand the distinction between paper-money and gold-money much too well for it to be in the power of any one ever again to deceive you; which understanding will, in the times now fast approaching, be of great utility to all those amongst you who may have the means of laying up money, however small the quantity may be.

The committee above-mentioned, which, for brevity's sake, I call the bullion committee, sent for several persons, whom they examined as *witnesses*, touching the matter in question. There was S. FRANCIS BARING, for instance, the great loan-maker, and GOLDSMIDT, the rich Jew, whose name you so often

see in the newspapers, where he is stated to give grand dinners to princes and great men. The *evidence* of these, and other money-dealers and merchants, the bullion committee have had printed; and upon this evidence, as well as upon the report itself, we shall have to make some remarks.

The result of the committee's inquiries is, in substance, this; *that the high price of gold is occasioned by the low value of the paper-money; that the low value of the paper-money has been occasioned* (as you know the low value of apples is) *by the great abundance of it; that the only way to lower the price of the gold is to raise the value of the paper-money; and that the only way to raise the value of the paper-money is to make the quantity of it less than it now is.* Thus far, as you will clearly see, there was no conjuration required. The fact is, that, not only do these propositions contain well-known and almost self-evident truths, but these truths have, during the last two or three years, and especially during the last year, been so frequently stated in print, that it was next to impossible that any person in England, able to read, should have been unacquainted with them. But, having arrived at the conclusion that, in order to raise the value of the paper-money, *its quantity must be lessened*; having come to this point, the rest of the way was more difficult; for the next object was, to point out *the means of lessening the quantity of the paper-money*, and this is an object which, in my opinion, will never be effected, unless those means include the destruction of the whole mass.

Not so, however, think the gentlemen of the bullion committee. They think, or, at least, they evidently wish to make others think, that it is possible to lessen the quantity of the paper-money, and to cause guineas to come back again and to pass from hand to hand as in former times; they would fain have us believe, that this can be done without the total destruction of the paper-money; and, indeed, they have actually recommended to the House of Commons to pass a law to cause the Bank in Threadneedle-street,

London, commonly called the Bank of England, *to pay its notes in real money*, at the END OF TWO YEARS from this time. Two years is a pretty good lease for people to have of this sort. This Bank *promises to pay on demand*. It does this upon the face of every one of its notes; and, therefore, as a *remedy* for the evil of the want of gold, to propose, that this Bank should *begin* to pay in two years' time, is something which I think would not have been offered to the public in any age but this, and, even in this age, to any public except the public in this country. The notes of the Bank of England bear, upon the face of them, a promise that the bankers, or Bank Company, who issue the notes, will *pay* the notes upon demand. Now what do we mean by *paying* a note? Certainly we do not mean the giving of *one note for another note*. Yet, this is the sort of payment the people get at the Bank of England: and this sort of payment the bullion committee does not purpose even to begin to put an end to in less than *two years* from this time.

Gentlemen, we, the people of this country, have been persuaded to believe many things. We have been persuaded to believe ourselves to be "the *most thinking* people in Europe;" but to what purpose do men think, unless they arrive at useful knowledge by thinking? To what purpose do men think, if they are, after all their thinking, to be persuaded, that a bank, which has not paid its promissory notes in gold for *thirteen years and a half*, will be able to pay them in gold at the end of *fifteen years and a half*, the quantity of the notes having gone on regularly *increasing*? If men are to be persuaded to believe this, to what purpose do they think? But, before I proceed any further in my remarks upon the report of the bullion committee; before I proceed to lay before you the *exposures* now made by the labours of the committee; the facts now become *evident* through this channel; the *confessions* now made by these members of the House of Commons: before I proceed to lay these before you, and to remark upon the remedies proposed by the committee, it will be

necessary for me to go back into the *history of the paper-money*; because, without doing this, I shall be talking to you of things of which you will have no clear notion, and the reasonings relating to which you will of course not at all understand. It is a great misfortune that any portion of your time should be spent in reading or thinking about matters of this kind; but, such is our present situation in this country, that every man who has a family to preserve from want, ought to endeavour to make himself acquainted with the nature, and with the probable consequences, of the paper-money now afloat.

Money is the *representative*, or the *token* of property, or *things of value*. The money, while used as money, is of no other use; and, therefore, a bit of lead or of wood, or of leather, would be as good as gold or silver, to be used as money. But, if these materials, which are everywhere found in *such abundance*, were to be used as money, there would be so much money made that there would be no end to it; and, besides, the money made in one country would, however there enforced by law, have no value in any other country. For these reasons *gold* and *silver*, which are amongst the most *scarce* of things, have been, by all the nations that we know anything of, used as money.

While the money of any country consists of nothing but these scarce metals; while it consists of nothing but gold and silver, there is no fear of its becoming *too abundant*; but, if the money of a country be made of lead, tin, wood, leather, or paper; and if any one can make it who may choose to make it, there needs no extraordinary wisdom to foresee that there will be a great abundance of this sort of money, and that the gold and silver money, being in fact no longer of any use in such a state of things, will go either into the hoards of the prudent, or into the bags of those who have the means of sending or carrying them to those foreign countries where they are wanted, and where they will bring their value.

That a state of things like that here spoken of does now exist in this coun-

try, is notorious to all the world. But while we are all acquainted with the fact, and while many of us are most sensibly feeling the *effects*, scarcely a man amongst us takes the trouble to inquire into the *cause*; yet, unless the cause be ascertained, how are we to apply or to judge of a *remedy*? We see the country abounding with paper-money; we see every man's hand full of it; we frequently talk of it as a strange thing, and a great evil; but never do we inquire into the cause of it.

There are few of you who cannot remember the time, when there was scarcely ever seen a bank-note among tradesmen and farmers. I can remember when this was the case; and when the farmers in my country hardly ever saw a bank-note, except when they sold their hops at Weyhill fair. People in those days used to carry little bags to put their money in, instead of the paste-board or leather cases that they now carry. If you look back, and take a little time to think, you will trace the gradual increase of paper-money, and the like decrease of gold and silver money. At first there were no bank-notes under twenty pounds; next they came to fifteen pounds; next to ten pounds; at the beginning of the last war, they came to five pounds; and before the end of it, they came down to two and to one pounds. How long it will be before they come down to parts of a pound, it would, perhaps, be difficult to say; but in Kent, at least, there are country notes in circulation to an amount so low as that of seven shillings. It is the *cause* of this that is interesting to us; the cause of this change in our money, and in the *prices* of goods of all sorts and of labour. All of you who are forty years of age can remember when the price of the gallon loaf used to be about ten pence or a shilling, instead of two shillings and sixpence or two shillings and ten-pence, as it now is. These effects strike you. You talk of them every day; but the *cause* of them you seldom if ever either talk or think of: and it is to this cause that I am now endeavouring to draw your attention.

You have, during the last seventeen

years, seen the quantity of paper-money rapidly increase; or in other words, you have, day after day, seen less and less of gold and silver appear in payments, and of course more and more of paper-money. But it was not till the year 1797 that the paper-money began to increase so very first. It was then that the *two* and *one* pound notes were first made by the Bank of England. It was then, in short, that paper-money became completely predominant. But, you will naturally ask me, "What was the cause of *that*?" The cause was, that the Bank of England *stopped paying its notes in gold and silver*. What! stop paying its notes? Refuse to pay its *promissory notes*? The Bank of England, when its notes were presented, *refused to pay them*? Yes: and what is more, an Act of Parliament brought in by Pitt, was passed to protect the Bank of England against the legal consequences of such refusal. So that the people, who held promissory notes of the Bank, and who had perhaps given gold or silver for them, when they went to the Bank for payment, were told, that they could have no gold or silver, but that they might have other notes, *more paper*, if they pleased, in exchange for the paper they held in their hands and tendered for payment. From that time to this, the Act of Parliament, authorising the Bank of England to refuse to pay its notes in gold and silver, has been in force. At first it was passed for *three months*; next, till the Parliament should meet again; then it was to last to the end of the *war*; then, when *peace* came, it was continued just for a year, till things should be settled; then, as things were not quite settled, it was continued till Parliament should meet again; and, as this present war had begun by that time, the Act was made to continue till *six months after the next peace*.

The *reasons* given upon the different occasions, it will be very material to notice: for it is this stoppage in the payment of gold and silver at the Bank of England upon which the whole question turns. Everything hangs upon this, and when we come to examine

that part of the report which treats of the Bank's reviving its payments in gold and silver, we shall find it of great use to us to recur to the *reasons*, the divers, the manifold reasons, that were given at different times for suspending those payments. Since that suspension took place, you have seen the gold and silver disappear; you have seen the paper has supplied the place of gold; paper-money makers have set up all over the kingdom; and might not this well happen, when, to pay paper-money, nothing more than paper-money was required? But the *reasons* given for this measure of suspension; the reasons given for the passing of an Act of Parliament to protect the Bank of England against the demands of its creditors are seldom recurred to, though, as you will presently see, without recurring to those reasons, and without ascertaining the true cause of the passing of that Act of Parliament, we cannot form so good a judgment relative to the *remedy* now proposed; namely, that of the Bank of England's reviving its payments in gold and silver. This is the remedy which the bullion committee propose; and, you will say, a very good remedy it is; a very good remedy indeed; for people who have, for so long a time, not paid their notes in gold and silver, to begin to pay their notes in gold and silver, is a very good remedy; but the thing to ascertain, is, *can the remedy be applied?* This is the question for us to discuss. It required nobody to tell us, that *paying in gold and silver* would be an effectual remedy for the evils arising from *not paying in gold and silver*; but, it required much more than I have yet heard to convince me, that to pay again in gold and silver *was possible*.

The chief object of our inquiries being this: *Whether it be possible, without a total destruction of the paper-money system, to restore gold and silver to circulation amongst us*; this being the chief object of our inquiries, we should first ascertain *how the gold and silver were driven out of circulation*, and had their places supplied by paper-money; for, unless we get at a clear view of this, it will be next to impossible for us to rea-

son satisfactorily upon the means of bringing gold and silver back again into circulation.

Some people suppose, that paper *always* made a part of the currency, or common money, of England. They seem to regard the Bank of England as being as old as the Church of England, at least, and some of them appear to have full as much veneration for it. The truth is, however, that the Bank of England is a mere human institution, arising out of causes having nothing miraculous, or supernatural, about them; and that both the institution and the agents who carry it on, are as mortal as any other thing and any other men, in this or in any other country. THE BANK, as it is called, had its origin in the year 1694, that is, a hundred and sixteen years ago; and it arose thus: the then King, WILLIAM III., who had come from Holland, had begun a war against France, and, wanting money to carry it on, an act was passed (which act was the 20th of the 5th year of his reign) to invite people to make voluntary advances to the Government of the sum of 1,500,000 pounds, and for securing the payment of the interest, and also for securing the re-payment of the principal, *taxes* were laid upon beer, ale, and other liquors. Upon condition of 1,500,000*l.* of this money being advanced within a certain time, the subscribers to the loan were to be incorporated; and, as the money was advanced in due time, the incorporation took place, and the lenders of the money were formed into a trading company, called, "THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND." Out of this, and other sums borrowed by the Government in the way of mortgage upon the taxes, there grew up a thing called the *Stocks*, or the *Funds* (of which we will speak hereafter); but the Bank Company remained under its primitive name, and as the *debt* of the nation increased, this Company increased in *riches* and in consequence.

Thus, you see, and it is well worthy of your attention, the Bank had its rise in *war* and *taxation*. But, we must reserve reflections of this sort for other occasions, and go on with our inquiries

how *gold and silver have been driven out of circulation* in this country, or in other words, how it came to pass that so much paper-money got afloat.

The Act of Parliament which I have just referred to, points out the manner in which the Bank Company shall carry on their trade, and the articles in which they shall trade, allowing them, amongst other things, to trade in gold, silver, bills of exchange, and other things, under certain restrictions; but, as to what are called *bank-notes*, the company was not empowered to issue any such in any other way, or upon any other footing, than merely as *promissory notes*, for the amount of which, in the coin of the country, they were liable to be sued and arrested. Having, however, a greater credit than any other individuals, or company of individuals, the Bank Company issued notes to a greater amount; and, which was something new in England, they were made payable, not to any *particular person*, or his *order*, and not at any *particular time*; but to the *bearer*, and on *demand*. These characteristics, which distinguished the promissory notes of the Bank of England from all other promissory notes, gave the people greater confidence in them; and, as the Bank Company were always ready to pay the notes in gold and silver, when presented for payment the notes became in time to be looked upon as being as good as gold and silver. Hence came our country sayings:—" *As good as the Bank*," " *As solid as the Bank*;" and the like. Yet the Bank was, as we have seen, merely a company of mortal men, formed into an association of traders; and their notes nothing more than written promises to pay the bearer so much money in gold or silver.

We used to have other sayings about the Bank, such as " *As rich as the Bank*;" " *All the gold in the Bank*;" and such like, always conveying a notion, that the Bank was a *place*, and a place, too, where there were great heaps of money. As long as the Company were ready and willing to pay, and did actually pay, their notes in gold and silver to all those persons who wished to have gold and silver, it is clear that

these opinions of the people, relative to the Bank, were not altogether unfounded; for, though no bit of paper, or of anything which has no value in itself, can be, in fact, so good as a bit of gold: still, if it will at any moment whenever the holder pleases, bring him gold and silver to the amount written upon it, it is very nearly as good as gold and silver; and, at the time of which we are speaking, this was the case with the promissory notes of the Bank Company. But it must be evident, that though the Company were ready at the time now referred to, to pay their notes in gold and silver, they had never in their money-chests a sufficiency of gold and silver to pay off *all* their notes, if they had been presented all at once. This must be evident to every man; because if the Bank Company kept locked up as much gold and silver as their notes amounted to, they could get nothing by issuing their notes, and might full as well have sent out their gold and silver. A farmer, for instance, who is generally using a hundred pounds of money to pay his workmen, might lend the hundred pounds and get interest for it, if he could persuade his workmen to take promissory notes of his own drawing instead of money, and, if he were sure that these promissory notes would not be brought in for payment; but if this was not the case, he would be compelled to keep the hundred pounds in his drawer ready to give to those who did not like to keep his promissory notes: and, in such case, it is clear, that the money would be of no use to him, and that he might full as well have none of his notes out.

Just so with the Bank Company, who, at no time, could have in hand gold and silver enough to pay off *all* their notes at once; nor was this necessary as long as the people regarded those notes as being equally good with gold and silver. But it is clear, that this *opinion of the goodness* of the Company's notes, or rather, the *feeling of confidence*, or, still more properly perhaps, the *absence of all suspicion* with respect to them, must, in a great degree, depend upon the *quantity* of notes seen

in circulation compared with the quantity of gold and silver seen in circulation. At first, the quantity of notes was very small indeed ; the increase of this quantity was, for the first twenty years, very slow ; and, though it became more rapid in the next twenty years, the quantity does not appear to have been large till the war which took place in 1755, before which time the Bank Company put out no notes under twenty pounds in amount. Then it was that they began to put out fifteen-pound notes, and afterwards, but during the same war, ten-pound notes. During all this time, loans, in every war, had been made by the Government. That is to say, the Government had borrowed money of individuals, in the same way as above-mentioned, in the year 1694. The money thus borrowed was never paid off, but was suffered to remain at interest, and was, as it is now, called the NATIONAL DEBT, the interest upon which is annually paid out of the taxes raised upon the people. As this debt went on increasing, the bank-notes went on increasing, as indeed it is evident they must, seeing that the interest of the debt was, as it still is and must be, *paid in bank-notes*. Why not pay it in gold ?

It is not simply the quantity of bank-notes that are put into circulation, which will excite alarm as to their solidity ; but it is that quantity, if it be great, *compared with the quantity of gold and silver* seen in circulation. If, as the bank-notes increased, the circulating gold and silver had increased in the same proportion ; then, indeed, bank-notes would still have retained their usual credit : people would still have had the same confidence in them. But this could not be. From the nature of things it could not be. The cause of the increase of the bank-notes, was, the increase of the interest upon the National Debt ; and, as it grew out of an operation occasioned by poverty, it would have been strange indeed had it been accompanied with a circumstance which would have been an infallible indication of riches.

Without, however, stopping here to

inquire into the cause of the coin's not increasing with the increase of paper, suffice it to say, that such was the fact. Year after year we saw more of bank-notes and less of gold and silver ; till, in time, such was the quantity of bank-notes required to meet the purposes of gold and silver in the payment of the interest of the still-increasing debt, and in the payment of the taxes, that many other banks were opened, and they also issued their promissory notes. The Bank Company's notes, which had never before been made for less sums than ten pounds, were, soon after the beginning of *Perrin's* war, in 1793, issued for *five pounds*, after which it was not to be supposed, that people could have the same opinion of bank-notes that they formerly had. Every part of the people, except the very poorest of them, now, occasionally at least, possessed bank-notes. Rents, salaries, yearly wages, all sums above five pounds, were now paid in bank-notes ; and, the Government itself was now paid its *taxes* in this same sort of currency.

In such a state of things it was quite impossible that people should not begin to perceive that gold and silver were better than bank-notes ; and that they should not be more desirous of possessing the former than the latter ; and, the moment this is the case, the banking system must begin to tremble ; for, as the notes are payable to the *bearer*, and payable on *demand*, it is very certain that no man, with such a preference in his mind, will keep in his possession a bank-note, unless we can suppose a man so absurd as to keep a thing, of the goodness of which he has a suspicion, while, for merely opening his mouth or stretching forth his hand, he can exchange it for a thing of the same nominal value, and of the goodness of which it is impossible for him or any one else to entertain any suspicion. "Public credit," as it has been called, but, as it may more properly be called, "*The credit of bank-notes*," has been emphatically denominated, "*Suspicion asleep*." In the midst of events like those of 1793 and the years immediately succeeding ; in the midst of circum-

stances like those above-mentioned, relating to the bank-notes, it was impossible that Suspicion should sleep any longer. The putting forth of the five-pound bank-notes appears to have roused it, and, in the month of February, 1797, it became broad awake. The stoppage of payment on the part of the Bank Company was the immediate consequence; but, a particular account of that important event, which totally changed the nature of all our money transactions, and which will, in the end, produce, in all human probability, effects of the most serious nature, must be the subject of a future letter. In the mean while I am,

Your Friend,
WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Thursday, 30th August, 1810.

LETTER II.

GENTLEMEN,—Having, in the foregoing letter, taken a sketch of the history of the Bank of England, and of its notes, from their origin down to the time *when that Bank stopped paying its notes in gold and silver*, the next thing to do in our regular course of proceeding, will be to inquire into, and clearly ascertain, the *cause* of that stoppage; for it is very evident, that without ascertaining this cause, we shall not be able to come to anything like a decided opinion with regard to our main question, namely, *WHETHER THERE BE ANY PROBABILITY THAT THIS BANK WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN TO THEIR PAYMENTS IN GOLD AND SILVER*, in which question every man of us, from the highest to the lowest, is so deeply interested.

But it is necessary for us to stop a little where we are, and not go on any further with our inquiries into the cause of the stoppage at the Bank of England, until we have taken time to look a little at the *FUNDS* and the *NATIONAL DEBT*. These are words which are frequently made use of, but, like many other words, they stand for things which are little understood, and the less, perhaps, because the words are so very

commonly used. As in the instance of *Shrove Tuesday* or *Shrovetide*, words which we all, from the oldest to the youngest, make use of; but as to their *meaning*, we content ourselves with supposing (or appearing to suppose), that they contain a commandment for us to eat fritters and pancakes, and to murder poor unoffending cocks; whereas they mean the *Tuesday*, or the time *for going to confess our sins to*, and to *get absolution from, the Priests*; to *shrive*, being a word equal in meaning to *to confess*, and *shrove* to *confessed*; and the use of them in the case here mentioned having been handed down to us from the days of our forefathers when the Catholic worship was the worship of the country.

Monstrous, however, as is the perversion of the meaning of words, in this instance, it is scarcely more so than in the case of the *Funds* and the *National Debt*; but, there is this very important difference in the two cases; that, while, in the former, the perversion is attended with no mischief either to individuals, or to the nation, in the latter it is attended with great mischief to both; with the ruin and misery of many a thousand of widows and orphans, and with woes unnumbered to the nation at large. But, if a right understanding of the meaning of these words be, in all cases where words are used, of some consequence, it is of peculiar consequence here, where, as may have been gathered from the preceding letter, we shall find the *Funds*, the *Stocks*, and the *National Debt*, to be so closely interwoven with the *Bank Notes*, as to be quite inseparable therefrom in every possible state or stage of their existence.

The word *FUND* means, a *quantity of money put or collected together*. The word *STOCK*, as applied to such matters, has the same meaning. Both words may admit of meanings somewhat different from this; but this is the meaning which plain men commonly give to these words; and it is, too, the fair and sensible meaning of them. Now, we shall presently see, in what degree this meaning belongs to what are commonly called the *Funds*, or the

Stocks, into the origin and progress of which we are now going to inquire ; and an inquiry it is worthy of the undivided attention of every true Englishman ; every man who wishes to see the country of his forefathers preserved from ruin and subjugation.

Soon after the **ENGLISH REVOLUTION** ; that is to say, soon after our ancestors had driven away King James the Second, and had brought over the Prince of Orange and made him king in his stead, and had, at the same time, taken measures for stripping the family of Stuart of the crown for ever, and putting it upon the heads of His present Majesty's family ; soon after this Revolution, the existence of Funds, Stocks, and a National Debt, began, under the auspices of that same Prince of Orange, who was then become our King William III., and who appears to have lost but very little time in discovering the effectual way of obtaining money from the English, without resorting, as the Stuarts had, to those means, the use of which had, ever and anon, excited commotions against them : which had brought one of them to the scaffold ; and which, at last, after driving another from the land, had for ever stripped them of their crown. The real motives for creating a National Debt we shall, by-and-by, perhaps, have occasion to notice ; but, at present, our business is to get at a clear notion of *the way in which it was created*.

William the Third was hardly seated upon the throne before a war was begun against France, and, in the 4th year of his reign, being the year 1692, an Act of Parliament was passed imposing " Certain Rates and Duties upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for *securing certain Recompenses and Advantages* in the said Act mentioned, to such Persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of *Ten Hundred Thousand Pounds* towards carrying on the *War against France*." This is the title of the Act, being Chapter 3rd of the 4th year of William and Mary. These are the very words ; and fatal words they were to England.

In the body of this Act it is enacted, that the persons who shall advance the

million of pounds shall, out of the rates and duties imposed by the Act, receive a certain *interest*, or annual payment, for the use of the money so advanced. They were to have, and they had, their money secured to them by way of *annuity for life or lives* ; and, they were to have certain advantages in cases of survivorship ; and the annuities were to be redeemed upon certain conditions and at certain times. But, it will be quite useless for us to load our subject with a multitude of words, and to ring the changes upon all the quaint terms, which, as appertaining to these matters, have, one would think, been made use of for no other purpose than that of confusing the understandings of plain men. The light wherein to view the transaction is this : The Government was (no matter how, or from what cause) got into a war with France ; and, for the alleged purpose of pushing on this war with "*vigour*" (it is odd enough that the very word was made use of, just as it is now) they borrowed a million of pounds of individuals, and, at the same time, imposed taxes upon the whole nation for the purpose of paying the interest of the money so borrowed ; or, in other words, the nation's taxes were *mortgaged* to the lenders of this million of pounds.

The lenders of the money, who, in time, became to be called *fund-holders* or *stock-holders*, did, as the work of lending and fund-making advanced, make their loans in various ways, and the bargains between them and the Government were of great variety in their terms, and in the denominations made use of ; but, it was always the same thing in *effect* : the Government borrowed the money of individuals, it mortgaged taxes for the payment of the interest ; and those individuals received for their money, promises, or engagements, no-matter in what shape, which enabled them to demand annually, half-yearly, or quarterly, the share of interest due to each of them ; and any single parcel of interest, so received, is what is, in the queer language of the funding trade, called a "*dividend*:" No matter, however, what the thing is

called; no matter how many nick-names they choose to give to the several branches of the Debt. We daily see, in the newspapers, what is called the "PRICE OF STOCKS," as in the following statement, which is in all the newspapers of this day :—

Bank Stock 257 $5\frac{1}{2}$
 3 per Cent. Red. $68\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
 3 per Cent. Con. $67\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{7}{8}$
 4 per Cent. $85\frac{1}{2}$ $5\frac{1}{8}$ $4\frac{7}{8}$
 5 per Cent. Navy $99\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{8}$
 Long Annuities $18\frac{1}{2}$
 Omnium $2\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ dis.
 Excheq. Bills 1 dis. 5 prem.
 Bank Stock for open 257 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Consols for — $68\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

These are names, which the dealers, or jobbers, in Stocks give to the several classes of them. But, as I said before, let us avoid confusing our heads with this worse than Babylonish collection of names, or sounds, and keep fully and clearly and constantly in our sight these plain facts: *FIRST*, that *the Funds*, *the Stocks*, and *the National Debt*, all mean one and the same thing; *SECONDLY*, that this Debt is made up of the *Principal* money lent to the Government at different times since the beginning of the thing in 1692; *THIRDLY*, that the *Interest* upon this principal money is paid out of the taxes; and, *FOURTHLY*, that those persons who are entitled to receive this interest, are what we call *fund-holders*, or *stock-holders*, or, according to the more common notion and saying, have "*money in the Funds*."

Being here in the elementary, the mere horn-book part of our subject, we cannot make the matter too clear to our comprehension; and, we ought, by no means, to go a step further till we have inquired into the sense of this saying about people's "*having money in the Funds*;" from which any one, who did not understand the thing, would naturally conclude, that the person who made use of the saying, looked upon *the Funds*, as a *place*, where a great quantity of gold and silver was kept locked up in safety. Nor would such conclusion be very erroneous; for, generally speaking, the notion of the people of this country is, that the *Funds* or

the *Stocks* (they are made use of indiscriminately) is a *PLACE*, where money is kept. A place, indeed, of a sort of mysterious existence; a sort of financial Ark; a place not, perhaps, to be touched, or even seen; but, still the notion is, that of a place, and a place, too, of more than mortal security.

Alas! *the Funds* are no place at all! and, indeed, how should they, seeing that they are, in fact, one and the same thing with the *National Debt*? But, to remove, from the mind of every creature, all doubt upon this point; to dissipate the mists in which we have so long been wandering, to the infinite amusement of those who invented these terms, let us take a plain common-sense view of one of these *loaning* transactions. Let us suppose, then, that the Government wants a *loan*, that is, wants to *borrow money*, to the amount of a million of pounds. It gives out its wishes to this effect, and, after the usual ceremony upon such occasions, the loan is made, that is, the money is lent, by Messrs. Muckworm and Company. We shall see, by-and-by, when we come to talk more fully upon the subject of loans, what sort of a way it is in which Muckworm pays in the money so lent, and in what sort of money it is that he pays. But, for the sake of simplicity in our illustration, we will suppose him to pay in real good money, and to pay the whole million himself at once. Well: what does Muckworm get in return? Why, *his name is written in a book; against his name is written, that he is entitled to receive interest for a million of money*; which book is kept at the Bank Company's house, or shop, in Threadneedle-street, London. And thus it is that Muckworm "*puts a million of money into the Funds*." "Well," you will say, "but *what becomes of the money*?" Why, the Government *expends it*, to be sure: what should become of it? Very few people borrow money for the purpose of locking it up in their drawers or chests." "What? then the money all *vanishes*; and *nothing remains in lieu of it but the lender's name written in a book*?" Even so: and this, my good

neighbours, is the way, that "*money is put into the Funds.*"

But, the most interesting part of the transaction remains to be described. Muckworm, who is as wise as he is rich, takes special care not to be a fundholder himself; and, as is always the case, he loses no time in *selling* his stock, that is to say, his *right to receive the interest of the million of pounds*. These Funds, or Stock, as we have seen, have no bodily existence, either in the shape of money or of bonds or of certificates or of any thing else that can be seen or touched. They have a being merely in *name*. They mean, in fact, a *right to receive interest*; and a man, who is said to *possess, or to have a thousand pounds' worth of stock*, possesses in reality nothing but *the right of receiving the interest of a thousand pounds*. When therefore Muckworm sells his million's worth of stock, he sells the right of receiving the interest upon the million of pounds which he lent to the Government. But the way in which sales of this sort are effected is by parcelling the stock out to little purchasers, every one of whom buys as much as he likes; he *has his name written in the book* for so much, instead of the name of Muckworm and Company; and, when Muckworm has sold the whole, his name is crossed out, and the names of the persons, to whom he has sold, remain in the book.

And here it is that the thing comes home to our very bosoms; for our neighbour, farmer Greenhorn, who has all his life been working like a horse, in order to secure his children from the perils of poverty, having first bequeathed his farm to his son, sells the rest of his property (amounting to a couple of thousands of pounds), and, with the real good money, the fruit of his incessant toil and care, purchases two thousand pounds' worth of Muckworm's Funds, or Stocks, and leaves the said purchase to his daughter. And why does he do so? The reason is, that, as he believes, his daughter will always receive the interest of the two thousand pounds, without any of the risk, or trouble, belonging to the rents of house or land. Thus neighbour Greenhorn is said to have

"put two thousand pounds in the funds;" and thus his daughter (poor girl!) is said to "*have her money in the funds*;" when the plain fact is, that Muckworm's money *has been spent by the Government*, that *Muckworm has now the two thousand pounds of poor Grizzle Greenhorn*, and that she, in return for it, has *her name written in a book*, at the Bank Company's house in Threadneedle-street, London, in consequence of which she is entitled to receive the interest of the two thousand pounds; which brings us back to the point whence we started, and explains the whole art and mystery of making loans and funds and stocks and national debts.

It will be very useful to show the effect of this "putting money in the funds," with respect to the party who is said to put it in. I do not know of any duty more pressing upon me, than that of showing, in this plain and practical way, what have been, what are, and what must be, the consequences to those, who thus dispose of their property; especially if they have no property of any other sort. But, this will be found to belong to another part of our subject; and as we have now seen what the funds and the stocks *really are*; as we have blown away the mist in which we had so long been wandering; as the financial ark is now no more in our sight than any veritable box made of deal boards and nails; as we are now satisfied, that there is nothing mystical in the words funds and stocks, and that so far from meaning *a place where a great quantity of money is kept*, they are not the name of any place at all, nor of anything which has a corporal existence, and are the mere denominations, or names, of the several classes, or parcels of debt, which the Government owes to individuals; in short as we have now, let us hope, arrived at a complete knowledge of the *nature* and origin of the funds and stocks and the National Debt, which, as was before said, are, in fact, all one and the same thing, it is time that we proceed to inquire into their *progress*, and to see how that progress is connected with the increase of the bank-notes and with the

stoppage of the payment of those notes in gold and silver. To do justice, however, to this copious and interesting theme, especially when coupled with what it will be necessary to say as to the schemes for *arresting* the progress of the debt, will demand a separate letter. In the meanwhile,

I am, with perfect sincerity,
Your friend,
WM. COBBETT.

*State Prison, Newgate,
Thursday, 6th Sep. 1810.*

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, SEPT. 28, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

ASTON, S. sen., Nottingham, iron-founder.
CRIPPS, R., Aldersgate-st., wine-merchant.
DEMPSEY, J., King-street, Whitehall, porter-merchant.
FLIGHT, B., and J. Robson, St. Martin's-lane, organ-builders.
PRIMER, H., Southampton, dealer in china.
REIFFENSTEIN, J. C., Langport-place, Camberwell, and Quebec, merchant.
SHEARN, C., Wiccombe and Lycombe, Somerset, soap-manufacturer.
SCHNELLE, H., and W. Prehn, Tower-street, merchants.
WIDDOWSON, J., Fleet street, goldsmith.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DAVIE, J., Paisley, grocer.
GILLESPIE, G., Cupar, Fife-shire, flesher and cattle-dealer.
MELDRUM, R., Cleish, Kinross, potato-merchant.

TUESDAY, OCT. 2, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

BEWLEY, B., Wroughton, Wilts, corn-dealer.
CLOVER, W. G., Holborn, linen-draper.
COLLINS, J., Pulborough, Sussex, grocer.
COOKE, T., Birmingham, brass-founder.
FEAKS, J. S., Cambridge, cordwainer.
HOYT, W., and R. Eastham, Lee-mill, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturers.
HUNTON, W., Leeds, Yorksh., linen-manuf.
JONES, C., Birmingham, jeweller.

MARSHALL, W. and J. E., Horton, York-shire, worsted-spinners.
PEARCE, H., Bishopsgate-st., tavern-keeper.
POCOCK, S., Brighton, builder.
WEBSTER, J., Lancaster, scrivener.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCT. 1.—Having a very large supply of wheat this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, and a considerable quantity remaining over from last week's arrivals, together with the price of flour being lowered 5s. a sack, caused an exceedingly heavy trade for all descriptions of wheat, at a decline of full 4s. per qr. from the quotations of last Monday; for at that abatement very little progress could be made in sales.

The supply of barley was very large from all the above counties, and as but few maltsters have as yet begun to purchase, even the finest making samples were taken off slowly at a reduction of 3s. per qr.; but the stained and grown sorts were nearly unsaleable at a decline of 4s. per qr., a few superfine parcels of bright that were secured without any wet upon them obtained 35s. to 36s. The best description of stained sold to the distillers at from 25s. to 30s., and the damp and grown sorts were offered for gridding purposes at from 21s. to 26s.

White peas continuing in demand, sold readily at a further advance of 2s. per qr.

The oat trade continues in a depressed state, the demand at this time being to a very limited extent, and the prices of this day week were with difficulty obtained for fine fresh corn, whilst the ordinary qualities were offered from 6d. to 1s. per qr. cheaper, without effecting sales to any extent.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	19s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 42s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new... 50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new... 132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 80s. to —s.
— Cork ... 76s. to 80s.

Butter, Limerick ..	76s. to 78s.
Waterford..	74s. to 76s.
Dublin	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire....	52s. to 78s.
Gloucester, Double..	52s. to 60s.
Gloucester, Single..	40s. to 48s.
Edam	40s. to 48s.
Gouda	40s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish.....	55s. to 80s.

SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 1.

This day's supply of beasts was great; of sheep and lambs good; of calves and porkers rather limited. The trade with veal and pork was somewhat brisk, with lamb very dull; with the two former at an advance of from 4d. to 6d., the latter at a depression of full 2d. per stone. Beef and mutton went off tardily, at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the beasts were Irish, principally oxen, steers, and heifers, mostly from Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, and the western and midland districts; about a fourth short-horned ditto, principally Lincoln, mostly from the lower Lincolnshire marshes; the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Hereford, Devons, Welch runts, and Town's-end cows, with a few Scots, &c., principally from the midland districts and London marshes. Full two-thirds of the sheep and lambs were about equal numbers of Down, Leicesters, and Leicester half-breds; the remainder about equal numbers of Kents and Kentish half-breds, with a few Lincoln, Lincoln and Hereford half-breds, horned Dorsets, Aberdeens, &c.

Beasts, 3,012; sheep and lambs, 22,710; calves, 131; pigs, 210.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 5.

The arrivals this week are rather large. The market dull, but without any alteration in prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	83½	84½	84½	84½	84	83½

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A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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PROGRESS IN THE NORTH.

Hexham, 1. Oct., 1832.

I LEFT Morpeth this morning pretty early in a post-chaise, to come to this town, which lies on the banks of the TYNE, at thirty-four miles distant from MORPETH, and at twenty distant from Newcastle. MORPETH is a great market-town, for cattle especially. It is a solid old town; but it has the disgrace of seeing an enormous new jail rising up in it. From cathedrals and monasteries we are come to be proud of our jails, which are built in the grandest style, and seemingly as if to imitate the GOTHIC architecture. At MORPETH my friend supplied me with plenty of peaches, along with every other good thing to eat and drink; and along with that, which was much more valuable than all these put together, his most sensible conversation. He showed me some of my corn, very nearly ripe, and as fine as any that I ever saw in my life.

From MORPETH to within about four miles of HEXHAM, the land is but very indifferent; the farms of an enormous extent. I saw in one place more than a hundred corn-stacks in one yard, each having from six to seven Surrey wagon-loads of sheaves in a stack; and not another house to be seen within a mile or two of the farm-house. There appears to be no such thing as barns, but merely a place to take in a stack at a time, and thrash it out by a machine. The country seems to be almost wholly destitute of people. Immense tracks of corn-land, but neither cottages nor churches.

There is here and there a spot of good land, just as in the deep valleys that I crossed; but, generally speaking, the country is poor; and its bleakness is proved by the almost total absence of the oak tree, of which we see scarcely one all the way from MORPETH to HEXHAM. Very few trees of any sort, except in the bottom of the warm valleys; what there are, are chiefly the ASH, which is a very hardy tree, and will live and thrive where the OAK will not grow at all, which is very curious, seeing that it comes out into leaf so late in the spring, and sheds its foliage so early in the fall. The trees, which stand next in point of hardiness, are the SYCAMORE, the BEECH, and the BIRCH, which are all seen here; but none of them fine. The ASH is the most common tree, and even it flinches upon the hills, which it never does in the SOUTH. It has generally become yellow in the leaf already; and many of the trees are now bare of leaf before any frost has made its appearance. The cattle all along here are of a coarse kind; the cows, swag-backed and badly shaped, KILBE OXEN, except in the dips of good land by the sides of the bourns which I crossed. Nevertheless, even here, the fields of turnips, of both sorts, are very fine. Great pains seem to be taken in raising the crops of these turnips: they are all cultivated in rows, are kept exceedingly clean, and they are carried in as winter food for all the animals of a farm, the horses excepted.

As I approached HEXHAM, which, as the reader knows, was formerly the seat of a famous abbey, and the scene of a not less famous battle, and was, indeed, at one time, the SEE of a bishop, and which has now churches of great antiquity and cathedral-like architecture; as I approached this town, along a valley down which runs a small river that soon after empties itself into the TYNE, the land became good, the ash trees more lofty, and green as in June; the other trees proportionably large and fine; and

when I got down into the vale of HEXHAM itself, there I found the *oak tree*, certain proof of a milder atmosphere; for the *oak*, though amongst the hardest *woods*, is amongst the tenderest of plants known as natives of our country. Here everything assumes a different appearance. The TYNE, the southern and northern branches of which meet a few miles above HEXHAM, runs close by this ancient and celebrated town, all round which the ground rises gradually away towards the hills, crowned here and there with the remains of those castles which were formerly found necessary for the defence of this rich and valuable valley, which, from tip of hill to tip of hill, varies, perhaps, from four to seven miles wide, and which contains as fine corn-fields as those of Wiltshire, and fields of turnips, of both kinds, the largest, finest, and best cultivated, that my eyes ever beheld. As a proof of the goodness of the land and the mildness of the climate here, there is, in the grounds of the gentleman who had the kindness to receive and to entertain me (and that in a manner which will prevent me from ever forgetting either him or his most amiable wife); there is, standing in his ground, *about an acre of my corn*, which will ripen perfectly well; and, in the same grounds, which, together with the kitchen-garden and all the appurtenances belonging to a house, and the house itself, are laid out, arranged, and contrived, in a manner so judicious, and to me so original, as to render them objects of great interest, though, in general, I set very little value on the things which appertain merely to the enjoyments of the rich; in these same grounds (to come back again to the climate), I perceived that the rather tender evergreens not only lived but thrived perfectly well, and (a criterion infallible) the *biennial stocks* stand the winter without any covering or any pains taken to shelter them; which, as every one knows, is by no means always the case, even at KENSINGTON and FULHAM.

At night I gave a lecture at an inn, at HEXHAM, in the midst of the domains of that impudent and stupid man, Mr.

BEAUMONT, who, not many days before, in what he called a speech, I suppose, made at NEWCASTLE, thought proper, as was reported in the newspapers, to utter the following words with regard to me, never having, in his life, received the slightest provocation for so doing. "The *liberty of the press* had nothing to fear from the Government. "It was the duty of the administration "to be *upon their guard* to prevent *extremes*. There was a crouching servility on the one hand, and an *excitement to disorganization* and to *licentiousness* on the other, which ought to be discountenanced. The company, "he believed, as much disapproved of "that *political traveller* who was "now going through the country—he "meant Cobbett—as they detested the "servile effusions of the Tories." BEAUMONT, in addition to his native stupidity and imbecility, might have been drunk when he said this, but the servile wretch who published it was not drunk; and, at any rate, BEAUMONT was my mark, it not being my custom to snap at the stick, but at the cowardly hand that wields it.

It is my fashion, to meet, if I can, every assailant upon his own dunghill. BEAUMONT knew I was to be at HEXHAM; that is his dunghill; but he took very good care not to be seen in the neighbourhood at the time; though, which is curious enough, the dirty fellow made his appearance there when he found I was gone off to NEWCASTLE. Such a wretch, such a truly contemptible fellow, cannot be an object of what is properly called *vengeance* with any man who is worth a straw; but, I say, with SWIFT, "If a *flea* or a *bug* bite me, I will kill it if I can." and, acting upon that principle, I, being at HEXHAM, put my foot upon this contemptible creeping thing, who is offering himself as a candidate for the southern division of the county, being so eminently fitted to be a maker of the laws!

The newspapers have told the whole country that Mr. JOHN RIDLEY, who is a tradesman at HEXHAM, and occupies some land close by, has made a stand against the demand for tithes; and that

the tithe-owner recently broke open, in the night, the gate of his field, and carried away what he deemed to be the tithe; that Mr. RIDLEY applied to the magistrates, who could only refer him to a court of law to recover damages for the trespass. When I arrived at HEXHAM, I found this to be the case. I further found that BEAUMONT, that impudent, silly and slanderous BEAUMONT, is the *lay-owner* of the tithes in and round about HEXHAM; he being, in a right line, doubtless, the heir or successor of the abbot and monks of the Abbey of HEXHAM; or, the heir of the donor, EGGFRID, *king of Northumberland*. I found that BEAUMONT had leased out his tithes to *muddle men*, as is the laudable custom with the pious bishops and clergy of the law-church in Ireland. Finding all this, I, after some introductory matter, made my lecture consist of a *disertation on tithes*; and, I think, I proved to the entire satisfaction of the people of HEXHAM, that all tithes were public property; that it would be the duty of the reformed Parliament completely to abolish them both in England and in Ireland; and that, in no respect whatsoever did the claim of the lay-impropriator differ from that of the clergy themselves. How it would have delighted BEAUMONT to have seen himself placed in the same boat, cheek-by-jowl, with all the crowds of fat rectors and vicars! How wise he would have looked; and how still more zealous he would have been to prevent "licentiousness in the press;" and how still more necessary he would have found it to express his "disapprobation of the political traveller, Cobbett!"

North Shields, 2. Oct., 1832,

Yesterday morning I came from HEXHAM to NEWCASTLE; from NEWCASTLE to SOUTH SHIELDS (where I have lectured this evening); and now I am here with an intention to lecture here to-morrow night. From HEXHAM to NEWCASTLE I came down in a post-chaise, on the south-side of the TYNE, along a valley which is as fine a corn country as any that is to be seen in any parts of the banks of the THAMES above London-

bridge; and I have seen that valley from the source of the THAMES to London-bridge. At its northern source I saw it but a mere gutter; and its other source (the ISIS) I rode across (not more than four yards over), the water not reaching up to the belly of my horse. These sides of the TYNE are very fine: corn-fields, woods, pastures, villages; a church every four miles, or thereabouts; cows and sheep beautiful; oak trees, though none very large; and, in short, a fertile and beautiful country, wanting only the gardens and the vine-covered cottages that so beautify the counties in the South and the West. All the buildings are of stone. Here are coal-works and rail-ways every now and then. The working people seem to be very well off; their dwellings solid and clean, and their furniture good; but the little gardens and orchards are wanting. The farms are all large; and the people who work on them either live in the farm-house, or in buildings appertaining to the farm-house; and they are all well fed, and have no temptation to acts like those which sprang up out of the ill-treatment of the labourers in the South. Besides, the mere country people are so few in number, the state of society is altogether so different, that a man who has lived here all his lifetime, can form no judgment at all with regard to the situation, the wants, and the treatment of the working people in the counties of the South.

They have begun to make a rail-way from CARLISLE to NEWCASTLE; and I saw them at work at it as I came along. There are great *lead-mines* not far from HEXHAM; and I saw a great number of little one-horse carts bringing down the *pigs of lead* to the point where the TYNE becomes navigable to NEWCASTLE; and sometimes I saw loads of these *pigs* lying by the road-side, as you see parcels of timber lying in Kent and Sussex, and other timber counties. No fear of their being stolen: their weight is their security, together with their value compared with that of the labour of carrying. Hearing that BEAUMONT was, somehow or other, connected with this lead-work, I had got it into my

head that he was a pig of lead himself, and half expected to meet with him amongst these groups of his fellow-creatures; but, upon inquiry, I found that some of the lead-mines *belonged to him*; descending, probably, in that same right line in *which the tithes descended to him*; and, as the *Bishop of Durham* is said to be the owner of great lead-mines, BEAUMONT and the bishop may possibly be in the *same boat* with regard to the subterranean estate as well as that upon the surface; and, if this should be the case, it will, I verily believe, require all the piety of the bishop, and all the wisdom of BEAUMONT, to keep the boat above water for another five years.

As I approached NEWCASTLE, the collieries, the rail-roads, the citizens' country boxes, the smoke, the bustle, and all the London-like appearance again met my eye. But, judge of my surprise when I saw a HAMMERSMITH-BRIDGE swinging upon chains, and with just such a lodge for the toll-man to live in; and with everything as much like the WEX as a young ape is like an old one! Over it I went, looking at the tide below, and seeing the boats push about, as I have so often done, going from KENSINGTON to BARN-ELM and back again. This NEWCASTLE is really and truly the London of the NORTH: it has all the solidity of the city of London; all its appearances of industry and of real wealth; all its prospects of permanency; and, there is only this difference in the people, that, at NEWCASTLE they are all of one *breed*, and of one stamp; whereas London is inhabited by persons from every part of the kingdom, not omitting a considerable number from the *sister kingdom*! As to which has the *best* population, I am naturally shy about delivering a very decided opinion; but this I will say, that a *better* race than that at NEWCASTLE and its vicinity, I am quite satisfied that there is not upon this earth. Here you find all the good qualities, public and private, and, which is a great thing to say, you find them in every class.

North Shields, 3. Oct., 1832.

I lectured at SOUTH SHIELDS last evening, and here this evening. I came over the river from SOUTH SHIELDS about eleven o'clock last night, and made a very firm bargain with myself never to do the like again. This evening, after my lecture was over, some gentlemen presented an address to me upon the stage, before the audience, accompanied with the valuable and honourable present of the late Mr. ENEAS MACKENZIE'S HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND; a very interesting work, worthy of every library in the kingdom. I shall insert this address by-and-by; and in the meanwhile proceed with my progress in the NORTH.

From NEWCASTLE to MORPETH; from MORPETH to HEXHAM; and then all the way down the TYNE; though, everywhere such abundance of fine turnips, and, in some cases, of mangel-wurzel, you see scarcely any *potatoes*; a certain sign that the working people do not live like hogs. This root is raised in Northumberland and Durham, to be used merely as *garden-stuff*; and, used in that way, it is very good; the contrary of which I never thought, much less did I ever say it. It is the using of it as a *substitute* for bread and for meat, that I have deprecated it; and, when the Irish poet, Dr. DRAKE, called it "the lazy root and the root of misery," he gave it its true character. Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, who has travelled a great deal in *France, Germany, and Italy*, and who, though SCOTT-ELDON scratched him out of the commission of the peace, and though the sincere patriot BROUGHAM will not put him in again, is a very great and accurate observer as to these interesting matters, has assured me, that, in whatever proportion the cultivation of potatoes prevails in those countries, in that same proportion the working-people are wretched; an assurance which is fully corroborated by my son William, who is also a most competent judge, and who has had opportunities of seeing parts of France and Belgium, which Sir CHARLES may not have seen. From this degrading curse; from sitting round a dirty

board, with potatoes trundled out upon it, as the Irish do; from going to the field with cold potatoes in their bags, as the working-people of Hampshire and Wiltshire D.D. but which they have not done since the appearance of certain *corruscations*, which, to spare the feelings of the "LAMBS, the BROUGHAMS the GREYS, and the RUSSELLS," and their dirty bill-of-indictment-drawer DENMAN, I will not describe, much less will I eulogize; from this degrading curse, the county of Northumberland is yet happily free!

Sunderland, 4. Oct., 1832.

I have just been to give my farewell lecture at this place of interesting situation, great trade and bustle, long and beautiful and opulent streets; of kind and most mannerly people; and without any more *cholera morbus*, or ever having had any more *ASIATIC cholera morbus*, or anything of the kind that was contagious, than there is now in the sole of my shoe; and this, too, is the opinion of every sensible person in the town.

This morning I left NORTH SHIELDS in a post-chaise, in order to come hither through NEWCASTLE and GATEHEAD, thus affording me the only opportunity that I was likely to have of seeing a plantation of Mr. ANNOBER DONKIN, close in the neighbourhood of NEWCASTLE; which plantation had been made according to the method prescribed in my book, called the "WOODLANDS;" and to see which plantation I previously communicated a request to Mr. DONKIN. That gentleman received me in a manner which will want no describing to those who have had the good luck to visit NEWCASTLE. The plantation is most advantageously circumstanced to furnish proof of the excellence of my instructions as to planting. The predecessor of Mr. DONKIN also made plantations upon the same spot, and consisting precisely of the same sort of trees. The two plantations are separated from each other merely by a road going through them. Those of the predecessor have been made *six-and-twenty years*; those of

Mr. DONKIN *six years*; and, incredible as it may appear, the trees in the latter are full as lofty as those in the former; and, besides the equal loftiness, are vastly superior in point of shape, and, which is very curious, retain all their freshness at this season of the year, while the old plantations are brownish and many of the leaves falling off the trees, though the sort of trees is precisely the same. As a sort of reward for having thus contributed to this very rational source of his pleasure, Mr. DONKIN was good enough to give me an elegant copy of the fables of the celebrated BEWICK, who was at once a native of NEWCASTLE and an honour to the town, and whose books I had had from the time that my children began to look at books, until taken from me by that sort of rapine which I had to experience at the time of my memorable flight across the Atlantic, in order to secure the use of that long arm which I caused to reach them from Long Island to London.

In Mr. DONKIN's kitchen-garden (my eyes being never closed in such a scene), I saw what I had never seen before in any kitchen garden, and which it may be very useful to some of my readers to have described to them. *Wall-fruit* is, when destroyed in the spring, never destroyed by *dry-cold*; but, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, by wet-frosts, which descend always perpendicularly, and which are generally fatal if they come between the expansion of the blossom and the setting of the fruit; that is to say, if they come after the bloom is quite open, and before it has dis-entangled itself from the fruit. The great thing, therefore, in getting *wall-fruit*, is to keep off these frosts. The *French* make use of boards, in the neighbourhood of PARIS, projecting from the tops of the walls and supported by poles; and some persons contrive to have curtains to come over the whole tree at night and to be drawn up in the morning. Mr. DONKIN's walls have a top of stone; and this top, or cap, projects about eight inches beyond the face of the wall, which is quite sufficient to guard against the wet-frosts

which always fall perpendicularly. This is a country of stone to be sure ; but those who can afford to build walls for the purpose of having wall-fruit, can afford to cap them in this manner : to rear the wall, plant the trees, and then to save the expense of the cap, is really something like the old proverbial absurdity, " of losing the ship for the sake of saving a pennyworth of tar."

At Mr. DONKIN's I saw a portrait of BEWICK, which is said to be a great likeness, and which, though imagination goes a great way in such a case, really bespeaks that simplicity, accompanied with that genius, which distinguished the man. Mr. WM. ARMSTRONG was kind enough to make me a present of a copy of the last performance of this so justly celebrated man. It is entitled "WAITS FOR DEATH," exhibiting a poor old horse just about to die, and preceded by an explanatory writing, which does as much honour to the heart of BEWICK as the whole of his designs put together do to his genius. The sight of the picture, the reading of the preface to it, and the fact that it was the last effort of the man ; altogether make it difficult to prevent tears from starting from the eyes of any one not uncommonly steeled with insensibility.

From Mr. DONKIN's I came off to SUNDERLAND, through GATEHEAD. Away to my left, down on the side of the TYNE, lay the various works for the drawing up of coals, for the making of copperas, for the making of magnesia, of Epsom salts, of soda, of soap, of glass, and of God knows what besides. Here are hills of *lime-stone*, out of which, it seems, they get the means of doing these things. Why the salts are called *Epsom salts* I always wondered, seeing that Epsom is a pretty village in my native county of Surrey, famous for nothing that I ever heard of but the *horse-races* upon its down, where lawyers and scoundrels meet to waste time, or to gamble with money that they have got out of the taxes ; and for *county-meetings* held in the village, where gentlemen, about upon a level (generally speaking) in point of intellect, with the

horses that they ride, used to meet, in the days of "PITT and prosperity," to draw up and pass declarations against PAINE's "RIGHTS OF MAN," and to enter into solemn pledges, to take and to pass Bank-of-England notes, at the time when the old Lady had nothing but one piece of paper to give for another. In my little book, called "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which every man in this kingdom ought *now* to read, if he have not already read it, I have recorded the stupidity, the insolence, and baseness of these low tyrants and pretended loyal men of my native county. *PITMEN!* I will not be so unjust as to put the PITMEN of Durham and Northumberland upon a level with these brutes that used to meet at Epsom, whom, if I could properly describe, the description would make the sensible people of the North scratch the word "Epsom" out of the appellation of this article of their manufacture.

Lime is burnt here to be sent to Scotland ; and the wet sometimes gets in, sets the vessels on fire, and produces very great calamity. Like every thing else here, the lime-burning is on a scale of prodigious inagnitude. You see nothing here that is pretty ; but every thing seems to be abundant in value ; and one great thing is, the working-people live well. Theirs is not a life of ease to be sure, but it is not a life of hunger. The pitmen have twenty-four shillings a week ; they live rent-free, their fuel costs them nothing, and their doctor costs them nothing. Their work is terrible, to be sure ; and, perhaps, they do not have what they ought to have ; but, at any rate, they live well, their houses are good and their furniture good ; and though they live not in a beautiful scene, they are in the scene where they were born, and their lives seem to be as good as that of the working part of mankind can reasonably expect. Almost the whole of the country hereabouts is owned by that curious thing called the *Dean and Chapter* of DURHAM. Almost the whole of SOUTH SHIELDS is theirs, granted upon leases with fines at stated periods. This Dean and Chapter are the *lords of the Lords*.

LONDONDERRY, with all his huffing and strutting, is but a tenant of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, who souse him so often with their *fines* that it is said that he has had to pay them more than a *hundred thousand pounds* within the last ten or twelve years. What will LONDONDERRY bet that he is not the *tenant of the public* before this day five years? There would be no difficulty in these cases, but on the contrary a very great convenience; because all these tenants of the Dean and Chapter might then purchase out-and-out, and make that property freehold, which they now hold by a tenure so uncertain and so capricious.

Almwick, 7. Oct., 1832.

From SUNDERLAND I came, early in the morning of the 5th of October, once more (and I hope not for the last time) to NEWCASTLE, there to lecture on the PAPER-MONEY, which I did, in the evening. But before I proceed further. I must record something that I heard at SUNDERLAND respecting that babbling fellow TREVOR! My readers will recollect the part which this fellow acted with regard to the "liberal Whig prosecution;" they will recollect that it was he who first mentioned the thing in the House of Commons, and suggested to the wise Ministers the propriety of prosecuting me; that Lord ALTHORP and DENMAN *hummed* and *ha'd* about it; that the latter had *not read it*, and that the former would offer no opinion upon it; that TREVOR came on again, encouraged by the works of the curate of Crowhurst, and by the bloody, bloody old *Times*, whose *former editor* and *now printer*, is actually a candidate for Berkshire, supported by that unprincipled political prattler JEPHIAH MARSH, whom I will call to an account as soon as I get back to the SOUTH. My readers will further recollect that the bloody old *Times* then put forth another document as a confession of GOODMAN, made to BURRELL, TRECROFT, and SEAWEN BLUNT, while the culprit was in HORSHAM jail with a halter actually about his neck. My readers know the *result* of this affair; but they have yet to

learn some circumstances belonging to its progress, which circumstances are not to be stated here. They recollect, however, that from the very first I treated this TREVOR with the utmost disdain; and that at the head of the articles which I wrote about him, I put these words, "TREVOR AND POTATOES;" meaning that he hated me because I was resolved, fire or fire not, that working men should not live upon potatoes in my country. Now, mark; now, chopsticks of the SOUTH, mark the sagacity, the justice, the promptitude, and the excellent taste of these lads of the NORTH! At the last general election, which took place after the "liberal Whig prosecution" had been begun, TREVOR was a candidate for the city of DURHAM, which is about fourteen miles from this busy town of SUNDERLAND. The freemen of DURHAM are the voters in that city, and some of these freemen reside at SUNDERLAND. Therefore, this fellow (I wish to God you could *see* him!) went to SUNDERLAND to canvass these freemen residing there; and they pelted him out of the town; and (oh appropriate missiles!) pelted him out with the "*accursed root*," hallooing and shouting after him—"Trevor and potatoes!" Ah! stupid coxcomb! little did he imagine, when he was playing his game with ALTHORP and DENMAN, what would be the ultimate effect of that game!

Before I set off from NEWCASTLE in the morning, I went to Mr. Wm. ARMSTRONG'S to take my leave of him and of Mrs. ARMSTRONG. I then returned to Mrs. MACKENZIE'S, which had been my head quarters, and at which I had received such treatment as strangers do receive at NEWCASTLE. Thence, I took my leave of a town in which I had experienced more real pleasure, and my friends in which I had every reason to be better pleased with, than with any equal number of persons that I had ever before seen at any period of my life. To select particular persons to name, in such a case, would be useless as well as improper; when all have so much gratitude due to them from me, the whole list must be named, or I must keep

silence as to particulars. I must say the same as to NORTH SHIELDS and SUNDERLAND. I expected to meet warm and sensible friends at NEWCASTLE, and in its neighbourhood. I should have been disappointed if I had not found them: the reality, however, surpassed the expectation; and I was really glad that circumstances forced me away; for my attachment to the scene grew upon me very fast; and when I took leave of Mrs. MACKENZIE, and her obliging and excellent family, my feelings, in spite of the credit which the most brutal and mercenary villains on the face of the earth have given me for want of any feelings at all, were far different from those with which we take leave of persons and of towns whom we visit in the ordinary course of our lives. I deem myself the better for having seen NEWCASTLE and its people: in them I have found new causes for loving my country and my countrymen, and for preferring both to all other countries and all other people in the world: and, thus, for the present, I take my leave of NEWCASTLE, with additional knowledge acquired, additional friendship clinging to my heart, and additional motives to exertion for the good, the happiness, and the greatness of England.

From NEWCASTLE to MORPETH (the country is what I before described it to be). From MORPETH to this place (ALNWICK), the country, generally speaking, is very poor as to land, scarcely any trees at all; the farms enormously extensive; only two churches, I think, in the whole of the twenty miles; scarcely anything worthy the name of a tree, and not one single dwelling having the appearance of a labourer's house. Here appears neither hedging nor ditching; no such thing as a sheep-fold or a hurdle to be seen; the cattle and sheep very few in number; the farm servants living in the farm-houses, and very few of them; the thrashing done by machinery and horses: a country without people. This is a pretty country to take a minister from, to govern the South of England! A pretty country to take a Lord Chancellor from to prattle about *poor-laws*

and about *surplus population*! My Lord GREY has, in fact, spent his life here, and BROUGHAM has spent his life in the Inns of Court, or in the botheration of speculative books. How should either of them know anything about the eastern, southern, or western counties? I wish I had my dignitary Dr. BLACK here; I would soon make him see that he has all these number of years been talking about the bull's horns instead of his tail and his buttocks. Besides the indescribable pleasure of having seen NEWCASTLE, the SHIELDS, SUNDERLAND, DURHAM, and HEXHAM, I have now discovered the true ground of all the errors of the Scotch *philosophers* with regard to population, and with regard to poor-laws. The two countries are as different as any two things of the same nature can possibly be; that which applies to the one does not at all apply to the other. The agricultural counties are covered all over with parish churches, and with people thinly distributed here and there. Only look at the two counties of Dorset and Durham. Dorset contains 1,005 square miles; Durham contains 1,061 square miles. Dorset has 271 *parishes*; Durham has 75 *parishes*. The population of Dorset is scattered over the whole of the county, there being no town of any magnitude in it. The population of Durham, though larger than that of Dorset, is almost all gathered together at the mouths of the TYNE, the WEAR, and the TEES. Northumberland has 1,871 square miles; and Suffolk has 1,512 square miles. Northumberland has *eighty-eight parishes*; and Suffolk has *five hundred and ten parishes*. So that here is a county one third part smaller than that of Northumberland with *six times as many villages in it*! What comparison is there to be made between states of society so essentially different? What rule is there, with regard to population and poor-laws, which can apply to both cases? And how is my Lord HOWICK, born and bred up in Northumberland, to know how to judge of a population suitable to Suffolk? Suffolk is a county teeming with production, as well as with people; and, how brutal must that

man be who would attempt to reduce the agricultural population of Suffolk to that of the number of Northumberland! The population of Northumberland, larger than Suffolk as it is, does not equal in total population by nearly one-third, notwithstanding that one half of its whole population have got together upon the banks of the TYNE. And are we to get rid of our people in the SOUTH, and supply the places of them by horses and machines? Why not have the people in the fertile counties of the South, where their very existence causes their food and their raiment to come? Blind and thoughtless must that man be, who imagines that all but *farms* in the South are unproductive. I much question whether, taking a strip three miles each way from the road, coming from NEWCASTLE to ALNWICK, an equal quantity of what is called *waste ground*, together with the cottages that skirt it, do not exceed such strip of ground in point of produce. Yes, the cows, pigs, geese, poultry, gardens, bees and fuel that arise from those *wastes*, far exceed, even in the capacity of sustaining people, similar breadths of ground, distributed into these large farms in the poorer parts of Northumberland. I have seen not less than ten thousand geese in one tract of common, in about six miles, going from CHOBHAM towards FARNHAM in Surrey. I believe these geese alone, raised entirely by care and by the common, to be worth more than the clear profit that can be drawn from any similar breadth of land between MORTON and ALNWICK. What folly is it to talk, then, of applying to the counties of the SOUTH, principles and rules applicable to a country like this!

To-morrow morning I start for "MODERN ATHENS"! My readers will, I dare say, perceive how much my "*antalluct*" has been improved since I crossed the TYNE. What it will get to when I shall have crossed the TWEED, God only knows. I wish very much that I could stop a day at Berwick, in order to find some "*freelosfer*" to ascertain, by some chemical process, the exact degree of the improvement of the "*antalluct*." I am afraid, how-

ever, that I shall not be able to manage this; for I must get along; beginning to feel devilishly home-sick since I have left NEWCASTLE.

They tell me, that Lord HOWICK, who is just married by-the-by, made a speech here the other day, during which he said, "that the Reform was "only the means to an end; and that 'the end was cheap government.'" Good! Stand to that my Lord, and, as you are now married, pray let the country fellows and girls marry too: let us have CHEAP GOVERNMENT, and I warrant you, that there will be room for us all, and plenty for us to eat and drink: it is the drones, and not the bees, that are too numerous; it is the vermin who live upon the taxes, and not those who work to raise them, that we want to get rid of. We are keeping fifty thousand tax-eaters to breed gentlemen and ladies for the industrious and laborious to keep. These are the opinions which I promulgate; and whatever your flatterers may say to the contrary, and whatever "*freelosopeal*" stuff BROUGHAM and his rabble of writers may put forth, these opinions of mine will finally prevail. I repeat my anxious wish (I would call it a *hope* if I could), that your father's resolution may be equal to his sense, and that he will do that which is demanded by the right which the people have to insist upon measures necessary to restore the greatness and happiness of the country; and, if he show a disposition to do this, I should deem myself the most criminal of all mankind, if I were to make use of any influence that I possess to render his undertaking more difficult than it naturally must be; but, if he show not that disposition, it will be my bounden duty to endeavour to drive him from the possession of power; for, be the consequences to individuals what they may, the greatness, the freedom, and the happiness of England must be restored.

NEWCASTLE CORPORATION.

THERE was an election of the mayor last week, when the freemen wanted Mr. Alderman WRIGHT to be mayor; and the aldermen wanted him not to be mayor. The day on which the charter required him to be elected was passed in a violent struggle between the parties. The next day the aldermen installed a man as mayor after the manner of our London aldermen with HUGHES HUGHES. The soldiers in the barracks were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and were once ordered out under arms in the square. The mansion-house was garrisoned by a large body of special constables and policemen; and the yeomanry cavalry were placed on permanent duty in the town. Thus, at last, it always comes to this; and to this it always *must come* in every country where soldiers are allowed to exist. Wherever soldiers are ready in the last resort, they are in fact the Government, let it go by what name it may. ALDERSON was, the newspapers told us, escorted and guarded by soldiers during the last circuit in Wales! Poh! Say no more about it. Mere names amuse nothing but fools!

I insert the following letter with particular pleasure. I am glad that the name was omitted.

Elswick Cottage Oct. 1, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—Although I had the honour and pleasure to draw up the address to you which is printed in the *Register* of Saturday last, I find that by some strange omission my name does not appear in the list of signatures. Do me the favour to rectify the mistake by the insertion of this letter, and

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,
THOMAS DOUBLEDAY.

Wm. Cobbett, Esq.

TO MR. COBBETT.

THE CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS OF THE UNDERSIGNED INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF TYNEMOUTH, AND NORTH SHIELDS AND VICINITY, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTH-UMBERLAND.

AN enlightened people, bursting the bonds of ignorance and error by which they have long been shackled, can feel only sentiments of gratitude towards those who have in any way been instrumental towards their deliverance, or who have patriotically aided in the great and glorious work of regenerating their country by enlightening and informing the minds of their countrymen on subjects of the highest interest, as it regards both the happiness of individuals and the prosperity of nations. Amongst this noble band of true patriots we recognise you, Sir, as supereminently distinguished alike for talents of the highest order and the most ardent zeal in your country's cause in all times of difficulty and danger: added to which (what must command the admiration of most intelligent persons), your unwearied industry and manly, uncompromising perseverance, in the maintenance and defence of just principles of civil policy, which must, so far as they are or may be adopted and adopted they must be by a reformed Parliament), contribute greatly to the prosperity of the country. For these and all your valuable labours to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes, and also for the high gratification we received from your interesting and entertaining lecture at our theatre on Tuesday evening (25th September), be pleased to accept of our sincere and grateful thanks. And we cannot but think, that in your peregrinations through the country you must behold with delight, and must indeed feel as well as see, that though you have laboured more abundantly in the great work of reform than any of your contemporaries, you have not laboured in vain; that a rich harvest is now in view; and that your political views and principles are now recognised, not only by the humble, unsophisticated mechanic and artisan, but

also by many of the higher classes, whose prejudices you have in great part succeeded in removing. Your present labours in travelling over the more distant provinces of the North, instructing your countrymen in their civil rights and duties, must, in our opinion, be productive of the greatest public good, at this important crisis of our affairs, by disseminating the most interesting political truths, and at the same time dissipating those powerful prejudices which have prevented their general reception.

We anticipate, with a pleasing satisfaction, the period when you shall, by the discriminating good sense of a portion of your countrymen who duly appreciate your talents, be removed to a higher and more extended sphere of usefulness, and when you shall have it in your power more effectually to storm the remaining fortresses and strongholds of corruption and tyranny, both civil and ecclesiastical, when both the law and the gospel shall be administered as our ancestors intended they should, pure and unexpensive.

We congratulate you, Sir, on the passing of the Reform Bill, which you have so long laboured to accomplish. With all its imperfections (which are many) much, we are persuaded, will be gained by the extension of the suffrage, and the increased popular influence at elections, if the people be sufficiently vigilant and discriminate in their choice of proper persons to represent them in the great council of the nation. But we have at the same time deeply to regret that the old corrupt mode of electing members is still continued, and that the aristocratic despotism of wealth must still preponderate at our elections, and render nugatory, in many instances, the advantages obtained by the extension of the elective franchise. Hence we hope electors will now themselves be convinced of the necessity of the ballot, to remove every undue and corrupt bias which may be offered by a base and unprincipled aristocracy. The ballot, therefore, we hope, will be one of the pledges everywhere demanded from candidates.

That you may long live to enjoy the fruits of your labours, in the esteem, respect, and gratitude of your countrymen, and see, as a consequence, the regeneration of your country, and general happiness and prosperity prevail throughout the British dominions, is the sincere and ardent prayer of your friends and admirers, the undersigned :

John Turnbull
Thomas Mathwin
John Marshall
John Robinson
David Hume
Ralph Rogerson
Thomas Smith
Matthew Brown
Richard Lowdon
Andrew Middleton
John Kelly
Robert White
George Hill
Peter Cowey
Bartholomew Mason
Andrew Hare
Miles Rieflon
David Coleman
William Small
Andrew Dun
Thomas Jackson
William Wright
Edward Charleton
Robert Richardson
Thomas Wright
Charles Smith
John Fell
James Reay
Andrew Penman
William Hare
Alexander Gray
William Iron
Peter Geldart
Joseph Lamb
Robert Thornton
Michael Gordon
Morris Neal
Edward Campel
Thomas Askew
William Brown
John Jackson
Edward Bruce
Robert Lowery
Peter Jewson
Michael Ball
William Ball
Thomas Grey
Edward Dundas
Isaac Freeman
Samuel Marr
Roger Matthews
John Grey
Robert Kirkby
Peter Watler
William Cowey
Robert Kelly

William S. Newham
Robert Pow
John Wright
Peter Jobusson
John Johnson
Andrew Macpherson
Michael Davidson
William Thomson
Samuel Turner
Alexander Williams
James Shields
Andrew Davidson
George Young
William Bell
Peter Black
John Field
Andrew Smith
Thomas Williams
Ralph Morgan
George Thomson
William Jenkins
John Bell
Samuel Stevens
Michael Watson
David Southeren
Barnard Holly
Thomas Jackson
Andrew Young
James Taylor
James Thompson
George Gray
John Lawson
Henry Armstrong
John Johnson
William Gray
Peter Price
Peter Smith
John Dum
George Peters
James Blair
Thomas Sinclair
Ralph Phillips
Edward Burn
Samuel White
William Bell
Matthew Robson
George Gordon
Robert Green
Andrew Reid
William Jewson
Peter Waddle
James Beaumont
John Wentworth
John Samuels
Edward Turner
Thomas Mills

Peter Baily
 Thomas Black
 John Douglas
 Andrew Davidson
 Robert Smith
 James Ferguson
 Thomas Gordon
 John Askew
 William Gibson
 Nesbit Dunn
 John Brown
 John Wilkie
 Thomas Gilmore
 George Green
 Peter Lawbor
 John Rowe, sen.
 John Nesbit
 Michael Williamson
 Samuel Wright
 Andrew Thompson
 Joseph Hill
 Thomas Waugh
 John Ferguson
 Edward Bailey
 Peter Arrowsmith
 Robert Boag
 David Donnison
 John Elsdon
 Andrew Lewis
 Charles Gordon
 Thomas White
 Ralph Rogers
 Thomas Hill
 George Young
 Alexander Scott
 Nicholas Smiles, sen.
 Nicholas Smiles, jun.
 Thomas Wilson
 Henry Frederick
 Thomas Waugh
 Phillip Sparks
 Robert Milburn
 James Smith
 William Johnson
 Francis Ellis
 James Leslie
 Roger Lighton
 John Williams
 John Thompson
 John Burlison
 Henry Young
 Matthew Rate, jun.
 William Rate, sen.
 Samuel Anderson
 John Briggs
 Matthew Foster
 Henry Storey
 Thomas Robson
 Ralph Morton
 Christopher Hall
 Cuthbert Brown
 Frederick Lamb
 Nicholson Davison
 Matthew Sales
 Robert Phillpotts
 Thomas Nicholson
 David Arkell
 John Rogers

William Newton
 John Gellmore
 Peter Wylie
 John Anderson
 Thomas Pye
 Robert White
 Peter Black
 John Hendrick
 James Leitchfield
 Henry Maloan
 William Jackson
 Benjamin Gibson
 James Andrews
 Henry Bell
 William Heavyside
 Henry Haswell
 William Haswell
 James Stevens
 William Black
 Matthew Fenruk
 Michael Davidson
 Andrew Cass
 James Lough
 Robert Douglas
 David Steel
 John Thomas
 Thomas Thomas
 William Johnson
 John Hill
 Robert Lamb
 Peter Scott
 North Thompson
 James Smith
 Thomas Lister
 James Waugh
 John Stephens
 Mark Dobson
 John Hunter
 William Hueist
 Lambert Gray
 William Oliver
 William Hansel
 Thomas Sanderson
 Kirton Nixon
 Gideon Scott
 Thomas Robson
 John Harrison
 Henry Wate
 James Elliot
 Luke Gray
 Robert Burn, jun.
 John Ward
 Wm. Hutchinson, jun.
 Ralph Hall
 John White
 George Humble
 James Dowe
 Thomas Carr
 Robert Bell
 Horusby Hutchinson
 John Dryden
 Thomas Morley
 Christopher Morley
 Matthew Wardle, sen.
 Matthew Wardle, jun.
 William Corbitt
 William Nesbitt
 Thomas Coxen

John Sugden
 William Hall
 William Robson
 John Thompson
 Robert Reay
 William Goland
 James Sanderson
 Matthew Lish
 Ralph Akenside
 James Gordon
 John Mackey
 Robert Irvin
 Lancelot Brown
 Abraham White
 Graham Walker
 James Wilkinson
 Walter Scott
 John Chater
 John Bary
 Benjamin Parkens
 William Fairless
 John White
 Joseph Craig
 Thomas Moor
 Johnson Wrie
 John Mounton
 Robert Wright
 William Downes
 John Adamson
 John Riddle
 Phillip Manger
 Ralph Manken
 William Gilroy
 Mark Mills
 Nathaniel Parker
 John Moffet
 George Jackson
 Robert Hunter
 Joseph Hume
 Timothy Wate
 Francis Blake, sen.
 Francis Blake, jun.
 William Hecott
 Samuel Bengel
 Christopher Bengal
 George Thobourn
 Benjamin Park
 Richard Wilkinson
 John Atkins
 John Bacon Newham
 George Williamson
 Stephen Robson
 Robert Jenkins
 Alexander Jobson
 James Jacobson
 Robert Gipsom
 William Alexander
 Henry Leasadie
 William Brown
 Thomas Stobs
 William Stobbs
 William Miller
 Richard Lowthian
 John McCarthy
 John Ferguson
 Henry Wiseman
 John Jonas
 Henry Mackintosh

William Stephenson
 George Marshal
 Wilson Nicholson
 John Carr
 Temple Fleeming
 Joseph Auther
 James Condy
 William Condy
 John Jackson
 John Heron
 William Liddle
 Peter Boart
 John Story
 Francis Story
 Joseph Tempson
 William Hays
 William Gibson
 James Nevison
 John Curry
 William Pinkney
 Thomas Gibson
 George Groat
 Edward Stephens
 Matthew Ratten
 Richard Eitzen
 Thomas Gullia
 John Frazer
 Francis Dobinson
 John Edmonds
 Benjamin Pinder
 Thomas Hall
 Peter Sinclair
 Robert Lee
 William Leslie
 James Limes
 George Kinnaby
 John Lee
 John Reid
 John Oakman
 Robert Rehtson
 Joseph Fairlanders
 Robert Hunter
 John Diver
 William Anderson
 Thomas Marsh
 Robert Ford
 George Forman
 Thomas Belford
 John Melven
 William Robson
 Thomas Watkins
 Thomas Sumner
 William Wood
 Roger Thompson
 Lancelot Grieves
 Francis Leslie
 Joseph Plöe
 William Bullock
 George Gordon
 James Richardson
 William Yarrow
 John Bennet
 James Gowan
 Christopher Mates
 Thomas Thompson
 Gray Brown
 William Cob

James Ferguson	Benjamin Dinis	William Chinton	William G'en
Henry Wheatly	William Coalchester	William Smith	Matthew Wood
George Simpson	Timothy Simpson	Giles Robinson	John Hails
William Gewlock	James Dixon	Robert Harle	Peter Peall
James Boyd	Henry Emmerson	Robert Forster	Henry Peall
Peter Scott	James Peterson	Ralph Crawford	John Peall
John Mohen	Ralph Wise	John Rodom	Thomas Carsell
David Green	Thomas White	George Robinson	Robert Rodgrson
John Green	David Brown	William Wilson	Robert Errington
James Lawson	John Haverson	John Errington	William Stavers
Hugh Robson	Joseph Hunt	Ralph Wilson	George Winter
Peter Leg	George Mould	Richard Wilson	John Winter
Thomas Reed	Thomas Potts	Richard Errington	Robert Raisbeck
William Johnson	James Hogson	William Chambers	William Raisbeck
J. hn Clark	Ralph Brady	John Rodgrson	James Sanderson
William Emvy	Joseph Black	Thomas Baley	Martin Middleton
David Peters	Robert Scott	John Skipsey	George Auckland
Henry Thompson	David Coventry	John Harper	Joseph Read
William Crutchall	Thomas Scott	Henry Laverick	Thomas Sanderson
John North	Robert Bowman	Robert Simpson	James English
John Gray	Gilbert Raudel	William Simpson	Charles S. orrer
James Jackson	Robert Shampus	James Simpson	William Pearson
George Dixon	Robert Cowen	Robert Pearson	John Pearson
George Crow	William Riddle	J. hn Spurs	Thomas Russell
William Gordon	George Vasey	Thomas Lavrick	John Hunter
Adam Harvey	Samuel Smith	Mark Lavrick, sen	Naishet Hunter
Edward Tarnor	Henry Anderson, jun.	John Lavrick	William Hunter
Ridley Robson	William Comin	William Lavrick	Thomas Hunter
George Stewart	Henry Reeves	John Sparks	Stephen Gray
Ralph Brodie	Alexander Alexander	Mark Lavrick	Christopher Pearson
William Toy	William McLeau	Robert Arkley	John Moad
Henry Forsyth	Henry Fordyce	Robert Clark	Peter Dixon
Thomas King	Robert Robson	William Charlton	Edward Lowes
John Gray	Richard Hardy	William Wilkinson	William Lowes
Thomas Dawson	John Scott	William Nicholson	Thomas Scorer
William Deck	David Lawrie	Robert Gordon	John Little
John Roe, sen.	John Jackson	Adam Jordan	Richard Little
Andrew Simpson	Robert Middleton	John Cuthey	James Little
John Donis n	John Roe, jun.	John Jordan	John Little, sen.
Edward Dobson	George Lee	Henry Urwin	John Coale
Joseph Summers	William Brown	John Wonders	Robert Shipley
Peter Potts	John Brady	James Wonders	Francis Reay
John Hogson	Richard Bowtt	Henry Wonders	Francis Bailey
William Black	John Gray	George Wigham	George Sanderson
William Jackson	David Toy	Jonathan Whetley	James Sanderson
Thomas Haswell	William Mather	Anthony Atchson	William Sanderson
Peter Hart	William Barker	James Carr	Thomas Sanderson
Robert Henderson	Robert Nicholson	George Pearson	Robinson Sanderson
Thomas Banks	Thomas Pearth	Edward Pearson	William Wallis
William Partis	William Nicholson	George Pearson	Matthew Johnson
Henry Gowland	Robert Boulton	William Robinson	Thomas Musgrove
Matthew Mills	Joseph Barker	Jacob Featouby	Charles Musgrove
James Potts	Joseph Nicholson	James Kear	Christopher Lawson
J. hn Braddal	Peter Davidson	John Reavley	John Douglass
John Williamson	David Turnbull	Thomas Bowdon	Joseph Douglass
James Miller	Ralph Sykes	Edward Nicholson	William Douglass
Chris. Stephenson	Alexander Pegg	Robert Naishet	Thomas Wilson
Samuel Purse	Peter Jackson	Robert Kinnair	John Wilkinson
William Penrose	Andrew Simpson	William Gibson	John Horn
George Stephenson	Hugh Jones	Joseph Richardson	William Robson
John Thompson	John Saddler	Samuel Lackey	James Clennet
Jonathan Hardcastle	Peter Parker	James Lackey	Robert Milburn
John Robson	John Turnbull	Thomas Turnbull	John Cracet
William Paul	John Gordon	Thomas Reavley	Robert Storker
Christopher Stephen	Humphry Coxon	Thomas Liddle	Noble Hedley
Henry Atkinson, sen.	Matthew Marshall	Matthew Cravin	Mark Sutherland
William Banks	Robert Scott	John Glinding	George Ditchburn
Thomas Hunter	John Sheldon	Hewgh Williamson	James Smith

James Young
 Thomas Carr
 Alexander Carr
 John Engleby
 James Emrey
 Adam Emrey
 Luke Gray
 William Pendley
 William Vardy
 Robert Liddle
 John Bulmer
 John Wild
 John Wild, sen.
 Anthony Wandless
 Alex. Wandless, jun.
 Alex. Wandless, sen.
 William Pendley, sen.
 Thomas Wouders
 John Waddle
 Samuel Birley
 Lancey Dobson
 Henry Dobson
 Teshe Taler
 Henry Gray
 William Peall
 William Turnbull
 D. Hornsby, jun.
 John Elliot
 Patrick Jones
 Thomas Gallon
 Andrew Nelson
 Peter Thompson
 Ralph Stephens
 Robert Dixon
 Ralph Hornsby
 Thomas Thompson
 A. Thomas Stafford
 Thomas Rea
 David Rea
 Thomas Thompson
 James Stafford
 Thomas Hornsby
 John Charlton
 Wallion Turner
 Funelot Bornon
 George Venus
 Robert Punsbon
 John Turner
 Philip Laing
 Andrew Stafford
 Robert Allan
 John Alan
 John Scott
 James Hunter
 Andrew Jones
 John Hogarth
 John Thoburn
 Peter Allon
 William Hornsby
 John Baxter, jun.
 William Fleck
 William Gordon, sen.
 David Stull
 William Henderson
 John Woodcock
 Sepan Laire
 Edward Spence
 John Hogg

Thomas Giloghtley
 Thomas Spencer
 Luke Reay
 John Reay
 George Knox
 Robert Holoday
 Luke Elliott
 William Bell
 William Simpson, sen.
 John Wright
 George Charlton
 George Riddley
 John Telford
 Richard Jobson
 Nicholas Catley
 Henry Swanodon
 Thomas Heplewhite
 Robert Heddeley
 John Young
 John Barras
 Joshua Marchet
 Robert Swinburn
 Charles Clemison
 Robert O-well
 Robert Whaton
 Thomas Woodhouse
 Thomas Hornsby
 Thomas Dawson
 Stabbs Newham
 James Macleau
 John Miller
 Matthew Robson, jun.
 Waton Thompson
 George Thompson
 David Vardy
 John Darley, sen.
 Joseph Pain
 Jones Laughton
 Matthew Robson, sen.
 Samuel Wilsou
 Henry Mills
 Matthew Robson
 Samuel Goldberg
 Thomas Graham
 John Oliver
 John Johnson
 William Ferguson
 Thomas Oalson
 William Sutherland
 William Fleck
 Ralph Mankin
 John Morley
 John Ferguson
 John Macardy
 Daniel Lee
 William Hill
 Robert Brown
 Henry Morden
 John Hanwar
 John Peacock
 Thomas Lilburn, sen.
 Daniel Davison
 Thomas Lumpson
 Abraham Webb
 Alexander Thompson
 George Aynsley
 Robert Robson
 John Walker

Thomas Lilburn, jun.
 Ralph Stafford
 Thomas Stephens
 George Rea
 James Armstrong
 Peter Forest
 William Hill
 Andrew Old
 Thoams Hornsby
 John Hill
 William Wright
 Thomas Jackson
 John Faconer
 William Oliver
 Ralph Hornsby
 John Hornsby
 Daniel Gallon
 John King
 Peter Forst
 Thomas Pigg
 Henry Davidson
 Patrick Allou, Esq.

W. D. Walker
 D. Hill
 J. C. Drury
 John Jarvis
 William Starford
 George Nuter
 John Gregson
 Thomas Herou
 Thomas Mayor
 John Roger
 Fixast Thompson
 James Hindshaw
 John Macone
 William Houston
 George Mackenzie
 William Truck
 Tober Gregson
 John Hargrave
 William Philipson
 John Procter
 John Vash
 William Dacre Wright.

NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION

ADDRESS TO EARL GREY,

*Agreed and passed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
 on Wednesday, October 3, 1832.*

MY LORD,

I, We, the undersigned associates and friends of the Northern Political Union, hasten to present to your Lordship an address of congratulation on the passing of the Reform Bill; in doing this, it is our intention to couple duty with pleasure, and not only to express the gratitude we think due to your Lordship, but also to lay before you a plain and explicit statement of those beneficial results which the country expects, as the consequence of that great measure of public justice. While we avow our readiness to do justice to your Lordship's character; to acknowledge the ability with which your Lordship has advocated the cause of the people; to rejoice that Providence has permitted you to realize in age the projects of your youth, and carry to a successful issue, as minister of the crown, that reform, to advance which your Lordship originally pursued the same course which we, guided by your illustrious example, are now pursuing, viz. combining ourselves into political associations, like that of "the Society of Friends of the People," of which your

Lordship was a distinguished member ; while we acknowledge your capacity and ability to serve and save your country, still we deem it our duty to state frankly, that your Lordship has not yet fulfilled the expectations of England. Till those expectations are fulfilled we cannot use the language of unqualified panegyric. In the midst of bankruptcy and ruin, of complaints at home and insults abroad, while the country is resounding with the cries and supplications of famishing artisans and starving labourers, we cannot insult the misery of the public, by chaunting the praises of a minister.

2. Forty years, my Lord, have rolled away, since your Lordship presented that celebrated petition, in which you offered to prove at the bar of the House of Commons, that a majority of its members were returned by aristocratic influence, and in which you prayed for a redress of this scandalous usurpation of the privileges and rights of the people. Your petition was spurned, your remonstrances were despised. Had the representation of the people then been purified, the reform of abuses would have been a task comparatively easy : but now, when forty years of misrule, extravagance, insolence, and false policy have elapsed, and abuses have acquired a magnitude so gigantic, and a ramification so extensive, as to be interwoven with every institution of the state, the task of their reform has become Herculean indeed. Difficult, my Lord, will be the task to separate our institutions in their purity from the corrupt mass which environs them ; difficult will be the task to amputate the rotten branches, without touching the life of the tree.

3. That reform so long delayed, and so sternly and steadily refused, has at length been, with reluctance, conceded to the urgent demands of an oppressed and exasperated people ; but it has come in a form by no means satisfactory to their wishes, nor commensurate to their hopes. In it they cannot but behold that instinctive dread of the people, which the aristocracy of this country has so long evinced. We be-

hold the elective franchise, a right which the people regard as of the most sacred and important character, crippled and confined within limits of a narrow description. We behold in the division of counties a new field opened for the exercise of aristocratic influence and tyranny, by no means less pernicious than that of the boroughmongers which it has destroyed. We behold also a disregard of the true interests of the people in the retention of the monied qualification for members of Parliament, a qualification which tends to keep alive in the breasts of the people, that higher regard for riches than for wisdom or for virtue, to which the vulgar are but naturally too prone, and to make poverty, which is often the concomitant of both, a subject of vulgar reproach and insolent contempt. The circumscription of the franchise, the division of counties, and the high monied qualification requisite in the candidate for parliamentary honours, still continue to give an aristocratic character and complexion to the House of Commons, which the people cannot but consider dangerous to their rights, and hostile to their interests. In addition to these grounds of complaint, we have also to lament that the shield of the ballot has not been thrown over the dependant voter, that the sycophancy and the tyranny of the canvass have not been abolished, and lastly, that the duration of Parliaments has not been shortened. The control of the constituent over the representative body is almost destroyed by the present long duration of Parliament ; and we can regard the Septennial Act in no other light than an act to release the house from its dependance on, and responsibility to, the people, from whom its members derive their powers, and whose interests they were delegated to protect and advance. We had hoped that the spirit of aristocratic and unconstitutional domination, that the overbearing arrogance of wealth, and that the insolent ambition of rank, so impatient of control, would have been effectually curbed by the provisions of the bill which the people have been led to

regard as the charter of their rights and liberties.

4. Imperfect, however, as the Bill of Reform is, we regard it as the means of effecting reforms of still greater magnitude and importance, and we now proceed to point your Lordship's attention to those results, of which the people hail your bill as the harbinger. Upon those results the expectation of the public, roused to a pitch which it would be dangerous to disappoint, is intently fixed; and as disappointment of that public expectation would be fatal to the reputation of your Lordship, and what is of infinitely more importance, fatal to the tranquillity of the country,—for, my Lord, it is the anticipation of these benefits that makes them patient under the endurance of evils which nothing but the prospect of speedy relief could render endurable,—we deem it our solemn and indispensable duty to put your Lordship in possession of those great truths, which it imports your government to know, if it be their intention to rule and legislate in harmony with the feelings, the wishes, and the interests of the people. Should your lordship and your Lordship's government neglect the warning, the error of your policy will be your own, and we, at least, shall be absolved from all share in the tremendous responsibility of the men in whose hands the English constitution, that has withstood the shock of ages, and hitherto bid defiance to popular commotion, shall dissolve.

5. The great evil, the grand oppression, is the debt. The crown and the aristocracy have loaded this country for their own benefit, and to the deep and lasting injury of the people, out of whose and whose children's labours it is to be paid, with a debt of 800,000,000*l*. That debt was contracted in prosecution of a system of scandalous misrule, sanctioned by the House of Commons under an infamously perverted system of parliamentary representation. That debt, which was borrowed in paper greatly depreciated in value, the people have been bound by a recent act of Parliament, in defiance of all equity and justice, to pay in standard gold. Though

justice pointed out the necessity of reducing the debt from its nominal and excessive value in depreciated paper to its true value in standard gold, a parliament of unprincipled and ignorant legislators, under the auspices of the still more ignorant Peel, passed a decree, which has ever since made the country one scene of bankruptcy and of ruin, and inflicted mischief which can never be repaired by the restoration of a metallic currency, without a previous reduction of taxation and an equitable adjustment of debts and contracts, both public and private. That unjust, that mischievous, that ruinous act of Parliament, has covered the whole country with pauperism as with a leprosy. It has ruined the farmer; it has destroyed the manufacturer; it has made our merchants bankrupt; and reduced the free, bold, hardy, and laborious peasantry of England, from a state of comfort and independence, to beggary and starvation.

6. Seventeen years have elapsed since the termination of the most sanguinary and expensive war recorded in the history of nations; yet in consequence of this misery-creating and misery-dispensing bill of Peel's, the people have not only no mitigation of the rigour of war taxation, but by the operation of that very bill these taxes have actually been augmented. Nominally our annual taxes have been reduced from seventy to fifty-nine millions, but their intrinsic value has been doubled by this act of the collective wisdom of the nation. Hence peace has neither brought plenty nor repose, but in the midst of their burdens the people look back to the period of war as being less oppressive to them than the present disastrous period of peace.

7. But let us turn from the contemplation of our domestic misery to the state of our foreign relations. So completely has the debt crippled our resources, that England, the proud, imperious England, the queen of nations and haughty mistress of the sea, has become the humblest, the most suppliant of them all. In the words of a great writer, the debt says to the king of England,

"Thou shalt not go to war;" or, in the words of your own colleague, the Lord Chancellor, "The people of England are bound in a recognizance of "800,000,000*l.* to keep the peace." Not only are we disabled from war; not only are we afraid of war; but we are disgraced throughout Europe by the notoriety of our fear of war. We have beheld Spain invaded and occupied by the French; we have beheld Algiers conquered and colonized; we have seen the Russians thundering at the very gates of Constantinople; and the treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed the independence of Poland, trampled under foot; yet England has not dared to stir one inch. None so poor among the nations as to do us homage. Nay, to such a state of humiliation and subjection have we been reduced, that we have been forced to surrender, by millions, our hard-earned gold, under the most liberal construction of our treaties, to the hateful Muscovite, as a bribe for peace!!! Such is the state to which the aristocracy of England have reduced the proudest of nations!

8. In addition to the large and intolerable amount of annual taxation which the debt borrowed by the aristocracy has entailed upon the people of England, there are other taxes which we are compelled to endure, and some of which are peculiarly odious and detestable. The severity of taxation has been productive of a poverty which is hardly relieved by an additional taxation in the shape of a poor-rate amounting to 8,000,000*l.* annually; a sum larger in amount than the revenue of England during the reign of Queen Anne. In ancient times when the people were treated by their government with more lenity and justice, the church was obliged to maintain the poor, and for this purpose more particularly it was endowed with a splendid and princely revenue. Those revenues still exist, but they are diverted from that original purpose of beneficence to the aggrandizement of the younger and unprovided-for branches of the aristocracy. Yes, my Lord, the peerage and aristocracy of England are enriched by the plunder

and confiscation of the patrimony of the poor. In this country, (which, availing itself of the great privilege of Protestantism, is proud of the right of private judgment, and rejects the dogmas of creeds and churches, and is crowded with Dissenters and with Catholics,) the whole body of the people are doomed to the support of a church whose adherents, compared with the whole mass of the population, are but few in number, if we count as adherents those only who believe in its doctrine and approve of its discipline. No tax can be more monstrous, more unjust, more impolitic, than that which obliges any portion of the people to support in splendour and luxury the priests of a religion which they conscientiously reject. The whole country expects from the wisdom of a reformed Parliament the utter abolition of the tithe tax, which is not only a tax upon agricultural improvement, but an infringement of liberty of conscience. The tithes, which were originally given for the support of the church and the poor, exist now only for the benefit of the clergy and lay-impropriators, whilst the people, in addition to the clergy, have not only to maintain the poor but to repair the churches, which is effected by the imposition upon them of a church-rate which is nearly equal to one half of the county-rate of England!

9. Odious! justly odious, as the tithe tax may be in England, with what feelings of exasperated hatred and indignation must that tax be paid to a Protestant clergy by the Catholic people of Ireland. In the Irish church we can only see exemplified a system of practical blasphemy, beyond any exhibition of hypocrisy ever yet enacted in the face of the world. We see churches without congregations; a priesthood without a laity; and parish after parish merged into one great spiritual desert, for the sake of those carnal ravens who feast in the wilderness and roost in the ruins of its temples. We have heard many of the anathemas thundered out against false and cruel religions; we have been told of the idol of Juggernaut, of the obscenity of its rites, and of

the hundreds crushed to death under the wheels of its car. This may be true, my Lord, but when we talk of obscenity, we should remember that the husband or son or brother of many an English nobleman's ***** has been known to become an Irish clerical dignitary; and, when we talk of blood, we should recollect that, in the collection of Irish tithe, since the year 1802, thirty-six* thousand men at least have lost their lives, without the miserable excuse even of the bloody fanaticism of a false but still predominant religion.

10. We deeply regret that in order to enforce the collection of this detestable impost you should have so far deserted the principles of justice and true policy, as to have pursued towards the Irish people a system of coercion. We behold with a feeling widely distant from indifference the dispersion of public meetings in Ireland, the persecution of the press, and the arrest of public characters. We know these principles of government may be extended from Ireland to England, and the establishment of slavery in that country would make us tremble for the existence of liberty in this. My Lord, we admire the legal resistance of the Irish people to this ecclesiastical extortion: not regarding it as the effect of combination—but as the effect of common principle producing a simultaneous and concurrent action in every individual for the common deliverance of all. We commiserate their condition; we sympathize in their sentiments, and pray with fervour that justice may be done them. In addition to these evils there is another, arising from the desire entertained by the aristocracy and landed interest of the country to sustain the tithes and high rents, we mean the tax upon the importation of foreign corn. This is a tax of a dreadful description—a tax to enable high rents to be paid to the aristocracy and high tithes to the church. As if the other burdens of the country were not enough, the amount of rent and tithe is to be enhanced by a system of artificial starvation; and while cheap subsistence is thus snatched from the mouths of the people, distress is still further in-

creased by this cruel damming up and closure of a mighty vent for our manufactures, which, were a free and regular trade allowed, would be exported in payment for the foreign grain imported; whilst in times of scarcity and famine, when the ports are opened for a time, a dangerous export of gold is sometimes occasioned by the necessity of sending it to effect the payment for the corn so introduced. It is, for the benefit of the aristocracy and of the church, and not for the benefit of the farmer, that the latter is allowed a monopoly of the English market by the exclusion of the foreigner. If the taxes were reduced, if rents were diminished, and tithes abolished, corn laws would not be necessary. Are not, my Lord, the taxes paid to the Government; are not the rates paid to the overseer; are not the rents paid to the landlord; are not the tithes paid to the church, sufficiently oppressive, without imposing the additional oppression of a tax upon the bread which the people eat? We believe, my Lord, that by the operation of this law, this law of cruelty and injustice, that the landed interest have become pensioners on the country to the extent of near one half of the total rental of the kingdom. It is time, my Lord, that enormities like this were done away.

11. That these evils cannot much longer be endured is the universal conviction of the people of England. From conviction springs resolve. To you, my Lord, and the wisdom of a reformed Parliament, they look for the redress of their grievances. Their first appeal, my Lord, is to the justice of the legislature: their second, if that fail, will be to their own public virtue. That the country is in a state of unparalleled distress is acknowledged: have you, my Lord, no remedy? The nation, weighed down to the earth by the insufferable load of imposts and exactions, must be relieved, or it must of necessity relieve itself by some convulsion or financial crisis. The modes of relief suggested are various, to diminish the public burdens: some call for a depreciation of the currency by an unlimited issue of paper not convertible into gold; others call

for a reduction of the standard to the value of that depreciated currency in which the greatest portion of the debt was borrowed; others call, with the people of Norfolk in their celebrated petition, for a reduction of the salaries of all persons in the pay of the public, for the abolition of all pensions not fully merited by well-known services to the public; for the abolition of all grants and sinecures; for the reduction of the interest of the national debt; for the disbanding of the army; for a reduction of the dead weight so as to take away all allowances except in the case of wounds or very long service, or other circumstances justly demanding an appeal to the bounty of the nation; for an equitable adjustment of all contracts; for the sale of all lands belonging to the crown and to the church and to corporations, and a repeal of all taxes on articles of general consumption, on malt, on hops, and soap. We, my Lord, suggest no remedy, but leave the suggestion to Government and the wisdom of a reformed Parliament, reserving to ourselves the right of applauding the wisdom or condemning the folly of the measures, that will no doubt be speedily suggested for the relief of the acknowledged public distress.

12. The time has now arrived, my Lord, when some great experiment must be tried. The nation cannot long continue to go on in the deplorable state of debility and suffering and exhaustion to which the triply accursed loan and funding system has reduced it; that system which was strength in the beginning but is weakness in the end. It is now clear to every man, who understands the financial situation of the country, that a foreign war, an insurrection in the colonies, or a convulsion in Ireland, a catastrophe which the policy of your Lordship's government in Ireland seems precipitating, must inevitably shake the present frame of government to pieces; nay, so completely has that wretched, contemptible and wicked system under which we groan turned against itself, that it is now evident that the Government is completely in the power even

of the humble creditors of the savings banks, who, by selling out the fifteen millions therein deposited and turning them into gold, might, in one week and without the commission of a single illegal act, produce a financial revolution and explode at once the entire fabric of national credit. The abstraction of only 2,000,000*l.* destroyed the Duke of Wellington; the abstraction of 15,000,000*l.* would destroy the system.

13. Such, my Lord, is the perilous the shocking condition of the country. We call upon you, we implore you to alter that condition. We have, in the spirit of sincerity, and in the language of truth, laid before you, the wants, the wishes, the expectations of the people of these realms. May God grant you the wisdom and the courage to act as becomes a great minister in a great crisis and to save your country, and saved it only can be by wisdom and energy from impending confusion and revolution.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

LETTER III.

GENTLEMEN,—A London print, which is what is called a ministerial newspaper, and which I, in the discharge of my duty as a public writer, am compelled to read, but which, for the sake of your morals, I hope none of you ever see, has most harshly spoken of that part of our paper-money, which is issued by the bankers, whose shops are in the country. The writer of this print has described that paper, namely, the country bank-notes, as "*destructive assignats*;" and, in another of his publications, he calls them "*vile rags*;" and then again "*dirty rags*." These hard words, besides that they are unbecoming in sober discussion, can do no good, and may do a great deal of harm, if they have any effect at all upon the minds of the people; and, therefore, we will make a remark or two upon their tendency, before we proceed with the topic mentioned at the close of the last letter.

Assignats was the name given to the

French revolutionary paper-money, the distresses occasioned by which are fresh in the recollection of most people; and, to give the same name to our country bank-notes, was, therefore, to proclaim as far as this writer was able to proclaim, that these notes *bring more than one-half of all our circulating medium*, were as bad, if not worse, than the paper-money of France, which produced so much individual misery to so many millions of people. Not that this was betraying any *secret* to the world; for it is beyond all comprehension foolish to suppose, that all the world, particularly our sharp sighted enemy, are not fully acquainted with our situation in this respect, more especially now that the bullion report is abroad; but what I find fault with, is, that this description of country bank-notes, as contradistinguished from the London bank notes, has a tendency to excite popular hatred, and in cases that may happen, popular violence, against that part of our paper-money makers, called country bankers; than which nothing can be much more unjust in itself, or be more likely to lead to universal confusion, the experience of the world having proved that commotion, when once on foot, is seldom limited to the accomplishment of its original object; and we may venture to affirm, that nothing was ever better calculated to render popular commotion violent, and to push it beyond its natural bounds, than the hatred and revenge which it would seem to be the object of the print above-mentioned to excite in the minds of the people.

The country paper-money makers are not, as we shall soon see, any more to blame than are the paper-money makers in town. Paper-money making is a trade, or calling, perfectly innocent in itself, and the tradesmen may be very moral and even very liberal men. Amongst them, as amongst men of other trades, there are, doubtless, sharpers and even rogues, and the trade itself may be one that exposes men to the temptation of becoming roguish; but it does not follow, that *all* the paper-money makers, or that the paper-money makers in general, are men of dishonest

views. It is, therefore, not only illiberal, but unjust in the extreme, to condemn the whole of the trade in a lump, to call their wares "*destructive assignats, vile rags, dirty rags,*" and the like, whence it is, of course, intended that it should be understood that all the issuers of them ought to be regarded as pests of society, and treated accordingly; when the truth is, as we shall presently see, the fault is not in individuals, but in the system.

Having thus endeavoured to put you upon your guard against the tendency of this very unjust representation of our country bankers, and their money, an endeavour which, it appeared to me, ought not to be delayed, we will now proceed with our subject, and, as was proposed at the close of the last Letter, inquire into the *progress* of the funds or stocks, or, in more proper terms, into the INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

We have before seen what is the *nature* of this debt: we have also seen *how it began*: we shall, by-and-by, have to show the *effects* of it: but what we have to do, at present, is to inquire into, and ascertain, how it has gone on increasing, and what is now its amount. We shall next inquire into the schemes for *lessening* the debt; and then we shall distinguish what is called redeemed from unredeemed debt; but, first of all, let us leave all other views of it aside, and confine our attention merely to the sums borrowed. We have before seen, that the money has been borrowed in various ways, or under various denominations. In some cases the money borrowed was to yield the lender 3 per centum, that is to say, 3 pounds interest, yearly, for every hundred pounds of principal. In some cases the lender was to receive 4 per centum; in some cases 5 per centum; and in some cases more. Hence comes the denomination of 3 *per cents.* and 4 *per cents.*, and so forth. But, to the people, who have to pay the interest, these distinctions are of no consequence at all, any more than it would be to either of us, whether our bakers' bills were made out upon brown paper or upon white. We shall see

afterwards what we have to pay yearly in the shape of *interest*, which is the thing that touches us home; but, let us first see what the principal is, and *how it has gone on increasing*; bearing in mind, that, as was shown in the foregoing Letter, the borrowing, and, of course, the debt, began in the year 1692, in the reign of William the Third, and that the loan made in that year amounted to one million of pounds.

When QUEEN ANNE, who succeeded William, came to the throne, which was in the year 1701, the debt was £16,394,702
 When GEORGE I. came to the throne, in 1714, it was 54,115,363
 When GEORGE II. came to the throne, in 1727, it was 52,092,235
 When GEORGE III. came to the throne, in 1760, it was 146,682,814
 After the AMERICAN WAR, in 1784, it was 257,213,043
 At the later END OF THE LAST WAR, that is to say, the first war against the French revolutionists, and which, for the sake of having a distinctive appellation, we will call the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR; at the end of that war, in 1801, the debt was 579,931,447
 At the PRESENT TIME, or rather in January last, 811,898,092

That is to say, *eight hundred and eleven millions, eight hundred and ninety-eight thousand, and eighty-two*; and these in *pounds*, in English pounds, too! There are in the accounts laid before the Parliament (from which the last-mentioned sum is taken some *shillings* and *pence* and even *FARTHING*s, in addition; but though these accountants have been so nice, we will not mind a few farthings. Part of this debt is what is called *funded*, and a part *unfunded*; part is called Irish debt, part Emperor of Germany's debt, and another part the Prince Regent of Portugal's. But *interest upon the whole of it is payable in England*; and that is all that we have to look after; it being of no consequence to us what the thing is called, *so that we have to pay for it*. So that we are taxed to pay the interest of it, what matters it to us what names the several parts of it may go by? I hope that there is not, at this day, a man amongst you, who is to be amused

with empty sounds: I hope that your minds are not, now-a-days, after all that you have seen, to be led away from the object before you by any repetition of mere names. *So long as we are taxed to pay the interest upon the Debt*, that man must be exceedingly weak who is to be made to believe, that it is of any consequence to any of us by what name that debt is called.*

Such, then, has been the *progress* of the national debt; and, it is well worthy of our attention, that it has increased *in an increasing proportion*. It is now nearly *six times* as great as it was when the present king came to the throne; and which ought to be well attended to, *more than two thirds of the whole of the debt* has been contracted in carrying on against the French that war, which, at its commencement, was to succeed by means of *ruining the finances of France*. When the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR began, in 1793, the debt was, at the utmost, 257,213,043*l*. It is now 811,898,092*l*. Such has, thus far, been the financial effect; such has been the effect, as to money matters, of the wars against the Jacobins. How many times were we told, that it required but *one* more campaign; *one* more; only *one* more *rigorous* campaign, to put an end to the war; to destroy, to annihilate, for ever, the *resources* of France. Alas! those resources have not been destroyed. They have increased in a fearful degree; while we have accumulated hundreds of millions of debt in the attempt. How many writers have flattered us, from time to time, with the hope, nay, the certainty, (if we could but persevere,) of triumphing over the French by the means of our *riches*! To how many of these deceivers have we been so foolish as to listen! It is this credulity which has led to the present state of things; and, unless we shake it off at once, and resolve to look our dangers in the face, we shall, I greatly fear, experience that fate which our deceivers told us would be experienced by our enemy. PITT, it is well known, grew into favour with

* There is, besides the above, the INDIA DEBT; but of that we will speak another time.

the nation, in consequence of his promises and his plans to pay off the national debt; and, this same **PITT**, who found that debt 257 millions, left it upwards of 600 millions, after having, for twenty years, had the full power of managing all the resources of the nation; after having, for nearly the whole of that time, had the support of three fourths, if not more, of the members of the House of Commons; after having, of course, adopted whatever measures he thought proper, during the whole of that time. He found the debt *two hundred* and fifty odd millions, and he left it *six hundred* and fifty odd. This was what was done for England by that **PITT** whose own *private debts* the people had to pay, besides the expense of a monument to his memory! This is what every man in England should bear constantly in mind.

Having now seen *how the national debt has increased*, let us next see how the **EXPENSES** of the nation have increased; and then take a look at the increase of the **TAXES**; for, in order to be able to form a correct opinion upon the main points, touched upon by the bullion committee, we must have a full view, not only of the *debt* but of the *expenses* and the *taxes* of the nation.

When **QUEEN ANNE** came to the throne, in 1701, the whole expenses of the year, including the interest on the *National Debt*, amounted to £5,610,987. Peace

When **GEORGE I** came to the throne, in 1714, and just after *Queen Anne* had been at war eleven years 6,633,551. Peace

When **GEORGE II.** came to the throne, in 1727 5,441,248. Peace

When **GEORGE III.** came to the throne in 1760 24,456,940. War

After the end of the **AMERICAN WAR**, and at the beginning of **PITT's** administration, in 1764 21,657,609. Peace

At the latter end of the last, or **ANTI-JACOBIN WAR**, in 1801 61,278,018. War

For the last year, that is, the year 1809 82,027,288 5s. 14d. War.

Now, without any thing more than this, let me ask any of you, to whom I address this letter, whether you think it

possible for the thing to go on in this way for any great length of time? If the subject did not present so many considerations to make us serious, it would be quite impossible to refrain from laughing at the scrupulousness that could put *five shillings and a penny three farthings* at the end of a sum of millions, that it almost makes one's head swim but to think of. Laughable, however, as we may think it, those who have such accounts made out, think it no laughing matter. It is, on the contrary, looked upon by them, perhaps, as no very unimportant part of the system.

Upon looking at the above progress of the expenditure, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the increase, during the present reign. The year 1760 was a time of war as well as the present; but, as we see, a year of war then cost only 24 millions; whereas a year of war now costs 82 millions. We see, too, that a year of war now costs 20 millions more than a year of war cost only ten years ago. What, then, will be the cost, if this war should continue many years longer, and if, as appearances threaten, the enemy should take such measures, and adopt such a change in his mode of hostility, as to add greatly to the expensiveness of our defence? This is a very material consideration; and, though it will hereafter be taken up, still I could not refrain from just touching upon it in this place. Am I told, that *our money is depreciated or fallen off in value*; and that the increase in our expenses is more *nominal* than real; that the increase is in name; merely in the figures, and not in the thing; for that a pound is not worth any thing like what a pound was worth when the king came to the throne? Am I told this? If I am, I say, that we are not yet come to the proper place for discussing matters of this sort; that we shall come to it all in good time; but, that, in the meanwhile, I may hope to hear no more abuse of our doctrines, from those, at least, who, in this way, would reconcile our minds to the enormous increase in the nation's yearly expenses.

Having now taken a view of the in-

crease of the *debt*, and also of the yearly *expenses* of the nation, let us now see how the *revenue*, or *income*, or, more properly speaking, the *TAXES*; that is to say, the money received from the people, in the course of the year, by the several sorts of tax-gatherers; let us now see how the amount of these has gone on increasing.

When QUEEN ANNE came to the throne, in 1701, the yearly amount of the taxes was.....	£4,212,358
When GEORGE I. came to the throne in 1714, it was.....	6,762,613
When GEORGE II. came to the throne in 1727, it was.....	6,522,540
When GEORGE III. came to the throne in 1760, it was.....	8,744,682
After the AMERICAN WAR 1774, it was.....	13,300,921
At the close of the Anti-Jacobin War, 1801, it was.....	36,728,971
For the last year, that is 1809, it was.....	70,240,226

It is quite useless to offer any comments upon this. The figures speak too plainly for themselves to receive any assistance from words. As to the *correctness* of these statements, there may, perhaps, be found some little inaccuracies in the copying of the figures, and in adding some of the sums together; but, these must be very immaterial; and, indeed, none of the questions, which we have to discuss, can possibly be affected by any little error of this sort. I say this in order to bar any cavil that may, possibly, be attempted to be raised out of circumstances, such as I have here mentioned.

Thus, then, we have pretty fairly before us, a view of the increase of the *Debts*, the *Expenses*, and the *Taxes*, of the nation; and a view it is quite sufficient to impress with serious thoughts every man, whose regard for his country is not confined to mere professions. There are persons, I know, who laugh at this. *They* may have reason to laugh; but *we* have not. The pretence is, that taxes *return again* to those who pay them. Return again! In what manner do they return? Can any of you perceive the taxes that you pay coming back again to you? All the interested persons who have written upon taxation,

have endeavoured to persuade the people, that, to load them with taxes does them no harm at all, though this is in direct opposition to the language of every speech that the King makes to the Parliament during every war; for, in every such speech, he expresses his deep *sorrow*, that he is compelled to lay new burdens upon his people.

The writers here alluded to, the greater part of whom live, or have a design to live, upon the taxes, always appear to consider the nation as being *rich* and *prosperous* in a direct proportion to the *quantity of taxes* that is raised upon it; never seeming to take into their views of riches and prosperity the *ease* and *comfort* of the people who pay those taxes. The notion of these persons seems to be, that, as there always will be more food raised, and more goods made in the country, than are sufficient for those who own, and who till the soil, and who labour in other ways, that the surplus, or superabundance, ought to fall to *their share*; or, at least, that it ought to be *taken away in taxes*, which produce a luxurious way of living, and luxury gives *employment* to the people; that is to say, that it sets them to work *to earn their own money back again*. This is a mighty favour to be sure!

The tendency of taxation is, to create a class of persons who do not labour; to take from those who do labour, the produce of that labour, and to give it to those who do not labour. The produce taken away is, in this case, totally *destroyed*; but, if it were expended, or consumed, amongst those who labour, it would produce something in its stead. There would be more, or better cloth; more or better houses; and these would be more generally distributed; while the growth of vice, which idleness always engenders and fosters, would be prevented.

If, by the gripe of taxation, every grain of the surplus produce of a country be taken from the lowest class of those who labour, they will have the means of *bare existence* left. Of course, their clothing and their dwellings will become miserable, their food bad, or in stunted

quantity; that surplus produce which should go to the making of an addition to their meal, and to the creating of things for their use, will be *annihilated* by those who do nothing but eat. Suppose, for instance, a community to consist of a farmer, four cottagers, a tailor, a shoemaker, a smith, a carpenter, and a mason, and that the land produces enough for them all and no more. Suppose this little community to be seized with a desire to imitate their betters, and to keep a sinecure placeman, giving him a tenth of their produce which they formerly gave to their shoemaker. The consequence would be, that poor CRISPIN would die, and they would go barefooted, with the consolation of reflecting that they had brought themselves into this state from the silly vanity of keeping an idle man. But suppose the land to yield enough food for all ten of them, and enough for two more besides. They have this, then, besides what is absolutely necessary to supply their wants. They can spare one of their men from the field, and have besides, food enough to keep him in some other situation. Now, which is best, to make him a second carpenter, who, in return for his food, would give them additional and permanent convenience and comfort in their dwellings; or, to make him a sinecure placeman or a singer, in either of which places he would be an annihilator of corn, at the same time that, in case of emergency, he would not be half so able to defend the community. Suppose *two* of the cultivators became sinecure placemen, then you kill the carpenter or some one else; or, what is more likely, all the labouring part of the community, that is to say, all but the sinecure placemen, live more miserably in dress, in dwellings, and in food. This reasoning applied to *tens*, applies equally well to *millions*, the causes and effects being, in the latter case, only a little more difficult to trace.

Such is the way in which *taxes* operate; the distinction between which operation and the operation of *rents* being this, that in the latter case, you receive something of which you have

the particular enjoyment for what you give; and, in the former case, you receive nothing. It is by no means to be understood, that there should be no persons to live without what is generally called labour. Physicians, parsons, lawyers, and others of the higher callings in life, do, in fact, labour; and it is right that there should be persons of great estate, and without any profession at all; but then, you will find that these persons *do not live upon the earnings of others*: they all of them give something in return for what they receive. Those of the learned profession give the *use of their talents and skill*; and the landlord gives the *use of his land or his houses*.

Nor ought we to look upon all taxes as so much of the fruit of our labour lost, or taken away without cause. Taxes are necessary in every community; and the man, whether he be a state-man, soldier, or sailor, who is in the service of the community, gives his services in return for that portion of the taxes which he receives. We are not talking against *taxes in general*; nor, indeed, will we stop here to inquire, whether *our taxes* at the present amount be necessary; or, *whether by other counsels they might, in great part at least, have been avoided*. These are questions which, for the present, we will wholly pass over, our object being to come at a correct opinion with regard to the *effect* of heavy taxation upon the people who have to support it, reserving for another opportunity our remarks and opinions as to the *necessity* of such taxation in our particular case.

By national *prosperity* the writers above alluded to mean something very different, indeed, from that which you and I, who have no desire to live upon the taxes, should call national prosperity. They look upon it, or, at least, they would have us look upon it, as being demonstrated in the increase of the number of chariots and of fine-dressed people in and about the purlieus of the court; whereas, reflection will not fail to teach us, that this is a demonstration of the increase of the taxes,

and nothing more. National prosperity shows itself in very different ways: in the plentiful meal, the comfortable dwelling, the decent furniture and dress, the healthy and happy countenances, and the good morals of the *labouring classes of the people*. These are the ways in which national prosperity shows itself; and whatever is not attended with these signs, is not national prosperity. Need I ask you, then, if heavy taxation be calculated to produce these effects? Have our labourers a plentiful meal of food fit for man? Do they taste meat once in a day? Are they decently clothed? Have they the means of obtaining firing? Are they and their children healthy and happy? I put these questions to you, Gentlemen, who have the means of knowing the facts, and who must, I am afraid, answer them all in the negative.

But, why need we here leave anything to conjecture, when we have the undeniable proof before us, in the accounts, laid before Parliament, of the amount of the *poor-rates*, at two different periods, and, of course, at two different stages in our taxation; namely, in the year 1784, and in the year 1803? At the former period, the taxes of the year, as we have seen above, amounted to 13,300,921*l.*; and then the poor-rates amounted to 2,105,623*l.* At the latter period, the taxes of the year (as will be seen from the official statement in *Register*, vol. iv. page 1471) amounted to 41,931,747*l.*; and the poor-rates had then risen to 5,246,506*l.* What must they, then, amount to at this day, when the year's taxes amount to upwards of 70 millions of pounds?

Here then, we have a pretty good proof, that *taxation* and *pauperism*, go hand in hand. We have seen what was produced by the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR. The taxes continued nearly the same from 1784 to 1793, the year in which PITT began that war; so that, by the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR, alone the poor-rates were augmented, in nominal amount, from 2,105,623*l.* to 5,246,506*l.*; at which we shall not be surprised, if we apply to this case the principle above illustrated

in the supposed community of ten men, where it is shown, that, by taking the produce of labour from the proprietors of it, and giving it to those who do not labour and do not give the proprietors of such produce anything in return, *poverty*, or at least, a *less degree of ease and enjoyment*, must be the consequence.

The poor-rates alone are now equal in amount to the whole of the national expenditure, including the interest of the debt when the late King came to the throne; and the charges of *managing the taxes*; that is to say, the wages, salaries, or allowances, to the *tax-gatherers* of various descriptions; the bare charge which we pay on this account, amounts to very little short of as much as the whole of the taxes amounted to when King William was crowned.

This charge; that is to say, *what we pay to the tax-gatherers*, in one shape or another, is stated in the account laid before Parliament for the last year, at 2,886,201*l.*, a sum equal to a year's wages of 92,500 labourers at *twelve shillings a week*, which may, I suppose, be looked upon as the average wages of labourers, take all the kingdom through. Is this *no evil*? Are we to be persuaded, that, to take the means of supporting 92,500 families, consisting, upon the usual computation (5 to a family), of 461,000 souls; that to take away the means of supporting all these, and giving those means to support others, whose business it is to *tax* the rest, instead of adding to the stock of the community by their labour; are we to be persuaded that this is *no evil*; and that, too, though we see the poor-rates grown from 2 millions to 5 millions in the space of 10 years? are we to be persuaded to believe this? Verily, if we are, it is a great shame for us to pretend to laugh at the Mahomedans.

Having now taken a view of the progress of the National Debt together with that of the national expenses and taxes; and having (by stepping a little aside for a moment) seen something of their effect upon national prosperity, we will, in the next letter, agreeably to the intention before expressed, inquire into the schemes for *arresting* this fearful pro-

gress ; or, as they are generally denominated, plans for *paying off*, or *reducing* the National *Debt* ; a subject of very great importance, because, as we must now be satisfied, the *bank-notes have increased with the debt*, and, of course, the reducing of the debt would, if it were accomplished, tend to the reduction of the quantity of bank-notes, by the excess of which it is, as the bullion committee have declared, that the gold coin has been driven from circulation.

I am, Gentlemen
Your faithful Friend.
WM. COBBETT.

*State Prison, Newgate,
Tuesday, 11th Sept. 1810.*

(To be continued.)

MR. ALDERMAN SCALES AND DR. LUSHINGTON.

To the Editor of the Times.

The Scripture says, " If you bray a fool in a mortar, he will be a fool still."

44, Aldgate, 6th Oct., 1832.

SIR,—In your paper of this day, you think to screen your protégé, Dr. Lushington, from his public disgrace, by publishing a real or a sham letter from a Mr. Smith, Hackney-road, the whole of which letter is false, beginning, middle, and end. Not one of the persons you have named were there, nor one person or friend from my ward; nor did I get up any previous meeting; nor did I speak to a single person, or request even one friend or neighbour to go to the meeting. I went alone, but returned with one thousand friends. I heard of the meeting accidentally on that afternoon, and the gentleman who told me of it was Mr. R. Little, Wine-merchant, No. 4, Somers-st. place, Commercial-road, who said I should not be heard if I went, as it was little better than a hole-and-corner meeting of the Doctor's friends, which literally was the case. So much for the value of information furnished by the first journal in Europe. Bah!! The first journal is truth: the worst journal is falsehood. You know, at the same time, that I am no more a butcher now, than your master, Walter, is now a printers' tinker. That day will never arrive when I shall be ashamed of having been a butcher. I never was, nor ever shall be, like you, one of Midas's jackalls.

If you and Dr. Lushington are so ignorant as not to know that my friends reside in every part of the Tower Hamlets, then you must

remain as you are; I will not take the trouble to bray you in a mortar.

When I have unfolded your ecclesiastical friend, the electors of the Tower Hamlets will bray both you and him whom you are attempting to shield, by falsehood, from the merited indignation and contempt of an enlightened public.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

P. S. I expect to receive this from you, by order of your master Midas, with a polite message as before, " Sir, your letter is an advertisement, price fifteen guineas; otherwise it cannot appear."

44, Aldgate, 6th Oct., 1832.

SIR,—After your treatment of me when I was before the Court of Aldermen—when you published their string of disgusting charges against me—when I could not, by any possibility, answer them—and when I wrote to you, complaining of your villany and injustice in publishing such an *ex-parte* statement, you refused even to insert my letter, because it was more condemnatory of your conduct than of the conduct of my accusers. When, I say, I have received such a signal, and, perhaps, irreparable injury at your hands, can I wonder that you gave such a garbled, such a partial, such a prostituted account, as to truth, of the meeting at the Court House, Whitechapel, saying your reporter could not take a note, on account of the crowd, when he had the whole of the cryer's desk to himself, and sat with as much ease and comfort as a parson does in his pulpit?

I say that no reporter furnished the account you have published. It is your account, made by yourself, in your Promethean den, to screen Dr. Lushington from the indignation of his fellow-countrymen.

I repeat, that that report was concocted in your Pandora's box, and by yourself; and I firmly believe there is no other political villain capable of such baseness as yourself.

Dr. Lushington looked me in the face? did he? No: neither he nor you dare look me in the face. I want much to be acquainted with you! If I once can catch you out of your Plutonian cave, although you are said to be Cerberus like, you shall have reason to know me ever after.

I have not forgotten your sneaking cowardice in producing my letter to the Court of Aldermen, " in which I threatened to horse-whip you," on purpose to create a prejudice against me.

What is any rational man to do with such an invisible thick skinned scoundrel as you are? A horsewhip is the mildest correction you deserve, but a hurricane that would rid the earth of such a polluted political magic lantern as your newspaper is, would be to confer a real benefit upon all civilised society.

I rejoice to know that we have such a man as Mr. Black, a writer for the public, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, with his honest heart, clear head, and brilliant abilities, which are daily devoted to the instruction of mankind. We have the editor of the *True Sun*, with his noble efforts in behalf of the people; we have the *Ballot*, with the extraordinary endowments of nature bestowed upon its editor, cultivated by art, and perfected by experience; and have we not the *Examiner*, to once the Juvenal and Caliope of the weekly press; and have we not you, whom the unthinking public patronize as the Plutus of esmen, when, in fact, you deserve no more respect than a Thersites or a Calibau.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

MICHAEL SCALES.

To the Editor of the *Times*.

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the bookshops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert the title and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are not into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shilling. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, in Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the

nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with a *map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets, and tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of *the county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*,

in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated: and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a trans-

action at *Tilford*, how are we to know where *TILFORD* is, and what sort of place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of *SURREY*; but one should not know whether it were a town or village or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index* tells us that it is in *SURREY*; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a *TITHING*, that it is in the parish of *FARNHAM*, and that *Farnham* is a *MARKET TOWN*, distant therefrom in a *N.W.* direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the *WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY*. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases the *parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of *SURREY*, *Bishot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from *CHEERTSEY*, the nearest town, is so stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of *WINDESHAM*, and that that village is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from *CHEERTSEY*; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which if left unexplained, might lead to error. First, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, the *parishes*, scattered, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. Second, as the *Dictionary* part was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and

which it is now my business to describe.

IV. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*,

and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always

at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr JOHNSON wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

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JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCT. 5, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CLARKE, P., Moat-hall, Shropshire, maltster.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHBY, G. and T., Derby, linen-draper.

BOOTY, J., Brighthelmstone, printseller.

EARLE, J., Kingston-upon-Hull, stone-mason.

FORD, W., Birmingham, grocer.

ILESOM, T., Willoughby, Warwicksh., farmer.

LANKESTER, J. R., Woodbridge, Suffolk, brandy-merchant.

M'CALLUM, F., and A.F. Bell, Regent-street, tobacconists.

MOHRMAN, M., and J. Kahrs, Wentworth-street, Whitechapel, sugar-refiners.

REID, J., Sulphar Wells, Yorkshire, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GRAY, W., Kirkint'loch, manufacturer.

PATERSON, A., Glasgow, grocer.

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

GELDARD, W., Denmark-st., Soho, currier.

LANCASHIRE, J., Draycott-field, Derbyshire, miller.

YOUNG, G., Arundel, Sussex, innkeeper.

BANKRUPTS.

AGAR, W. jun., York, currier.

BECKENSALL, J., Oxford-street, wine and brandy-merchant.

BLEW, J., Worcester, druggist.

GREGORY, G., Repton, Derbysh., coalmaster.

HANDFORD, J., Sutton, victualler.

OWEN, J., Little Bell-alley, City, bookseller.

PARK, J. sen., Croston, Lancashire, draper.

THOMSON, J., Liverpool, merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JOHNSTON, J., J. Wilson, and T. Goodwin, Helensburgh, grocers.

THOMSON, W., Airdrie, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCT. 8.—We had a good supply of wheat this morning from Kent, but from Essex and Suffolk the quantity was much less than for several weeks past, and having had a great deal of rain during the last four days to enable those mills to get to work which had previously been

stopped for the want of water, there was a brisker demand for new wheat, and nearly the whole of what appeared was readily disposed of, on full as good terms as on this day se'night for the general runs from the above counties, and an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per qr. was obtained for a few picked samples of very superior quality.

There was a good supply of barley from Essex and Kent, but very little of fine malting quality; such as the maltsters selected sold at from 32s. to 36s., and the inferior sorts were heavy sale at from 24s. to 28s.; of the latter description some quantity remained on hand at the close of the market. White peas are from 2s. to 4s. per qr. cheaper, having a considerable quantity fresh in to-day, of which only a small proportion was disposed of. New beans and grey peas are 2s. per qr. lower, and went off slowly at that decline. Oats supported the terms of last Monday, but the trade was exceedingly heavy. In other articles no alteration.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	20s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... 130s. Od. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 76s. Od. to —s. per barrel	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Cork ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Limerick ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Waterford ... 76s. to 80s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 78s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... 48s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 42s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 80s.	

— SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 2.

In this day's market, which, though with considerably fewer beasts than that of this day se'night, was, throughout, tolerably well supplied, the trade, with each kind of prime small meat, was somewhat brisk; with the larger and coarser kinds, and that of middling and inferior quality, very dull, at but little, if any, variation from Friday's quotations. About a third of the beasts were Irish, principally steers and heifers, for the most part

from Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire; another third about equal numbers of short horns, Welch runts, and Herefords, from the same districts, except some of the latter coming from Buckinghamshire, and, we believe, Worcestershire; the remainder, about equal numbers of Devons, principally from the western and midland districts, and Town's-end cows, with a few Scots, Staffords, &c. About two-thirds of the sheep and lambs were Leicester and Hereford half-breeds; about a sixth South Downs; the remaining sixth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half breeds, old Leicesters, and Lincoln, with a few horned Dorsets, Welch, and Aberdeners.

Beasts, 2,800; sheep and lambs, 21,810; calves, 146; pigs, 229.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 12.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices rather higher than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } 111. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 84½ 84½ 84½ 84½ 84½ 84½	

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats	16	0	
Figured ditto ditto	18	0	
Valencia ditto	12	0	
Barogau Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

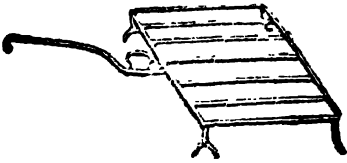
WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 78.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. I.

Edinburgh, 14. Oct., 1832.

My proceedings at this place must be reserved for description after I have brought my readers forward from ALNWICK, in Northumberland, at which place I wrote my last *Register*, to this famous capital of Scotland; to *unknown* that which I have known in consequence of my coming to which, is what I would not experience for "all the gold in the Bank of England," which most of my readers will perhaps say, is no great deal!

From ALNWICK to BELFORD, which is about fourteen miles, we first leave behind us, with every feeling of contempt which haughtiness and emptiness can excite in the human mind, the endless *turrets* and *lions* of the descendant of SMITHSON, commonly called PERCY, whose father, CANNING and ELLIS and FREERE so unmercifully ridiculed, under the name of "Duke SMITHSON," in a poem entitled "*The Duke and the taxing-man*;" the Duke having committed the sin of endeavouring to evade PITT's assessed taxes. There was a flag flying on the battlements, to indicate to the vassals around that the descendant of HORSBUR was present in the castle. Leaving all this behind us, we came along through better land than that between MORPETH and ALNWICK. There was some wheat out, and some oats also; and one field of very fine oats, not cut. No trees worthy of the name, except a

few ASH, and those very bad. As we advanced, the farms grew larger and the land better: the turnips everywhere fine. I saw a flock of small birds; and I do not recollect having seen any small bird on this side of Yorkshire, except in the warm plantations of Mr. DONKIN, of NEWCASTLE. At about seven miles from ALNWICK, I saw the sea to the right, and, for a rarity, a village-church. Thereabouts, as they tell me, is the seat of Lord GREY, and of his brother General GREY, who, as I was told, being at ALNWICK on the day when I was expected there to lecture, and being told of it, expressed his surprise to find that the people were going to hear me, observing, that my lecturing was all a *humbug*; in which the General would have found himself very much deceived, if he had heard me put it to a very numerous and sensible audience, whether they really thought that they ought to be taxed to pay *three generals* for every regiment of foot and of horse in our elegant service; and whether they did not think that that elector would deserve to be trampled to death under a cavalry horse's feet, who would give his vote to a candidate that would not pledge himself to put an end to this monstrous waste of our money? If the General had heard the sort of answer which the audience gave to these questions, he would not have thought the lecturing "*a humbug*."

Here we get amongst the mischief. Here the farms are enormous; the stack-yards containing from fifty to a hundred stacks each, and each stack containing from five to ten large southern wagon-loads of sheaves. Here the thrashing-machines are turned by STEAM-ENGINES; here the labourers live in a sort of *barracks*: that is to say, long sheds with stone walls, and covered with what are called pan-tiles. They have neither gardens nor privies nor back-doors, and seem altogether to be kept in the same way as if they were under military discipline.

There are no villages ; no scattered cottages ; no upstairs ; one little window, and one door-way to each dwelling in the shed or barrack. A large farmhouse and large buildings for the cattle and the implements : one farmer drawing to one spot the produce of the whole country all around : a sort of manufactory of corn and of meat, the proceeds of which go, with very little deduction, into the pocket of the big landlord, there being no such thing as a small proprietor to be seen, though the land is exceedingly fine and produces the most abundant crops : the good part of the produce all sent away ; and those who make it all, compelled to feed upon those things (as I shall hereafter more particularly show) which we in the South give to horses and to hogs. This, readers of the *Register* ; this is the scene, chopsticks of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire ; this is the scene, and these the "*country people*," in which, and amongst whom, were born and bred those Ministers who sent VAUGHAN and ALDERSON and DENMAN and WILDE to execute the SPECIAL COMMISSIONS in the South !

All the remainder of the way, through BELFORD and to BERWICK, the land continues to get, if possible, better and better ; the turnips incomparably finer ; the stack-yards increasing in number and bigness of stacks ; the steam-chimnies taller and taller ; and the horrible barracks longer and longer, and more and more hateful to the sight. Gracious God ! have these fellows the impudence ; have they the insolent assurance, to hope to be able to bring the people of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, into this state ? This is "*rural life*," with the devil to it ! But it is useless to waste one's indignation upon the subject : their emigration schemes and their poor-law schemes will all be blasted ; they themselves will be the subject of ridicule and contempt for ages to come.

I descend to the TWEED ; and now for the "*antalluct* !" As I went over the bridge, my mind, filled with reflecting on those who had crossed it before me ; saying to myself, "This has been the pass of all those pestiferous *feccioso*-

fers whom I have been combating so long, and who have done so much mischief to their own country as well as mine : " saying this to myself, and thinking, at the same time, of the dreadful menace of the "*SCOTSMAN*," and of that "*national debt of revenge*," that he said Scotland owed me ; with my mind thus filled, I could not help crossing myself as I passed this celebrated bridge.

BERWICK, which is a good solid town, and has a river, into which small vessels come to take away the corn from the *corn-factories*, and which was formerly a strongly fortified place, is regarded, by law, as being neither England nor Scotland, but a separate dominion ; and, thinking that this was a safe place, I intended to stay here the night of Monday, the 8th, in order to prepare myself a little before I actually got into Scotland ; but, seeing placards up enjoining the observance of the *fast* on account of the cholera morbus, and being rather hungry at the time, I, travelling by post-chaise, resolved to push on another stage, in order to avoid giving offence by indulging my appetite in such a state of things ; therefore, on I came, exclaiming, as the chaise got upon Scotch ground : "Angels and ministers of grace defend me !" happening to remember so much of some prayer or play, or something which I have now forgotten. It was plagiarism, to be sure ; but I committed it involuntarily, and I wish Lord BROUGHAM could say as much with regard to the divers acts of plunder that he has committed upon me.

Coming out of BERWICK, we have the sea to our right for some time, with no trees, stone walls, very fine land, and very fine turnips. After this, there come a rocky shore and hilly poor ground for a short space. At about four miles from BERWICK, the sea gets farther off, the land beautiful, the turnips fifty acres in a piece, fresh and fine, and the land clean as a flower garden ; and thus, with great stack-yards and long barracks here and there on each side of us, we come down to the village of AYTON, and to the beautiful park and

gardens of Mr. **FORDYCE**! "Fired at the sound, my Genius spreads her wings," and urges me to ask Mr. **CREEVEY**, my formidable rival at **OLDHAM**, whether this is that same **FORDYCE**, who was once *surveyor of crown lands*, and also *collector-general of the taxes in Scotland*; and who was, somehow or other, related to the Duchess of **GORDON**; and who had **AN ACCOUNT**, about which account Mr. **CREEVEY** had given notice of a motion, and which motion he was, somehow or other, prevented from making when **PITT** was last in office; and, further, whether Mr. **CREEVEY**, if he have a seat in the reformed Parliament, will revive the motion now; or whether he will give me the information that I may revive it, if I should happen to be in that Parliament; for, though this may be the successor of that Mr. **FORDYCE**, Mr. **CREEVEY**, who is a lawyer, knows better than I do, that the crown acknowledges no laches, and that the act of *Elizabeth* will hunt, as a pack of hounds hunt a fox from cover to cover.

AYTON consists of a parcel of very homely stone houses; but the people seem to look very well, and particularly the boys, who all wear a sort of stiff caps, and who look rosy and hearty. When we get farther on, the land gets poor and hilly; the road twists about among the hills, and follows (towards its source) a little run of water, on the sides of which are some narrow meadows. The hills are here covered with scrubby woods, very much like those in the poorest parts of Hampshire and Dorsetshire. At the end of fourteen miles from **BERWICK**, I came to **HOUNDSWOOD INN**, a place for changing horses; and I liked the look of the place so well, the house seemed so convenient and clean, and the landlord so civil and intelligent a man, that I resolved to stop here all night, which I did; in order to steady my head a little, and to accustom it to that large and fresh supply of "*antalucl*" which it had been imbibing ever since I crossed the **TYNE**, and more particularly since my crossing the **TWEED**. All these new ideas about

thrashing-machines *worked by steam*; corn-weavers, kept in barracks, without back-doors, or privies; all these new ideas, of such vast importance in rural philosophy; especially when I found myself in Dr. **BLACK**'s *native county*, and recollected with what urgency he had pressed upon us of the South, the "*prudence*" of his countrymen in *checking population* by resorting to *illegitimate* indulgences, instead of *loading* themselves with wives; all these new ideas wanted a little digesting in my mind, before I could, with common prudence, proceed to present myself before critics so severe as those which I must naturally expect to meet with at the fountain-head of *feelosofy* itself, where there were (as I had been told at **NEWCASTLE**) *six or seven newspapers*, all assailing me with the greatest virulence.

On Tuesday morning, my heart thumping against my ribs, off I dashed at as round a rate as I could prevail on the post-boy to drive. For about five miles the land continued the same as before; a little sort of *moor*, in which they dig peat, the valley narrow, the hills on the side rocky, cultivated here and there a little, the rest of the ground growing scrubby firs or *wyns*; but great numbers of the Cheviot-hill sheep feeding on them; and very pretty sheep these are. They have no horns, are white all over, legs not long, body very truss, rather larger, and a great deal prettier sheep than the South-down sheep. The **HIGHLAND sheep**, of which you do not see a great many here, have black faces, black legs, and very long, very white, and coarse wool. They are very beautiful little sheep; and I will certainly endeavour to get a breed of them to put upon the heaths in Surrey, where, I think, they would soon supplant the little miserable things that we call *heath-croppers*. My Lord **HOLLAND** has always some of these *Highland sheep* at Kensington, in his beautiful park and farm, which he disfigured and half spoiled, during the building madness of his colleague, **ROBINSON**'s "*matchless prosperity*" of 1824 and 1825. When, in the former of those

years, I saw "ADDISON-ROAD" come and cut his beautiful farm across, and when I saw "*Cato Cottage*" and "*Homer Villa*" start up on the side of that road, I said, my Lord (and I am very sorry for it) will pay pretty dearly for his taste for the "*classics*." These "*classics*" are, sometimes, not very safe guides even in matters of a merely literary character. So long, however, as you confine your enthusiasm to paper and print, you merely expose yourself to ridicule; but when your taste pushes you on to the levelling of banks, the tearing up of trees, the felling of oaks fifty years old, and, above all the rest, to dabbling in brick and mortar, the *classics* become most perilous and pernicious companions! The *Cheviot-hill* sheep have rather short wool, and are very pretty sheep in all respects, but I dare say that the mutton of the *Highlanders* is better; because my Lord HOLLAND must know all about the matter; and I know that he has had a supply of these sheep at KENSINGTON for a great many years.

Along here we see black and red cows, very small, compared with those in Durham and Northumberland. The oxen, some without horns and some with horns, and chiefly black, all come from the Highlands, and are all excellent for fattening. There are immense fairs, which are here called *Trysts*, at which these cattle are sold, and from which they go all over the south of Scotland and all over England, except Sussex and Kent, where the Welsh cattle are the favourites. These oxen, fed upon the turnips of this country, and without any hay, will get quite fat during the autumnal and winter months; and the beef in Northumberland and in Scotland is as good as any in the world.

There are some oats out here yet, and some wheat out also. But now, at about seven or eight miles from HOUNDWOOD, we get through the hills and out of this little narrow valley; we see the sea to our right, and the fine level country opens before us. Here we entered into what is called EAST-LOTHIAN; and just at a little village, called "*Cockburn's Path*," where there

is the second church that I have seen since I quitted BERWICK, we get into the county of HADDINGTON, where we see the sea all along upon our right till we get to DUNBAR (a distance of sixteen miles from HOUNDWOOD), and such corn-fields, such fields of turnips, such turnips in those fields, such stack-yards, and such a total absence of dwelling-houses, as never, surely, were before seen in any country upon earth. You very frequently see more than a hundred stacks in one yard, each containing, on an average, from fifteen to twenty English quarters of wheat or of oats; all built in the neatest manner; thatched extremely well, the thatch bound down by exterior bands, spars not being in use owing to the scarcity of wood. In some of these yards the thrashing-machine is worked by horses, but in the greater part by steam; and where the coals are at a distance, by wind or by water; so that in this country of the finest land that ever was seen, all the elements seem to have been pressed into the amiable service of sweeping the people from the face of the earth, in order that the whole amount of the produce may go into the hands of a small number of persons, that they may squander it at London, at Paris, or at Rome. Before we got into DUNBAR we found the road (which is very fine and broad) actually covered with carts, generally drawn by one horse, all loaded with sacks of corn. For several miles it appeared to be a regular cavalcade of carts, each carrying about twelve English sacks of corn, and all going to DUNBAR, which is a little sea-port (though a large town) apparently made for the express purpose of robbing Scotland of all its produce, and of conveying it away to be squandered in scenes of dissipation, of gambling, and of every other vice tending to vitiate man and enfeeble a nation.

Between HOUNDWOOD and DUNBAR, we came to ROXBURGH-Park, which has near it a sort of village consisting of very bad-looking houses, with the people looking very hearty and by no means badly dressed, especially the little boys and girls, whose good looks I have

admired ever since I entered Scotland; and about whom the parents seem to care much more than they do about their houses or themselves. They do not put boys to work hard when they are young, as they do in England; and, therefore, they are straighter and nimbler on foot; but here is a total carelessness about the *dwelling-place*. You see no such thing as a little garden before the door; and none of those numerous ornaments and those conveniences about labourers' dwellings, which are the pride of England, and by which it is distinguished from all the other countries in the world. The dwelling-place of a *mere working countryman* in the United States of America is, generally, a miserable shed, all the *round-about* of which appears to have no owner at all.

They told us that the Duchess of ROXBURGH lived at this ROXBURGH-PARK, which is a very fine place, and very well wooded, and at which I could not look without thinking of BURDETT's second poor "*Duke Gawler*," whose learned heir apparent is, or recently was, a candidate for the city of NORWICH, as mentioned in my *Register* of some time back, where I gave the history of old Sir JAMES INNIS's getting the dukedom, marrying a young wife at four-score, having a son by her, which son is now a minor, and which wife is now the duchess living in this park. Faith! if GAWLER had got this dukedom, his heir would not need a sinecure place in the Chancery, and his brother would not need a commissionership along with SENIOR, and the "*re-porter*" COULSON, whom BROUGHAM has set to work, under the name of a *poor-law commission*, to digest a plan for an entire new distribution of the revenues of all Englishmen's estates, from the lord down to the forty-shilling freeholder; for to this dukedom of ROXBURGH appertains an immense estate in the county of that name, which is bounded to the south and the west by the CHEVIOT-HILLS, and through which, from one end of the county to the other, runs one branch of the TWEED; the south-eastern part being bounded by the TWEED itself, having on its banks land,

if possible, still finer than this land of the *LOTHIANS*, Lord! how "*DUKE GAWLER*" would have revelled in possession of this estate! His heir apparent would have had DICK GURNEY for a huntsman, instead of creeping under the gabardine of this brewer-banker, in order to be shuffled into a seat for the city of NORWICH, in consequence of the recommendation of the famous patriot BURDETT, who used to teach us the absolute necessity of "*tearing the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*," and who has now the idiot-like folly and impudence to be trying to thrust one of the tax-eating *HOBBOUSES* into a seat for the city of BATH.

At DUNBAR, in the town, and going quite across the upper end of the main street, which is so wide as to be worthy of being called an oblong square instead of a street; across the end of this street stands the very plain, but very solid and very noble-looking house of my Lord LAUDERDALE, on whom I should certainly have called to pay my respects, if I had had time, his Lordship having been, upon, several occasions, personally civil to me.

At about three miles from DUNBAR, we see, away to our right, standing upon a high hill, with beautiful woods about it, and looking over the sea, the house of the Earl of HADDINGTON, whose fine estate sweeps, we are told, all around this county; and which is very far from being destitute of trees. At about five or six miles from DUNBAR we came, at a place called BELTONFORD, to the bunch of farms rendered so famous by the monstrous farming and cattle concerns of Mr. RENNIE; the account of whose failure occupied, some time ago, so much space in the London newspapers; and whose affairs really seem to have been upon a scale such as states or sovereigns might engage in.

"All habits gathered by unseen degrees;
As brooks make rivers, rivers swell to seas."

This couplet, which has been a proverb ever since it was first published, is applicable to this agricultural madness. Mr. RENNIE never thought beforehand, never dreamed before he began to stretch

out, of the lengths to which he would be finally led. Here, again, and at every other step, we behold the fatal effects of the accursed paper-money. What was there to check a sanguine and enterprising mind in pursuit of wealth, when money was to be had, in any quantity, by merely dipping a pen into an ink-stand, and writing a few words upon a little bit of paper? Such a man had no need of reflection, if the system then existing could have continued; if the system of "*cheap currency*," so eulogised by that profound statesman, Lord Howick, could have continued, Mr. RENNIE must have gone on increasing in wealth; but it could not continue; foreign nations would not suffer us to have bank-notes to so great an amount passing along with gold; and then the system blew up, and Mr. RENNIE was destroyed; and destroyed, too, without having ever suspected the possibility of it, and without, even to this hour, clearly understanding the cause. In such a case a man is not to be accused of dishonesty; the wrongs which he does are not wrongs of intention; he is impelled by causes; and he is no more answerable for the consequences than is the man who, being knocked down by another, falls upon a child and presses it to death. But here is the dilemma; either the innumerable persons who have, in the manner of Mr. RENNIE, scattered ruin and misery around them; either these persons have all been criminal, or this is the foolishlest or the wickedest Government that ever was tolerated upon the face of this earth; an alternative, which, if put to the vote, would be decided in favour of the latter proposition, by nine hundred out of every thousand men in the kingdom.

The country continues much about the same all the way to HADDINGTON; only it has more woods, and these very beautiful, consisting, however, chiefly of *beech*, *ash*, *sycamore*, and *birch*, though with here and there an *oak tree* of small size. Before we reach HADDINGTON, we see innumerable carts carrying the corn towards that town. Here are fields with trees round them like the

finest and largest fields in Sussex and Kent. About two miles before we get to HADDINGTON, Sir JOHN SINCLAIR's house and estate lie a little way on our left, and Lord DALKEITH's farther on in the same direction, in a fine, well-wooded, beautiful valley; land as fine as it is possible to be; a hundred acres of turnips in one piece; and, as I am very well informed, with forty tons of bulbs upon an English acre. Everything is abundant here but people, who have been studiously swept from the land; and for which, by the laws of God as well as man, this Government is answerable; and, it is not in the way of joke that I express my hope, that it will be made to confess its errors, or that it will be punished for intention of mischief.

HADDINGTON is a large, a good, and solid town; and, being situated in the midst of so fine a country, must, in the mere business of supplying the farms, besides being an immense mart for corn, possess a great deal of wealth. After we quit HADDINGTON, we come to a place called TRANENT, which is a sort of a colliery town; here are collieries and rail-roads; and the county, as well as the town, of HADDINGTON, is supplied with coals from this source. Coming on from this place to MUSSELBURGH, we see the mouth of the FRITH of FORTH away to our right; and down there, close by the sea, lies that PRESTON-PANS, rendered famous by the bloody battle fought at that place. Here we look across the FRITH into the fine country of FIFE, and see the Highlands begin to rise up beyond KINROSS and the Frith of TAY. The prospect here is very beautiful, and thus we go on to MUSSELBURGH, which is a sort of place of resort for EDINBURGH people, in the summer. It is called a village, but it is in reality a very fine town for the greater part of it. From this place, close along by the water-side, we come to another village called PORTOBELLO, and then to EDINBURGH itself, at which I arrived about half-past two o'clock, and took up my quarters in the house of a friend, of whom I must not more particularly speak until I am placed be-

yond the possibility of being in his house after he shall have seen this account. Here, then, I was, in that city, of which I had heard and read so much; of which I had spoken in terms, not one of which was to be retracted as long as I was in it; and my reception in which, six newspapers here, to say nothing of the hundreds in England (the bloody old *Times* by no means excepted) had, for more than a month, been labouring to render not only mortifying and disgraceful, but even personally perilous! And, here it was, in this renowned capital of Scotland, that I was destined, without even uttering a single word in my defence, to crown my triumph over all these atrocious calumniators, and over the base and detestable men in power, who had employed the mercenary wretches to vomit forth their calumnies.

But, before I proceed to endeavour to describe to my English readers this beautiful city, and its still more beautiful environs, I must endeavour to perform a task far more interesting to us all, and especially to the people of Scotland; gratitude, on my part, to whom, would render the performance of this task a bounden duty, even if England had no interest in it; but the fact is that it is interesting to all of us alike; and, if I discharge it as I ought, in a manner commensurate with the importance of the subject, I shall receive the lasting thanks of every good man in the kingdom.

Let me look back, then, over this fine country, from the TWEED to the FRITH OF FORTH. When at NEWCASTLE, I learned that *Scotch vagrants* were regularly sent from that place back into Scotland by *pass-carts*; that the conveyance of them was *contracted for*; and that the contractor received two pounds two shillings for each journey: that this contractor put them down at a place called KYLOE, a place five miles distant from BELFORD, on the road to BERWICK; that the vagrants were delivered into the custody of a police-officer, who saw them deposited in the parish in Scotland named in the pass; and that the contractor had sometimes

taken the same individuals as often as ten or twelve times! These facts, of the correctness of which there can be no doubt, may be useful to Lord BROUGHAM's most impudent *commission*, the great object of which is to get rid of the English poor-laws; that is to say, those just laws which, before they were violated by STURGES BOURNE's bills, ensured to the working people of England something like a due share in the produce of the earth, in compensation for the loss of that patrimony which the aristocracy had taken away from them at the season of enormous robbery and plunder most falsely called the Reformation. These facts, so astounding, so unanswerable, may serve also (and I hope they will) to make Mr. O'CONNELL less positive, and less pertinacious, in opposition to the ONLY measure that can ever make Ireland a country fit for either a poor or a rich man to live in. These facts may (and I trust they will) serve the further purpose of inducing my dignitary Dr. BLACK (who is spoken of with great respect here), to hesitate before he another time holds out the labourers of Scotland as an example to be followed by the *chopsticks* of the South. He does not, indeed, persevere, like Mr. O'CONNELL, to revile the institution of poor-laws; but still, he talks of the *ignorance* of my countrymen, the *chopsticks*; he imputes the fires to their *ignorance* and not to a *sense of their wrongs*; he contrasts their turbulent behaviour with the *quiet submission* of the labourers of Scotland, whom he represents as being WELL OFF in consequence of *their fewness in number*; he ascribes the suffering of the labourers of England to the *excess of their numbers*, and not to the weight of the taxes and the low wages which those taxes compel the farmer to wish to pay. These are most pernicious errors; errors that have produced the greatest evils; and errors which it shall be my duty to dissipate, if I find myself equal to the task.

With regard to the poor-laws: before any one is impudent enough to propose to abolish them or to change

them (except back again to their original state), let him hunt throughout Scotland and Ireland, and there find an *English vagrant*; there find a *pass-cart* to convey beggars back again to England. This is the first thing to do before a pack of Scotch and Irish renegadoes get together to hatch the means of robbing the working people of England of the compensation for their patrimony, as the people of Scotland and Ireland have been robbed. Before any quack be impudent enough to propose to abolish English poor-laws, let him stop the *pass-carts*, which are constantly in movement to carry out of England, and to toss back upon their own soil, the destitute people of Scotland and Ireland.

Here is a thing calling itself "*a Government*," and a "*paternal Government*" too, having three countries under its management, out of two of which distressed persons are continually proving into the third; and that third is as constantly engaged in carrying these distressed persons back again by force, and tossing them back again upon the soil from which they have made their incursions; and this work of carrying back (causing great expense) is constantly going on through numerous channels every year of our lives, from the first of January to the thirty-first of December; and with all this before their eyes, this "*paternal Government*" is incessantly at work, hatching schemes for *reducing the third country to the situation of the other two*! It is useless to rage; and, there being a *liberal Whig Ministry* in power, I stifle my feelings, and refrain from doing justice in characterising this Government.

But now, Dr. BLACK, about the famous "*antislavery*" of the labourers of Scotland, and the *ignorance* of the chopsticks of the South; those causes of turbulence in the latter, and of quiet submission in the former. You are a Scotchman, Doctor; but you know nothing about Scotland. You live in England; but you know nothing about England. *Books* have been your teachers; and that which you *know* about the characters, the capacities, and

especially the *motives* of living authors, ought to warn you against trusting in the stuff put forth by the scribbling coxcombs, fools, and knaves, that are dead. I, taking permission to use the words of the apostle, "bear witness of that which I have seen." It is not yet a week since I set my foot in Scotland; yet I have seen enough to make me clearly understand the ground-work of all your errors relative to this most important of all human matters.

I find that there is a sort of poor-laws *in some parts of Scotland*; that the counties bordering on the sea, through which I have come, that the county of FIFE, and others, some of the rich parts of Scotland; that this city, that PARSLEY, GLASGOW, GREENOCK, have compulsory assessments for the relief of the poor; but that, in all the interior, and over the far greater part of Scotland, there is no such provision, and that the destitute depend entirely upon collections at the church-doors, and upon other alms voluntarily given. The people of England compelled the Government to give them a legal claim upon the land generally in lieu of their *patrimony*, which consisted of efficient and substantial relief out of the tithes. The people of Scotland, embroiled and torn to pieces by conflicting tyrants; and the people of Ireland, kept down by the iron arm of the greedy aristocracy in England; had not the power to compel their rulers to do them justice, and give them a compensation for the loss of their patrimony. Therefore these two countries were robbed without compensation ever obtained; and therefore it is that destitute persons prowl from them into England, and that the English destitute persons stay at home.

Even Scotch charity does a great deal, and the distribution of the alms being committed to their exemplary parochial ministers, a great deal is done to alleviate the sufferings of the destitute. In the rich counties and the great towns where the assessment is compulsory, it is, nevertheless, extremely defective. It is a *fixed sum for the year*. In this city it is six per cent. on the rental; but then (which is a subject to be treated of

another time) the judges, and every one belonging to the courts, claim an exemption; very unjustly, to be sure; but they claim it, and they have it; and thus about a thousand of the richest men in the city pay nothing towards the relief of the poor. The sum thus raised is found to be very inadequate: here, in this fine and beautiful city, with as much real piety as is to be found in any place in the world; with ministers as diligent, and with a whole people as charitable, the assessments fall so much short of the necessities of the case, that the suffering and the beggary, though so much checked by the proud stomachs of the people, surpass, in a tenfold degree, that which is to be found in any place in England; and if I were to say in a fifty-fold degree, I do not think that I should go beyond the fact. From everything that I can learn, nothing can exceed the diligence, the pains, the disinterestedness, with which the funds raised for the poor at EDINBURGH are managed; and yet such is the distress and such the beggary! Well, then, what does this prove? It proves the wisdom as well as the justice of the act of Elizabeth; it proves that, to make the relief what it ought to be, there must at all times be, as in England and the United States of America, a power to collect, not a certain sum during the year, but as much as shall be wanted during the year, and the adoption of measures to secure the due application as well as a sufficient collection.

Having now shown that even in Scotland necessity has dictated something in the way of compulsory assessment, leaving Mr. O'CONNELL to reflect on these and on the foregoing facts, and respectfully suggesting to him to consider whether it might not be as well to sweep beggary out of Ireland first, and then for us to discuss, when the people shall have their backs covered and their bellies filled, the question about a repeal of the Union; leaving Mr. O'CONNELL and these matters here, let me now, Dr. BLACK, turn to you again, and talk to you about that famous "*untaluct*," before-mentioned, that keeps the labourers of the North so quiet, while

those of the South are so turbulent; and about that "*moral restraint*" of the nasty-pensioned-parson MALTHUS, and that "*prudence in abstaining from marriage*," which makes the labourers of Scotland so WELL OFF; because, Doctor, it is this last-mentioned matter which is the great thing of all.

Now, then, let me tell you how those persons are off, whom you wish the labourers of England to imitate, and with whom you wish them to change situations. But I will not address myself to you here. I will address myself to the chopsticks of the South; and this part of this *Register* I hereby direct my printers to take out of the *Register*, after they have printed off the edition, and to put it in a half sheet or quarter sheet of demy paper, with a title to it, just such as I shall here give. I hereby direct them to print ten thousand copies of this address; to put at the bottom of it, price ONE PENNY; and I hereby direct the person keeping my shop at Bolt-court, to sell these addresses at *five shillings a hundred*; or at *three shillings for fifty*. Now, then, Doctor, BROUGHAM and MALTHUS and Lord HOWICK and Sturges Bourne and BROUGHAM's other poor-law commissioners, SENIOR and COULSON the reporter, and HARRY GAVLER (the Duke's brother) and Malthusian BURDETT, and all the old crew, shall find that I have not come to Scotland for nothing.

COBBETT'S ADVICE TO THE CHOPSTICKS

OF

KENT, SUSSEX, SURREY, HAMPSHIRE,
WILTSHIRE, DORSETSHIRE, BERK-
SHIRE, NORFOLK, SUFFOLK, ESSEX;
AND OF ALL THE OTHER COUN-
TIES IN THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND.

Edinburgh, 14. Oct., 1832.

MY FRIENDS,—This is the finest city that I ever saw in my life, though it is about five hundred miles to the north of the southern part of Dorsetshire; but neither the beauty of this city nor its distance from your and my home has

made me forget you, and particularly poor Cook and Farmer BOYKS and the men that were transported in 1830. I have some *advice* to offer you, the object of which is to induce you resolutely to maintain the rights which, agreeably to the laws of our country, we all inherit from our forefathers. Amongst these rights are, the right to live in the country of our birth; the right to have a living out of the land of our birth in exchange for our labour duly and honestly performed; the right, in case we fall into distress, to have our wants sufficiently relieved out of the produce of the land, whether that distress arise from sickness, from decrepitude, from old age, or from the inability to find employment; because there are laws, and those laws are just, to punish us if we be idle or dissolute.

There is a reform of the Parliament; and, it is touching your conduct as connected with this reform, that I am about to offer you my advice; but before I do that, I must speak to you about what I have seen in Scotland, of which this fine city is the capital. You know that many gentlemen in England have *Scotch bailiffs*; and that these Scotch bailiffs, particularly CALLENDAR, the bailiff of Sir THOMAS BARING, in Hampshire, and another one or two whose names I have now forgotten, were principal witnesses against the men that were brought to trial for breaking thrashing-machines, and other acts of that sort in 1830. You know that these bailiffs are always telling you how good and obedient the labourers are in Scotland and how WELL OFF they are; and yet they tell you that there are no poor-laws in Scotland.

All this appears very wonderful to you. The Government and the parsons tell you the same thing; and they tell you, that if you were as well-behaved as the Scotch, and as quiet, you would be as well off as they are. They say, that it is your *ignorance* that makes you not like to live upon potatoes, while those who live upon the tithes and the taxes have the meat and the bread. They tell you that you would be better off if you were but as sensible and would but

be as quiet as the Scotch labourers. Now then, I will tell you how well off the Scotch labourers are; and then you will judge whether you have been wise or foolish, in what you have been lawfully doing for two years past, with a view of making your living a little better than it was.

This city is fifty-six miles from the river TWEED, which separates England from Scotland. I have come through the country in a post-chaise, stopped one night upon the road, and have made every inquiry, in order that I might be able to ascertain the exact state of the labourers on the land. With the exception of about seven miles, the land is the finest that I ever saw in my life, though I have seen every fine vale in every county in England; and in the United States of America I never saw any land a tenth part so good. You will know what the land is when I tell you, that it is by no means uncommon for it to produce seven English quarters of wheat upon one English acre, and forty tons of turnips upon one English acre; and that there are, almost in every half mile, from fifty to a hundred acres of turnips in one piece, sometimes *white* turnips and sometimes *Sweedes*, all in rows as straight as a line, and without a weed ever to be seen in any of these beautiful fields.

Oh! how you will wish to be here! "Lord," you will say to yourselves, "what pretty villages there must be there; what nice churches and churchyards; oh! and what precious nice alehouses! Come, Jack, let us set off to Scotland! What nice gardens shall we have to our cottages there! What beautiful flowers our wives will have climbing up about the windows, and on both sides of the path leading from the wicket up to the door! And what prancing and barking pigs we shall have, running out upon the common, and what a flock of geese, grazing upon the green!"

Stop! stop! I have not come to listen to you, but to make you listen to me; let me tell you, then, that there is neither village, nor church, nor alehouse, nor garden, nor cottage, nor

flowers, nor pig, nor goose, nor common, nor green; but the thing is thus: 1. The farms of a whole county are, generally speaking, the property of one lord; 2. They are so large, that the corn-stacks frequently amount to more than a hundred upon one farm, each stack having in it, on an average, from fifteen to twenty English quarters of corn; 3. The farmer's house is a house big enough and fine enough for a gentleman to live in; the farm-yard is a square, with buildings on one side of it for horses, cattle, and implements; the stack-yard is on one side of this, the stacks all in rows, and the place as big as a little town. 4. On the side of the farm-yard next to the stack-yard there is a place to thrash the corn in; and there is, close by this, always a thrashing-machine, sometimes worked by horses, sometimes by water, sometimes by wind, and sometimes by steam, there being no such thing as a barn or a flail in the whole country.

"Well," say you, "but out of such a quantity of corn and of beef and of mutton, there must some come to the share of the chopsticks, to be sure!" Don't be *too sure* yet; but hold your tongue, and hear my story. The single labourers are kept in this manner: about four of them are put into a shed, quite away from the farm-house and out of the farm-yard; which shed, Dr. JAMIESON, in his Dictionary, calls a "boothie," a place, says he, where labouring servants are lodged. A boothie means a little booth; and here these men live and sleep, having a certain allowance of oat, barley, and pea meal, upon which they live, mixing it with water, or with milk when they are allowed the use of a cow, which they have to milk themselves. They are allowed some little matter of money besides to buy clothes with; but never dream of being allowed to set their foot within the walls of the farm-house. They hire for the year, under very severe punishment in case of misbehaviour or quitting service; and cannot have fresh service, without a character from the *last master*, and also a character from the *minister of the parish*!

Pretty well, that, for a knife-and-fork

chopstick of Sussex, who has been used to sit round the fire with the master and the mistress, and to pull about and tickle the laughing maids! Pretty well, *that*! But it is the life of the married labourer that will delight you. Upon a steam-engine farm there are, perhaps, eight or ten of these. There is, at a considerable distance from the farm-yard, a sort of *barrack* erected for these to live in. It is a long shed, stone walls and pantle roof, and divided into a certain number of *boothies*, each having a door and one little window, all the doors being on one side of the shed, and there being no *back-doors*; and as to a *privy*, no such thing, for them, appears ever to be thought of. The ground, in front of the shed, is wide or narrow according to circumstances, but quite smooth; merely a place to walk upon. Each distinct *boothie* is about seventeen feet one way and fifteen feet the other way, as nearly as my eye could determine. There is no ceiling, and no floor but the earth. In this place a man and his wife and family have to live. When they go into it there is nothing but the four bare walls, and the tiles over their heads, and a small fire-place. To make the most of the room, they, at their own cost, erect *benths*, like those in a barrack-room, which they get up into when they go to bed; and here they are, the man, his wife, and a parcel of children, squeezed up in this miserable hole, with their meal and their washing tackle, and all their other things: and yet it is quite surprising to behold how decent the women endeavour to keep the place. These women (for I found all the men out at work) appeared to be most industrious creatures, to be extremely obliging, and of good disposition; and the shame is that they are permitted to enjoy so small a portion of the fruit of all their labours, of all their cares.

But if their dwelling-place is bad, their food is worse, being fed upon exactly that which we feed hogs and horses upon. The married man receives in money about four pounds for the whole year; and he has besides sixty bushels of oats, thirty bushels of

barley, twelve bushels of peas, and three bushels of potatoes, with ground allowed him to plant the potatoes. The master gives him the keep of a cow for the year round; but he must find the cow himself: he pays for his own fuel; he must find a woman to reap for twenty whole days in the harvest, as payment for the rent of his *boothie*; he has no wheat; the meal altogether amounts to about six pounds for every day in the year; the oatmeal is eaten in porridge; the barley-meal and pea-meal are mixed together, and baked into a sort of cakes upon an iron plate put over the fire; they sometimes get a pig and feed it upon the potatoes.

Thus they never have one bit of wheaten bread or of wheaten flour, nor of beef nor mutton, though the land is covered with wheat and with cattle. The hiring is for a year, beginning on the 26th of May, and not at Michaelmas: the farmer takes the man just at the season to get the sweat out of him; and if he die, he dies when the main work is done. The labourer is wholly at the mercy of the master, who, if he will not keep him beyond the year, can totally ruin him, by refusing him a character. The cow is a thing more in name than reality; she may be about to calve when the 26th of May comes; the wife may be in a situation to make removal perilous to her life. This family has NO HOME; and no home can any man be said to have who can thus be dislodged every year of his life at the will of a master. It very frequently happens that the poor creatures are compelled to sell their cow for next to nothing; and, indeed, the necessity of character from the last employer makes the man a real slave, worse off than the negro by many degrees; for here there is neither law to ensure him relief, nor motive in the master to attend to his health or to preserve his life.

There, chopsticks of Sussex, you can now see what English scoundrels, calling themselves "gentlemen," get Scotch bailiffs for. These bailiffs are generally the sons of some of these farmers, recommended to the grinding ruffians of England by the grinding ruffians in

Scotland. Six days, from daylight to dark, these good and laborious and patient and kind people labour. On an average they have six English miles to go to any church. Here are twelve miles to walk on the Sunday; and the consequence is, that they very seldom go. But, say you, what do they do with all the wheat and all the beef and all the mutton; and what becomes of the money that they are sold for? Why the cattle and sheep walk into England upon their legs; the wheat is put into ships, to be sent to London or elsewhere; and as to the money that these are sold for, the farmer is allowed to have a little of it; but almost the whole of it is sent away to the landlord, to be gambled or otherwise squandered away at London, at Paris, or at Rome. The rent of the land is enormous: four, five, six, or seven pounds for an English acre: the farmer is not allowed to get much; almost the whole of the produce of these fine lands goes into the pockets of the lords; the labourers are their slaves, and the farmers their slave-drivers. The farm-yards are, in fact, *factories* for making corn and meat, carried on principally by the means of horses and machinery. There are no people; and these men seem to think that people are unnecessary to a state. I came over a tract of country a great deal bigger than the county of Suffolk, with only three towns in it, and a couple of villages, while the county of Suffolk has twenty-nine market-towns and 491 villages. Yet our precious Government seem to wish to reduce England to the state of Scotland; and you are reproached and abused, and called ignorant, because you will not reside in a "*boothie*," and live upon the food which we give to horses and to hogs! Take one more fact, at which you will not wonder; that, though Northumberland is but a poor country compared with this that I have been describing, the poor Scotch labourers get away into England whenever they can. There is a great and fine town called NEW-CASTLE-UPON-TYNE, from which and its neighbourhood, the coals go into our

country. The poor Scotchmen flee from these fine and rich lands to beg their bread there; and there they are put into caravans and brought back to Scotland by force, as the Irish are sent from LONDON, from MANCHESTER, from BIRMINGHAM, and other great towns in the South. Is not this the greatest shame that ever was witnessed under the sun! And shall not we be resolved to prevent our country from being reduced to a similar state; shall not we venture, if necessary, our limbs and our lives, rather than not endeavour to cause, by all legal means, a change in the condition of the labourers of these two ill-treated countries? What! shall any lord tell me, or tell any one of you, that you have not a right to be in England as well as he has? Will he tell you that he has a right to lay all his lands *waste*, or lay them into sheep-walks, and drive the people from them? A stupid land-owner might say so, and might attempt to do it; but detestable must be the Government, that would suffer him, even to begin, in the work of giving effect to his wish. God did not make the land for the few, but for the many. Civil society invented property; but gave it not that absolute character which would enable a few owners to extirpate the people, as they appear to be endeavouring to do in Scotland. Our English law effectually guards against the effects of so villanous a disposition: it gives to all men a right to a maintenance out of the produce of the earth: it justly gives to the necessitous poor a claim prior to that of the owner of the land. This law has been greatly impaired by the acts of STURGES BOURNE, which created the select vestries, and introduced hired overseers into the parishes. It is my intention to use all the means in my power to get these acts repealed; and it is upon this subject that I am now about to give you my advice. You see the situation of the Scotch and the Irish, in consequence of a want of the poor-laws; and the design manifestly has been, and yet is, to go on by degrees stripping England of the poor-laws. STURGES BOURNE's acts were a great stretch in this direction;

let us, therefore, use all our strength legally to annihilate these acts.

Your case is this. For a thousand years, your forefathers were, in case of necessity, relieved out of the produce of the TITHES, and were never suffered to know the pinchings of want. When the tithes were taken away by the aristocracy, and kept to themselves, or given wholly to the parsons, your forefathers insisted upon a provision being made for them out of the land, as compensation for that which had been taken away by the aristocracy and the parsons. That compensation was given them in the rates as settled by the poor-law. To take away those rights would, therefore, be to violate the agreement, which gave you as much right to receive, in case of need, relief out of the land, as it left the land-owner a right to his rent. STURGES BOURNE's acts have not, indeed, openly violated the agreement; but they have done it in a covert and indirect manner, by taking away the power of the native overseer to administer relief, and by taking away the equal rights of rate-payers to vote in the vestry.

To get these acts repealed is our first duty, and ought to be our earliest care; and I do most strongly urge you to attend at all elections, *whether you have votes or not*, and to demand of the candidates that they will vote for the repeal of these acts. I exhort you to be ready with petitions in support of those members of Parliament who shall demand this repeal. Though, according to the Reform Bill, you are not to vote, yet you have *the right of petitioning*: and if you make use of that right, and in a proper manner, we shall never again see those days of degradation, of which we have now seen so many.

As God has now blessed us with a harvest such as the oldest man living scarcely ever saw, I hope that you are all enjoying the fruits of it, in proportion to the labours that you have performed, and the sobriety and the care that you have practised and exercised. I shall be glad, when I see you again, to find you better off than when I saw you last; I confide in your resolution to maintain

your present rights unimpaired, and in your efforts to recover those that have been lost ; and, in that hope,

I remain, your faithful friend,
WM. COBBETT.

There, Dr. BLACK, now talk about your "*antalluct*" as long as you please. What a Sussex chopstick would say if he were asked to live with his family in one of these "*boothies*," I do not exactly know ; but this I know, that I should not like to be the man to make the proposition to him, especially *if he had a bill-hook in his hand!* Slow as is the motion of his tongue and his legs, his hands would move quickly enough in such a case. In short, Doctor, you have never seen, and you can know nothing of, the labourers of either country. If you had seen a great deal of the docile and cheerfully-submitting labourers of Scotland, you could know still less than you know now about the glum and stubborn chaps in the South, whom neither interest, nor threats, nor certainty of punishment, will move to do that which they think they ought not to be commanded to do. They will not, even if they greatly gain by it, do anything out of the track of their habits and prejudices. Yet, in their stubborn adherence to their words, and in their perfect sincerity, a sensible man finds a compensation for their untowardness ; but, the rules which may very well apply to one of these sets of men, may be wholly inapplicable to the other. And, as to the "*an'alluct*," be you assured, Doctor, that the Scotch labourers would not be a bit less intellectual, if they were to sit down to dinner every day, to wheaten bread and meat, with knives and forks and plates and a nice clean cloth every Sunday, as they do yet in a considerable part of the farm-houses in the southern counties of England.

I now come back to this delightful and beautiful city. I thought that BRISTOL, taking in its heights and CLIFTON and its rocks and its river, was the finest city in the world ; but EDINBURGH with its castle, its hills, its pretty little sea-port, conveniently de-

tached from it, its vale of rich land lying all around, its lofty hills in the back ground, its views across the FORTH. I think little of its streets and its rows of fine houses, though all built of stone, and though every thing in LONDON and BATH is beggary to these ; I think nothing of *Holyrood House* ; but I think a great deal of the fine and well-ordered streets of shops ; of the regularity which you perceive everywhere in the management of business ; and I think still more of the absence of all that foppishness, and that affectation of carelessness, and that insolent assumption of superiority, that you see in almost all the young men that you meet with in the fashionable parts of the great towns in England. I was not disappointed ; for I expected to find Edinburgh the finest city in the kingdom. Conversations at NEWCASTLE, and with many Scotch gentlemen for years past, had prepared me for this ; but still the reality has greatly surpassed every idea that I had formed about it. The *people*, however, still exceed the place : here all is civility ; you do not meet with rudeness, or even with the want of a disposition to oblige, even in persons in the lowest state of life. A friend took me round the environs of the city : he had a turnpike ticket, received at the first gate which cleared five or six gates. It was sufficient for him to *tell* the future gate-keepers that he had it. When I saw that, I said to myself, "*Nota bene* : Gate-keepers take people's word in Scotland ; a thing that I have not seen before since I left *Long Island*."

In this tour round the city we went by a very beautiful little country-house, at which Mr. JEFFREY, the Lord Advocate, lives. He did not do me the honour to attend my lectures, on account of ill-health, which cause I am very sorry for ; for it will require health and spirits, too, for him to buffet the storm that is about to spring up, unless his party be prepared to do a great many things of which they appear not as yet to have dreamed. In the course of this little tour I went to, and to the top of, the ancient CRAIGMILLAR Castle, which stands on a rock at about three miles

from EDINBURGH, and from which you see the castle and all the city of EDINBURGH; and you look across the Frith of FORTH, and, beyond it, and over the county of FIFE, and the Frith of TAY, see the Highlands rise up. It appears that part of this castle was demolished by the English, when that merciless monster Henry the Eighth invaded Scotland, in order to *compel the young Queen of Scots to marry his son*, Prince Edward! So this ruffian, who was marrying and beheading wives himself all his lifetime, actually undertook a war for a purpose like this! This young queen lost her life at last, by the hands of the myrmidons of his savage daughter; but, at any rate, she enjoyed some years of happiness in France; and one minute of it she never would have had, being in the hands of a TUDOR.

This castle has round it, with some exceptions as to form, a circle, the diameter of which is about ten miles, of land, which lets on an average for seven pounds the English acre. It lets the higher certainly, for being in the neighbourhood of a city like EDINBURGH; but not much higher. Here is an area of seventy-five square miles; and here ought to be, according to the scale of the county of Suffolk, about thirty-two churches and thirty-two villages around them; and, with the exception of MUSSELBURGH, there is but one, or at least I could see but one; and is it possible that among so many *really* learned and *really* clever men as these are at EDINBURGH, not one should be found to perceive the vast difference in this respect between this city and all the cities in England, and to perceive too, how much greater and more famous EDINBURGH would be, if it were surrounded, as it ought to be, with market-towns and numerous villages? You cannot open your eyes, look in what direction you will, without perceiving, that Scotland is robbed of its wealth and of its character by a stupid and unnational nobility. And, if the reformed Parliament do its duty, it will do by Scotland as HENRY the Seventh did by England; and we shall very soon see villages rise up in Scotland, and see a stop put

to the caravan bringing back to the North vagrants from NEWCASTLE.

With regard to my *lecturing concerns*, which are of far less importance than any other of the subjects of this *Register*, I have to observe, in justice to my hearers, that better manners never were exhibited in this world than by my audiences here; and that, though I have seldom failed to experience great cordiality and great indulgence, never have these been exceeded at any of the numerous places at which I have thought it my duty to offer my opinions. The four lectures were advertised in the following words:

"1. On the necessity of a great change
"in the management of the affairs of
"the nation; on the numerous griev-
"ances inflicted on the country by the
"boroughmonger parliaments; and on
"the duty of electors to pledge candi-
"dates to measures which shall remove
"those grievances.

"2. On the nature of the pledges
"which electors ought to insist upon,
"before they give their votes; and, on
"the justice and necessity of the mea-
"sures to which they would be bound
"by those pledges, including amongst
"those measures a total abolition of
"tithes, lay as well as clerical, in all
"parts of the kingdom.

"3. On the injustice of taxing the
"people to pay interest to those who
"are called fundholders; and on the
"resources possessed by the nation, for
"making from motives of indulgence
"and compassion, such provision for a
"part of the fundholders as may be
"found necessary to preserve them from
"utter ruin.

"4. On the mischiefs and iniquity of
"paper-money generally; and on the
"necessity of putting a stop, as speedily
"as possible, to all paper-money of
"every description."

These subjects I went through at the *Adelphi Theatre*, before an audience consisting of rather better than a thousand persons. That which was wanting in me (and a plenty was wanting) was amply made up for by the good nature, the indulgence, and the kindness of the audience. I had not read the vile news-

papers (for I never do), but my friends had; and they, who do not know so well as I do the effect of such publications, were greatly alarmed lest I should meet with a hostile reception. I uniformly told them not to be afraid: they were surprised at my confidence; but they found it amply justified by the event. The truth is, that, in the first place, the Scotch are a sensible people. When you have fools to deal with, you do not know what may happen. Then, that which I had to utter was so true; and yet, uttered in this bold manner so new; besides, there were my hundred volumes of books written by my own hand; there was my battle with this powerful and malignant Government for more than a quarter of a century, ending with its last foul attack, and my triumphant defence, in the *Court of King's Bench*; and here was I, an utter stranger, five hundred miles from my home, to make an appeal to their reason and to their justice: under such circumstances, to have doubted of a patient hearing, would have been to show very little knowledge of mankind in general, and no knowledge at all of the people of Scotland; but my reception very far exceeded my hopes. Every man that I have met with at EDINBURGH has been as kind to me as if he were my brother. Young men are always more zealous than those of an advanced age; and the conduct of the young men of EDINBURGH towards me has been such as it is impossible for me adequately to describe.

It was desirable that I should give one lecture, at a place, and upon terms, that would enable the working people to attend, without hinderance to their occupations and without a tax upon their purse. For this purpose, a very large room was engaged last night, where I attended, and where I harangued for the better part of two hours; and I wish the Lord Advocate had been well enough to have been present; for then he might have had a foretaste of that which is to come. Upon this occasion an ADDRESS was presented to me, to which, after the manner of "*other great men*," I had prepared a written answer, contrary to

my usual practice; but which I thought proper to do upon this occasion, in order to show that I deemed this a matter of very great importance, as I really did deem it. With the insertion of this address, preceded by the very neat speech of Mr. DUN, followed by the names which were attached to it at a very short notice, and those names followed by my answer, I shall now conclude this long, and I am afraid the reader will think it, wearisome account of my entrance into Scotland.

Mr. B. F. DUN, teacher, in presenting the Address, said,

"Sir,—I am deputed by a respectable
 "body of my fellow-citizens to present
 "you with a congratulatory address on
 "your visit to this city. We have long
 "observed your strenuous, indefatigable,
 "and disinterested exertions in the cause
 "of Reform; and glad are we that these
 "exertions have not been made in vain.
 "A march in human affairs has com-
 "menced, and although you have been
 "hitherto seven years in advance, we
 "trust that now you and all genuine
 "Reformers will march hand-in-hand
 "till there be obtained a radical reform,
 "and an utter extinction of all mono-
 "polies, corruptions, and abuses. We
 "are proud to avow, Sir, that we owe
 "whatever political information we do
 "possess, to your writings, and we are
 "satisfied that in addressing you we
 "are only expressing the sentiments of
 "thousands of the inhabitants of this
 "city. It is gratifying to be able to
 "state that no sooner had the humble
 "individual who has now the honour
 "to wait upon you drawn up this ad-
 "dress, and scarcely was the ink dry,
 "than the names of many of our re-

"spectable fellow-citizens were attached
"to it. With your permission I shall
"now read it.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.

Edinburgh, 13. October, 1832.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, respectfully take leave to express the gratification afforded us by your arrival in the metropolis of Scotland.

Unknown to you even by name, with no other excuse for the liberty which we have taken than the admiration and respect which the worth of your character and the splendour of your talents generally excite, we have come forward thus publicly to bear testimony to your unremitting, and we rejoice to say, *successful efforts in the cause of Reform.*

In you we do not so much behold WILLIAM COBBETT, the ablest of writers, the most consummate politician, as the fearless, the uncompromising advocate of the rights of the people. Fully convinced that your writings have been the means of exposing that system of misrule by which the many have been so long plundered for the gain of the few, and by which *the usurpation of a grasping aristocracy has been perpetuated*, we earnestly hope that you may be preserved to us for many years, and that your health may remain unimpaired, so that you shall have the happiness of witnessing, as well as procuring those objects dearest to all disinterested and patriotic men,—the blessings of *cheap government, cheap law, cheap religion, cheap bread, and a good day's payment for a good day's work.*

You, Sir, to whom the political world owes so much, need scarcely be informed that there are many of the *inhabitants of this city* who will always rejoice in your success. Should you, as we con-

fidently anticipate, be *one of the members* in the people's reformed House of Parliament, we have no doubt that your voice will ever be raised in the *cause of the working classes*—that you will be the unflinching supporter of civil and religious liberty—and that no exertions shall be wanting on your part to root out every species of corruption and abuse from whatever source it may emanate, and whoever may be its supporters. That patriotism which has led you to advocate out of Parliament those healing measures which we fondly expect to be the mighty realities of what is termed the Reform Bill, will, we are confident, incite you in Parliament, with your usual ability, and by arguments completely irrefragable, to render reform NOT A DEAD LETTER, but a measure of practical utility to the country at large.

In this city where the *newspaper press* has enlisted itself under the banners of *one or other of the two parties* who have alternately assumed the reins of Government, it is most gratifying to us to be able to state that you, who it is well known, will allow no compromise, no party considerations, to influence your opinions, have *numerous and daily increasing friends.*

That their esteem and regard may long continue, is the sincere wish of

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

B. F. Dun, teacher	John Reid, M.D.
John Chadwick	Wm. Wallace Cleghorn
James Affleck	John Craig
James Pentland	Allan M'Kay
John Stewart	Alexander Little
William Blaikie	James Nish
John Prentice	Marshall Cree
William Aitken	John Mitchell
James Muir	Colin Munroe
Robert Affleck	James Wilson
John Jackson	D. Leitch
William Niven	William Marshall
Thomas Jovine	George Adair

John Young	Alexander Reid, M.D.	James Mills	John Young, 11, Preston-street
John Todd	Archibald M'Donald	A. Arkene	J. Thomson, George-court
Alexander Warnock	John Thomson, Buccleugh-street	John Wilkie	J. Milne, jun., Causeway-side
James Prentice	W. Barn, Causeway-side	William Sun	J. Milne, sen., Causeway-side
James Burns	A. Henderson, Causeway-side	William Stenhouse	J. Sinclair, 8, Preston-street
Lawrence Moncrieff	John Paterson, Causeway-side	William Henderson	Robert Nisbet, St. Leonard-street
David Todd	D. Inglis, St. Mary's Winde	George Gray	G. Bairn, Causeway-side
Patrick Lawrie	William Wemyss, 15, James-square	Robert Lyons	John Kerr, Causeway-side
James Bremner	Donald Boss, Canall-street	William Peirson	James Walson, Causeway-side
J. Poole	John Grant, N. Back Canongate	Steele Storrie	R. Gibb, Richmond st.
Francis Oliphant	Hugh Paterson, Jack's-close	John Rattie	J. Corn, Causeway-side
David Taylor	Niman Dickson, New-street	W. Whitehead	W. Little, Hope-park
William Pen	Nathaniel Gorman, Cow-gate	Egel Andrew M'Kay	J. Cuthbertson, Causeway-side
James Paterson	D. Bain, 133, Cowgate	Andrew Laudir	Archibald Inglis
James Sutherland	James Tait, Kay's-court	John Sime	William Turner, Antigua-street
John Robertson	Charles Burk, Canon-gate	George Ormeston	Thomas Watson, 10, Buccleugh-street
Donald Henderson	James Young, Golford-park	John Archibald	David M'Intosh, 34, College-wynd
William Gunn, sen.	John Withiad, Brown-street	George Godie	Wm. Fotheringham, 55, Causeway
John Hutchison	John Finlason, Grass-market	Hunter Grubb	W. Henderson, Causeway-side
Alexander Campbell	James Ferguson, High-street	Thomas Innes	W. Swan, 14, Clerk-st.
Adam Polson, sen.	Hugh Gillies, Cross-causeway	Robert Cranston	W. Buchanan, Causeway-side
Adam Polson, jun.	Keneth Gillies, Cross-causeway	Hugh Garden	R. Buchanan, Causeway-side
John M'Kay	H. P. Barron, 104, Nicolson-street	James Allan	Thomas Goldie, Abbey-hill
James Campbell	William A. Grant, Green-side-street	William Bruce	John Musket, 3, Dalrymple-place
Alexander Sinclair	Thomas Nicol, 54, Richmond-street	John M'Keuzie	James Thomson, Gilford-park
George Goldie	William Mein, Leith-walk	Alexander Bruce	Alexander Vatch, Canon-gate
John Waugh	John Lime, 44, Rose-st.	Alexander Morrice	William Borland, St. John Street
Charles Young	Charles Stepfather, Hunter-square	Robert Colder	William Ranken, St. John's Hill
John O'Donnell	George Hardisty, Writer's-court	William Gourlay	Watten Wright, High-street
John M'Auldy	James Murdoch, North Back, Canon-gate	George L. Crawford	Thomas Knox, 26, Elder-street
Hugh Robertson	Robert Gibson, St. Leonard-street	James Morrison	George Adam, No. 6, George-street
John Gibson	Robert Wright, Canon-gate	Robert Balcarras	Robert Stewart, 28, Holy-street, South back of Canon-gate
Robert Cree	William Hillhouse, N. B. Canon-gate	William Wilson	James Palmer, James-street
James Brodie	William Rankine, Abbey-hill	Alexander Watt	John Hawks, 1, Calton-hill
John Marshall	Thomas Kay, 16, Roxburgh-place	Simon Frazer	Alexander M'Donald, 17, Cowgate
Robert Mitchell	James Pratt, North Back-Canongate	Robert Gourlay	R.M'Donald, 100, Cow-gate
George Jackson		James Boylan	
William Boyce		John Millan	
James Lineu		Alexander Grant	
John Waugh		Robert Murray	
John Micklejohn		William Stevenson	
Alex. Niuy, surgeon		John Baitorn	
Francis Oliphant		Gavin Young	
Alexander Banderman		John M'Keuzie	
Cosmo Webster		James Meglen	
Stephen Peers		Grunter Thub	
Peter Sinton		Alexander Macdonald	
William Lawrie		James Gordon	
John Anderson		Hundrey Ross	
John Napier		John Mairton	
Archibald Campbell		Andrew Mulross	
William Fletcher		John Archibald	
John Robertson		Murey Don	
Charles O'Donnell		J. Young	
Con. O'Donnell		Barney M'Ginnes	
Robert Mount		Peter Tailor	
John M'Manus		Barney M'Grone	
Patrick Mooney		Walter Dougal	
John M'Culloch		D. Smith	
John Hamilton		Alexander Ross	
Michael Burgoyne		William S. Ross	
Walter Ross		James Brown	
James Ross		William Muir	
James Gormen		William Young	
William Wilson		Patrick Muir	
William Robertson		James Muir	
John M'Kay		William Lemsden	
James M'Kay			

Andrew Scott	Roderick M'Donald	James Brennen	Jasper Brocke
Alexander Baird	James M'Gaughie	Christopher Rodden	John Alexander
John M'Pherson	James Douglas	James Elde	John Byas
John Tighe	Peter Quen	William Oliphant	D. M'Donald
David Henderson	David M'Coll	Thomas Thompson	James Crombie
Peter Douglas	John Ferasen	Peter Thompson	Peter Sherry
Peter Mallen	Ritchie Lawrie	Isaac Key	George Douglass
James Graham	John Walls	John Ritchie	James Belcarves
Robert Young	James Boyu	Robert Hardie	James Sutherland
James Blair	George Mackay	John Howdon	David Flett
John Miller	David Duncan	J. Brodie, junr.	William Bowswald
John Brash	Charles Sheriff	George M'Intosh	William M'Kay
Robert Meek	William Aitken	Thomas Baptie	John Sim, Greenside
Martin Clark	James Muir	George Ferguson	P. Watson, Greenside
Archibald Shellee	James Baird	William Horne	J. Thompson, Greenside
Andrew Aitken	And. Gun, 59, Castle-st.	John Salmond	W. Watson, Calton
William Napier	John Campbell	Charles Baillie	Peter Smith, Calton
W. B. Hilliard	A. Williamson	John Lockie	John Stewart
Charles Johnson	Edward M'Krink	John Watson	John Watt
James Milne	Richard M'Leay	John M'Intyne	William Strachan
Walter Wright	Lewis Goodlet	Peter Horne	R. Turnbull
John Mathison	John Whyte	Walter Snowden	George Wilson
James Greig	Robert Cockburn	William Robertson	James Alston
John Brown	James Nasmyth	John Bishop	A. Williamson
William Mitchell	W. Doull	James Haswell	Robert Young
John Kessen	Alexander Nasmyth	Thomas Morrison	A. Russell
Geo. Bruce Anderson	Alexander Doull	Wilton Henderson	John Lawrie
Moses Nis	George Nasmyth	James Johnston	J. Mackay Fraser
Alexander Stevenson	Edward Bowley	Robert Allan	John Kemp
Francis Stevenson	William Guthrie	R. M'Gwen	William Cobbet
Charles Ferrier	William Henderson	Joseph Nixon	Edmond Spence
John Eadie	John Young	James Chisholm	Robert Stewart, senr.
George Gilhillen	Alexander Robertson	G. Brown, bookseller	John Edward Tait
John A. Thom	Alexander Austin	J. Hardie and Son	John Fowler
George Johnson	James Arnott	George Harrie	Daniel Cummings
James Sammierville	A. R. maldon	James Williamson	John Pielbs
James Gonn	Alexander Liddle	John Barbour	William Thomas
Robert Innes	William Ross	Greville Fraser	John Grant
Andrew M'Donald	William Gibson	James Bishop	Thomas Russell
David Penton	William Reid	Charles Fife	James Cribbes
John Gardner	Andrew Laurie	David Lelter	Richard Monro
William Brenner	D. Anderson, Cause-	John Bailie	Alexander Smith
William Mackay	way-side	David Bennet	R. Simpson
James Shearer	Peter Barne	Robert Scott	Robert Cree
K. W. Sutherland	George Bryce	Alexander Pringle	Andrew Lawrie
W. N. Marney	Thomas Scott	William Fiddes	David White
George Pratt	A. Larry	Robert Paterson	George Muuro
Charles Burt	William Lyon	W. Brown	John Ronaldson
George Ferrier	James Cunningham	David Walker	Richard Stewart
James Line	James Thom	Alexander Mitchell	Thomas Vernon
John Innes	Alexander Stewart	James Wilson	James Melrose
William Gerard	John Laurie	William Barras	James Sinclair
David M'Gibshan	W. Davidson	James Cornalk	George Wilson
W. M'Carter	D. Robeson	John Right	David Wilson
W. Scroggie	W. Templeton	David Stewart	William Thomson
R. Griffin	George White	Daniel Doig	Boydson Scott
James Boyle	Walter Fraser	James Wright	George Simpson
John O'Buine	Duncan Ferguson	Robert Milne	Adam Clapperton
Michael Queen	Alexander Miller	William Smith	William Hamilton
John Meddca	Andrew Curtis	James Gairdner	John Voin
Robert Storie	Archibald Ferguson	John M'Canien	William Stark
James Boilau	John M'Neil	James Bousie	Samuel M'Pherson
Phillip Boilau	George Ormston	John Hope	George Kippie
Luke Welsh	A. Hall	George Jhonson	Richard Mellish
Andrew Quin	John Gay	Alex Jhonson	Charles Cathe
Patrick Quin	James Conder	William Goldie	Archibald Laurie
James Duncan	David Millar	Francis Gilchrist	James Laurie
James M'Laughlan	Thomas Watson	Peter Dougherty	Alexander Burn

David Kerr
James Robertson
William Lauder
Hugh M'Kay
James Dimot
Francis Duff
W. Wilson
John Wilson
John Mason
John Line
John Weston
Donald M'Kay
J. Stabs
Robert Gorag
John Dow
George B. Kennerd
John Blair
James Wilson
John Morris
Colin Morris
Andrew Thompson
James Grant
James Walker, 8,
Gibb's-entry
D. M'Lead, writer
John M'Gillivray,
Leven-street
Andrew Romaldson
John Rees
John Dixon
S. Watts
M'Minor, Canongate
James M'Pherson
Wm. Stewart, Carlton
George M'Kay
Jas. Wilson
William Gregory
Thos. Currie, Quin-st.
John Black
William White
J. Jones, Hanover-st.
Archibald Cross
J. Bower
Thomas Broedn
John Milke
William Tait
Robert Watt
John Johnston
Thomas Das
Thomas Wethman
James Aitchison
James Gloey, Bedford-street
P. Scott, High-street
Peter Spence
Robert Chisholm
John Risdoll
Peter Yale
James Douglas
W. M'Rae, High-st.
James Bracks
Peter Sim
William Burns
John Burns
William Scoon
Alexander Tod
Walter Ronaldson
William Shirriff
James Paterson

Patrick Carolan
Joseph M'Laughlan
D. Bailie, 105, Cowgate
Thomas Robertson
John Murray
James Grant
William Bermet, 61,
Rose-st.
Ewen Camerou, 186,
Rose-street
Wm. Crichton, Richmond place
R. M'Rain, Canon-gate
Alexander Walker, 8,
Gibb's-entry
W. M'Wilkie, Stockbridge
William Wallace, Canon-gate
William Anderson, Canon-gate
Samuel Richard Buldre
Malcom M'Intosh, 64,
Grassmarket
Thomas Carlon, 115,
Cow-gate
John Wisharte, 25,
Cow-gate
John Lyon, 2, Salisbury-street
Duncan M'Kae, 25,
Richmond-place
James M'Crae, High-terrace
John M'Gregor, Richmond-street
Wm. Byfield, Richmond-street
J. Watts, 41, Arthur-st.
John Horrburg, 12,
North Richmond-st.
W. Brown, 53, Castle-street
T. Steat, Grange-place
J. Lylie
W. Mortimer, Causeway-side
James Leslee, Cross-causeway
John Young, Causeway-side
James Meffat, 1, Cross-causeway
J. Scott, Gofford-park
W. S. M'Kay, 14, Duncane-terrace
James Chadwick, 10,
Buccleugh-street
G. G. M'Intosh, 7,
7, Richmond-laue
Robert Maren
George Pratt
John Ferguson
William Smith
John Harriage
Alexander Dunn
Peter Ramsay
J. Webster, West-Port
James Slater

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER.

Gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for this mark of your esteem, which, though some persons may be surprised at my receiving it, is by no means matter of surprise with me. The nation in general would naturally suppose, that the virulence and falsehoods of the base newspapers would produce some effect upon your minds prejudicial to me: your conduct upon this occasion will convince the whole country, that my judgment was correct, when I despised the efforts of those vehicles of slander, and relied upon your penetration and your justice.

To make the grasping part of the aristocracy recoil from its usurpations, and loosen its grasp, has long been a principal object of my labours; and never will I desist from the pursuit until the working man, in whatever calling of life, shall have his full share of the fruits of the earth and of his own labour.

Gentlemen, it was the labourers of the South who compelled the Ministers to bring in the Reform Bill; it was principally the great towns that compelled them to carry it to the last stage; and it was again those great towns that produced the final result. The work has been the people's, from the beginning to the end; and, for the Reform Bill not to be "*a dead letter*," the people must still carry on the work; first, by choosing proper members where they can; and, above all things, by coming to the support of those members who shall be found able and ready to support their cause in the house.

I do not say, Gentlemen, that I receive an address at Edinburgh with a greater degree of pleasure than I should receive one at any other place; but I receive this address with very singular pleasure, because it gives a contradiction, in terms the most striking, to the assertion of that infamous press which has pursued me with its viperous tongue from the banks of the Thames to the banks of the Frith of Forth. Therefore, Gentlemen, you are entitled to my particular thanks; in the rendering you

which, I shall be joined by every true friend of our country, from the Isle of Wight to the north of the Highlands of Scotland.

TO BARON POTTER,
OF PIPKIN-PLACE, IN THE PARISH OF
PENDLETON.

Edinburgh, 15. Oct., 1832.

MY LORD,

TAKEN up, as I am here, with one thing and another, I do, nevertheless, constantly think of Manchester, and want sadly to know how you get on with your companion, the *Mountebank*, sent down to you by the *Sergeant-Wilde Ministry*; and also how you get on in pumping your neighbour's children, and giving them fruit, to tell you *what I was at*, and *how I conducted myself*, in their father's house. Tom, rich and vulgar Tom Potter, you said, that you would *sell the coat off your back rather than suffer me to be a member for Manchester*. Sell it, Tom, as quickly as possible; for I shall be chosen for both Oldham and Manchester.

WM. COBBETT.

I AM loath to say anything disrespectful of the author of this letter: but, good God! how *wild* is this!

WM. COBBETT.

Letter from the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart., to Thomas Attwood, Esq., of Birmingham, on the Currency Question.

"It has been well observed, that money, whether it consists of copper, silver, gold, or paper, is merely a matter of convention; and if we despise those nations, who have not advanced from the gross invention of copper or silver money, to the higher improvement of gold, we cannot but feel equally surprised, that men distinguished for their intellect, and with recent experience before them, cannot raise their minds yet farther, so as to admit the still greater advance that is made in political economy, when paper supersedes gold in the circulation of a country."

DEAR SIR,—There is no country with which I am acquainted, where the subjects of currency, and the nature of money, are better understood than in Scotland. The celebrated Law, the first publicist who attempted to explain the advantages of paper circulation, was a Scotchman: Paterson, the founder of that vast and most successful establishment, the Bank of England, was a Scotchman; and it is to the knowledge of the true principles of currency, now universally diffused throughout Scotland, and acted upon as axioms by men of every party, that it owes all its career of improvement.

It is to our currency, indeed, that we are chiefly to attribute the astonishing extent to which we have carried our manufactures and commerce; to the same source we ought to ascribe the perfection to which our agriculture has been brought, inasmuch that Scottish husbandry has, in various respects, become a model, which other countries are inclined to adopt; it is our currency that has rendered Edinburgh one of the finest capitals in Europe, and has enabled it to increase in splendour and extent every day; while in the remote county of Caithness, the greatest herring-fishery in the world is established, which, it can be proved, entirely arose from our paper circulation. Yet Scotland is naturally a poor and barren country; its soil is unproductive; its climate unfavourable to vegetation; there is no court now resident in its metropolis; it enjoys none of the benefits which would be derived from the maintenance of a fleet or army, and even the greater part of its nobility and principal gentry reside in England. In spite, however, of these heavy disadvantages, under which any other country would probably have sunk, the prosperity of Scotland has increased with unexampled rapidity, and has risen to an extent which I shall endeavour briefly to explain.

At the Union there were only a million of inhabitants in Scotland, and even with that low population, scarcities were so frequent, that it was seriously discussed at that time, whether it would

not be necessary to establish public granaries, to supply corn for the subsistence of the inhabitants when its crops were deficient; whereas now, it is able, not only to feed a population of 2,200,000, but even to export great numbers of cattle and sheep and considerable quantities of grain to England.

At the Union the revenue of Scotland amounted only to 160,000*l.*; it now exceeds four millions and a half, of which it is able to remit above 4,000,000*l.* to the *English Exchequer*; a greater tribute than ever was paid by one nation to "the government" of another. What would be the condition of this country, if that great sum were laid out upon its internal improvement? And how loud would be the clamours of Ireland, if so heavy a burden were imposed upon her? What would even England say, if it had a tribute of *four millions per annum* to remit to France.*

I have always been convinced, and further reflection has only tended to confirm me in that opinion, that the whole of this unrivalled prosperity is to be attributed to the system of representative currency (*I mean a currency representing actual property*), which has been for so many years established in Scotland, and which experience has enabled us to bring to such perfection.

Our circulation, for all sums to the amount of 1*l.* sterling and upwards, is altogether in paper: not a guinea or sovereign is to be met with, nor is ever required, except by travellers, when they are preparing to set out for England, where, unfortunately, the mania for gold still exists. This system is attended with three advantages. 1. A saving of from two or three millions sterling,

which must otherwise have been sent to foreign countries for purchasing gold, an acquisition, in every point of view, except circulation, utterly unnecessary.

2. The interest of that money, which, under a metallic system of circulation, must have been utterly lost, can now be employed, in carrying on manufactures and commerce, and improvements in every branch of agriculture: thus a fund is produced, which, in twenty years, must have amounted to above four millions sterling. And, 3. Funds are thence easily procured, for carrying on every enterprise which holds out a reasonable prospect of success; nor is any useful undertaking ever checked or abandoned, from the inability of the currency to expand itself, with the growing wants and necessities of society.

It was the effects of this wisely-regulated system, that made the late Lord Liverpool observe, "*that Scotland was the best-conditioned country in Europe*;" and yet that statesman would not see that England might derive the same advantages from a similar measure. He was so alarmed at the evils which an ill-regulated paper issue produced, that he would not attempt, even with the example of Scotland before his eyes, to introduce the happily adjusted currency, to which that country owed its prosperity. Yet so convinced were all Scotchmen of the benefits which they derived from their monetary system, that when Government, misled by idle theories, attempted to overthrow it, all parties united, with unequalled spirit, in defending their dearly-cherished circulation, and it is ENTIRELY OWING TO THAT CIRCULATION BEING PRESERVED, THAT SCOTLAND DOES NOT FEEL, IN THE SAME DEGREE, THOSE DISTRESSES WHICH ENGLAND NOW EXPERIENCES. If it were possible that some distinguished English statesman, or intelligent political economists, would undertake a careful inquiry into the actual state of Scotland (which by nature is the least improvable portion of the empire), they would soon be induced to abandon those theories which experience has

* Were it not for this tribute to England, no distress would be experienced by Scotland. But Scotland must pay four millions in gold to the English treasury, for no other species of money is receivable there. Scotland, therefore, is most essentially interested, in restoring the paper-currency of England, as a means of diminishing the heavy burden to which it is now liable.

It is of equal importance to Ireland, for otherwise the Irish will never obtain a fair price for the commodities they send to England.

demonstrated to be absurd in their groundwork, and ruinous in their effects, and to adopt that plan which we have ascertained here to be safe and beneficial. The result would be in the highest degree gratifying. It is indeed the only thing wanting. 1. To complete the prosperity of Scotland. 2. To introduce improvement into Ireland; and 3. To restore happiness to our colonies. England is the great market for the produce of all these countries; but from the impolitic circulation established in that country, by which gold, at a low standard, is made the sole legal medium of exchange, the price of all the commodities either raised, or sent there to be sold, is so much diminished as no longer to yield a fair profit to the persons who produce them. The whole nation is thus impoverished. Hence in England money frequently becomes scarce, industry is cramped, commerce languishes, rents are unpaid, and taxation becomes oppressive; while, from the same cause, dissatisfaction is created in Scotland, turbulence in Ireland, and her colonies are plunged in ruin.

And for what do we entail upon ourselves this load of misery? For what end have we sacrificed the general interests and prosperity of the nation, but to enforce a most ridiculous crotchet, that private transactions between individuals in the same country cannot be carried on, but through the medium of pieces of metal, purchased at a great expense from foreign nations, and whose value, after all, is only conventional? Had a paper circulation been adopted in England, *similar in principle to that which has been so successfully established in Scotland*, the miseries with which the empire at large has, in a greater or less degree, been for several years past afflicted, would have been effectually prevented, or at least would never have reached so *alarming a height*. Most justly was it laid down by Ricardo, "That the introduction of the precious metals, for the purposes of money, ought to be considered as one of the most important steps towards the improvement of commerce, and the arts of civilised life, (and he should have added,

"to the procuring of an immense revenue,) that had ever been found out; yet it was no less true, that with the advancement of knowledge and science, we discover that it would be another improvement to banish those metals again from the employment to which, during a less enlightened period, they had been so advantageously directed, and to substitute paper in their room."*

I cannot conclude this hasty communication, without offering you my most hearty congratulations on the approaching triumph of those most essential principles of circulation, which we have so long advocated. Were they established, the greatest possible improvement, in the condition of the empire at large, might be fairly anticipated. To their adoption, your exertions have mainly contributed.

With best wishes, believe me,

Dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

JOHN SINCLAIR.

33, George Street, Edinburgh,
October, 1832.

N. B.—I may perhaps be tempted to trouble you with another communication on the subject of the currency in England, for every part of the British empire, and indeed every commercial country in the universe, is deeply interested in its monetary system, since England has become the universal centre of circulation and commerce.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

LETTER IV.

GENTLEMEN,—Our next business is to inform ourselves correctly with respect to the schemes which, at different times, have been on foot for PAYING OFF THE NATIONAL DEBT, and about which *paying off* we have, all our lives long, heard so much.

* Ricardo's Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency, p. 24.

We have seen how the debt has gone on increasing from its first existence to the present day ; we have seen how the expenses of the nation and the taxes of the nation have gone on increasing with the debt ; we have also seen that the increase of the bank-notes has kept pace with the rest, till those notes have, at last, *driven the gold coin out of circulation*. This last is the evil for which the Bullion Committee have endeavoured to find out a remedy, and such a remedy they appear to think that they have found, in an Act of Parliament which they propose to be passed, for causing the Bank Company to pay their promissory notes in gold and silver in two years' time. One of our principal objects in this discussion is, to enable ourselves to form a correct opinion as to the *practicability of this remedy*, even at the end of two years ; and as we have, from what has already been shown, good reason to believe, that the quantity of bank-notes, the excess of which has driven the gold out of circulation, cannot be lessened unless the debt be also diminished, it is necessary for us to ascertain what has been done or attempted, and what is likely to be done, in the way of causing such diminution.

From very early stages of the debt ; indeed, almost from the very beginning of it, there were measures proposed for *paying it off*, the idea of an everlasting debt, and an everlasting mortgage upon the nation's means, being, at first, something too frightful for our upright and sensible ancestors to bear. Propositions, and even provisions, were at different times accordingly made for paying off parts of the debt, and some comparatively small sums were, in the early stages of the progress, actually paid off ; the debt became less, and less interest was of course paid upon it. Still, however, as *new wars* came on, new sums were borrowed ; and as lending money to the Government was found to be a profitable trade ; as so many persons of influence found their advantage in the loaning transactions, the money was always easily enough raised. But, yet there continued to be a talk of *paying off* the debt ; and in time a part of the

yearly taxes was set aside for that purpose, which part of the taxes so set aside was called a SINKING FUND.

These being words which, as belonging to our present subject, are of vast importance, it is necessary for us to have a clear notion of their meaning. The word *Fund*, as was before observed in Letter II. means *a quantity of money put together for any purpose* ; and in the instance before us the word *Sinking* appears to have been prefixed to the word *Fund* in order to characterise, or describe, the particular purpose, or use, of the taxes so set apart ; namely, the purpose of *sinking*, or *reducing*, or *diminishing*, or *lessening* the debt. So that the *Sinking Fund*, of which we have all heard so much, and of which most of us have known so little, means, in other words, in words better to be understood, a *Lessening Fund* ; and whether the thing has, in its operation hitherto, answered to its name, we shall by-and-by see, if indeed we have not seen enough to satisfy us upon this point in the increasing of the debt, as exhibited in the foregoing Letter.

The amount of taxes thus set apart, or, to use the words with which we must now grow familiar, the Sinking Funds, which were, time after time, established, were in many cases applied to other purposes than that for which they were destined or intended. Indeed they seem, for many years, to have been very little better than purses made up at one time and spent again at another, without answering any rational purpose at all ; and accordingly, the nation does not appear to have paid any great attention to them, or to have considered them as of any consequence, until the year 1786, when the present GRAND SINKING FUND was established by Pitt, who, but a little while before, had been made Prime Minister, and whose system has continued to this day.

Gentlemen, we are now entering upon a part of our subject, which not only demands an uncommon portion of your attention, but into the discussion of which you will, I hope, carry such a spirit of impartiality as shall subdue all the prejudices of party, and dissipate all

the mists of ignorance which have therefrom arisen. It is, even yet, impossible to mention the name of PITT, without exciting feelings that struggle hard against reason, and that, in some minds, overcome it. During his administration, the nation was divided into two parties, so hostile to each other, that both were easily made subservient to his views; and, it is, with every man who really loves his country, matter of deep regret, that the same, or nearly the same, divisions continue to the present day.

It is not for me, who, at one time, really looked upon PITT as the greatest minister that England ever saw, to reproach others, *who may still be as ignorant of the truth as I was then*, for their attachment to his memory, for their high opinion of the schemes of his inventing, and for their blind adoration of those schemes; but when they have, as I have, taken a fair and full view of all his measures; when they have compared his deeds with his professions, his performances with his promises; when they have seen that he added threefold to our taxes and our expenditure, and that, notwithstanding this, the power and the territory of France were extended in proportion to the sacrifices he called upon us to make for what he called resisting her; when they see that the standard of national misery, the poor-rates, rose, during his sway, in almost a triple degree; when they see that the war, at the outset of which he relied, in no small degree, for success upon the *destruction of French assignats*, did, at the end of four years, cause the stoppage of gold and silver payments at the Bank of England, and that its prolongation has led to a state of things, in which a public print devoted to the Government has described the largest class of *English* bank-notes as "*destructive assignats*;" when they see this, and when they see that the national debt, which he himself called "*the best ally of France*;" when they see that that debt which he found at two hundred millions and odd, he left at six hundred millions and odd, while France, during his wars against her, had exchanged her assignats

for gold, and had extended her territory and her sway to a degree which made that nation, whose power our forefathers despised, an object of continual dread to England; when the former partisans of PITT see this, as they must, aye, and *feel* it too, will they still persist in asserting the wisdom of his plans; and, above all, will they, when they see the debt tripling in amount under his hands, still persist in asserting the *efficacy* of his *Sinking Fund*, and, upon that bare assertion, reject all inquiry into either the nature or the effect of that celebrated scheme?

Let us hope, that in a country boasting of the thoughtfulness of its people, there can be but very few persons so besotted as this; and, indeed, it is due to the country to say, there do not appear to be any such left, excepting amongst those who live upon the taxes, and whose perverseness arises not from their want of information. But, be this as it may, I am satisfied that you, my friends and neighbours, who, like me, have no interests separate from those of our country, will not, whatever may have been your prejudices heretofore, wilfully shut your eyes against the truth, and that you will accompany me in this inquiry with that great attention, which, as I before observed, the subject demands.

Pitt's *Sinking Fund* was begun in the year 1786, by an Act of Parliament (being Chapter XXXI. of the 26th year of the reign of Geo. III.) entitled—"An Act for vesting certain sums in Commissioners, at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the reduction of the National Debt." In virtue of this Act a certain part of the taxes was, in each year, to be paid to certain persons named in the Act, as Commissioners for managing the concern; and these taxes, together with the accumulations upon them, have been, as formerly, called a *Sinking Fund*.

It is no matter what was the *amount* of the sum, or sums, of money, thus to be set apart out of the taxes, and to introduce particulars of that sort would only embarrass our view. Suffice it to know, that certain sums of money,

being a part of the taxes, were set apart, and that, with this money, together with its growing interest, the commissioners, appointed by the Sinking Fund Act, were, at stated periods, and with certain limitations in their powers, to *redeem* the debt as fast as they could, the word *redeem* having now come into fashion instead of the word *pay off*. It is of no consequence what were the periods, what were the days of the week or the times of the moon, when this work of redemption was to be performed. The *effect* is what we have to look after; but, in order to have a clear view of even that, we must see the *manner* of doing the thing, the manner of redeeming or paying off the debt; for, without that, we shall be continually exposed to be bewildered and deceived; and, indeed, we shall be quite unable to form anything like a clear notion of what the sinking fund really is.

The Commissioners, with the money thus put under their care and management, were to *purchase up stock* from individuals, which stock would then become *the property of the nation*. But, stay. We must go gently on here, or we lose ourselves in a moment. We must, indeed, not proceed a step further, till we have gone back to Letter II, and have taken another look, and refreshed our memories as to what STOCK means. Having done so, we may proceed by repeating, that the Commissioners were to go to work with the money lodged in their hands, out of the taxes, and *purchase up stock*. We have seen, in the Letter just referred to, *how stock is made*; we have seen how MUCKWORM lent his money to the Government; we have seen how he got *his name written in a book* in return for his money; we have seen that stock is nothing that can be seen, heard, smelled or touched; we have seen that it signifies the *right of receiving interest* upon money lent to the Government, which money has been long ago expended; we have seen the operation by which a MUCKWORM became possessed of stock; and lastly, we have seen our neighbour, FARMER GREENHORN, purchase two thousand pounds' worth of

MUCKWORM'S' stock, which the former bequeathed to his poor daughter GRIZZLE.

Now, then, observe; the whole of the stock, of which the National Debt is made up, is exactly the same sort of thing as this two thousand pounds' worth of stock, belonging to Grizzle Greenhorn. There is a book in which a list of the names of all those persons is written, who have, like Grizzle, a right to draw interest from the Government out of the taxes; against each name in this list is placed the amount of the sum for which the person has a right to draw interest. Some have a right to draw interest for more and some for less. And these sums make up what is called the National Debt. Of course, the sinking fund Commissioners, in order to pay off the National Debt, or any part of it, must *purchase up stock from individuals*, or, in other words, *pay them off their share of the debt*. If, for instance, Grizzle Greenhorn has a mind to have her two thousand pounds to lay out upon land, or do anything else with, she sells her stock, and, if it so happen, she may sell it to the Commissioners; and thus, as they pay her for it with the nation's money, it is said, that, by this transaction they have *redeemed* (by which I should mean *paid off*) two thousand pounds of the National Debt. Grizzle, who was the creditor, has got her money again; she has no longer any right to draw interest for it; and, of course, you would think, that these two thousand pounds' worth of debt were paid off, and that the nation, that we the people, had no longer any interest to pay upon it; you would naturally think, that we were *no longer taxed to pay the interest upon this part of the debt*.

Greatly, however, would you be deceived; cruelly deceived, if you did think so; for, notwithstanding the Commissioners have *redeemed* these two thousand pounds, we have still to pay the interest of them every year; *we are still taxed for the money wherewith to pay this interest, just in the same way as if the two thousand pounds' worth of debt had not been redeemed at all, but*

still belonged to Grizzle Greenhorn ! This is an odd way of *redeeming* ; an odd way of *paying off* ; do you not think it is, neighbours ? We have before seen, that the National Debt is a mortgage upon the taxes. It is constantly called so in conversation, and in writings upon the subject. But, should not either of you, who happened to have a mortgage upon your land or house, think it strange if, after you had *redeemed* a part of the mortgage, you had still to pay interest upon the part redeemed as well as upon the part unredeemed ? TO REDEEM, as applied to money engagements, means to *discharge*, to *set free* by payment. This is the meaning of the word *redeem*, as applied to such matters. It sometimes means to *rescue* or to *ransom*, from captivity, from forfeiture, or from peril of any sort, by paying a price. But, in every sense in which this word is used, it always implies the *setting free* of the object on which it operates ; and, when applied to a mortgage, a bond, a note of hand, or a debt of any sort, it implies the *paying of it off*. How, then, can the two thousand pounds' worth of debt, purchased from Grizzle Greenhorn, by our sinking-fund commissioners, be said to be *redeemed* by us, if we are still *taxed to pay the interest upon it*, and, of course, if it be not discharged, and not set free ?

Nothing, at first sight, appears more plausible, nothing more reasonable, nothing more clear, than the mode above described, of redeeming the debt by purchasing from the several individuals, who, like Grizzle Greenhorn, own the stock or the debt, their respective shares thereof. And the operation is as simple as any thing can be. For the sinking-fund commissioners having, for instance, received two thousand pounds from the tax-gatherers in virtue of the Sinking Fund Act, go and purchase Grizzle's stock ; they give her the two thousand pounds ; her right to draw interest from us ceases ; her share of the stock or debt is redeemed or paid off ; *and her name is crossed out of the book*. Ah ; but alas ! *the names of our sinking-fund commissioners are written in the book instead of hers !* Aye ; we have to pay the interest of the two thousand

pounds to *them* instead of to her ; and our taxes on account of this which is called the *redeemed* part of the debt, are just as great as they were before this curious work of redemption began.

" Well, then," you will say, " what does this thing mean ; and what can it have been intended for ? Why, to speak candidly of the matter, though the thing was an invention of PITT, under whose sway so much mischief came upon this nation, I believe that the thing was well meant. I believe that it was intended to free the nation from its debt. But, I am satisfied, that it has been productive of no small part of the evils which England and which Europe have experienced since its invention ; for, by giving people renewed confidence in the solidity of the Funds or Stocks, it rendered Government borrowing more easy ; and, of course, it took from the minister that check to the making of wars, and the paying of foreign armies, for the want of which check the expenses and taxes and debt of the country have been so fearfully augmented, to say nothing, at present, about the dreadful changes which those wars have made in our affairs both at home and abroad.

To produce such effects was, however, certainly not the *intention* of the scheme. The intention was, that the sinking-fund commissioners should, with the money put into their hands out of the taxes, purchase up stock, or parts of the debt belonging to individuals ; that the parts so purchased up *should not cease to exist* ; that they should be written in the Great Book under the name of the commissioners ; that the commissioners should receive the interest upon them, instead of its being received by individuals as before ; that this interest, as fast as it came into the hands of the commissioners, should, like the money paid to them annually out of the taxes, be laid out in purchasing up more stock from individuals ; and that the thing should go on thus, till the last of the stock, or debt, got into the hands of the commissioners ; when, of course, the Government might burn the Great Book, and the National Debt would be paid off.

This scheme was very pretty upon paper; it made a fine figure in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day; and looked quite solemn when embodied into an act of Parliament. There was, to be sure, when people looked into the matter more closely, something rather whimsical in the idea of a nation's *paying interest to itself*; something very whimsical in a nation's GETTING MONEY by *paying itself interest on its own stock*. Many persons thought so, at the time, and some said so; but the formidable tables of figures made out by court calculators, and the flowery and bold speeches of PITT, soon put all such persons out of countenance, and reduced them to silence; or exposed them to the charge of faction and disaffection and disloyalty. The country, infatuated with its "heaven-born minister," became deaf to the dictates of common sense; and, with as much fondness as the mother hangs over her smiling babe, it cherished and fostered the fatal delusion.

As the execution of the sinking-fund act proceeded, more and more of the stock, or parts of the debt, became of course entered in the great book in the names of the commissioners. Hence arose a new denomination in our national money accounts; namely, the *redeemed* debt; that is, the parts of the debt, as aforesaid, purchased up by the commissioners, was now called the "*redeemed* debt;" a phrase which contains a contradiction in itself. But, still, it was unavoidable; for, it was not *paid off*; it was *bought up*, but we had still, and *have* still, to *pay interest upon it*; and, therefore, it could not be said to be paid off; for, it would be folly too gross to pretend that we have paid off a debt or a mortgage, for which we were still paying interest. If, indeed, the parts of the debt which were purchased up by the commissioners had been at once done away, and we had ceased to pay interest upon them, then those parts would have been *really redeemed*. If, for instance, Grizzle Greenhorn's two thousand pounds' worth of stock had been crossed out of the great book, and had not been inserted in it again

under any other name, that two thousand pounds' worth of the debt would have been redeemed in reality. This is the way in which the sinking fund of the American States operates. They raise yearly a certain sum in taxes; with that sum they purchase up part of their debt; and then that part of the debt *ceases to exist* in any shape whatever. The next year they raise a like sum in taxes, and again purchase up parcels of the debt. And thus they proceed, having every succeeding year, *less and less interest to pay upon their debt*. This is *real* redemption; this is real paying off. But the way in which we proceed bears no resemblance to it; nor has anything in common with it, except it be the name.

Let us before we proceed any further, take a view of the *increase of the interest that we have to pay upon the debt*. We have seen in Letter III., how the debt itself has gone on increasing. But we have not yet taken a look at the increase of the INTEREST: though this is very material, and, indeed, it is the only thing belonging to the debt worthy of our attention. The statement of the amount of the debt itself is of no practical use, except as it serves to illustrate, to render more clear, the part of the subject upon which we now are. For, as we have seen, the debt is nothing more than a right possessed by certain persons, called stockholders, to draw interest from the nation: or, in other words, to take annually, or quarterly, part of the taxes raised upon the people at large. Let us, therefore, take a look at the progress of this interest.

When QUEEN ANNE came to the throne, in 1701, the annual interest on the National Debt was	1,310,942 <i>l</i> .
When GEORGE I. came to the throne, in 1714	3,351,358
When GEORGE II. came to the throne, in 1727	2,217,551
When GEORGE III. came to the throne, in 1760	4,840,821
After the AMERICAN WAR, in 1784, and just before the making of Pitt's Sinking Fund	9,669,435
the latter end of the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR, in 1801	21,779,018
For the LAST YEAR, that is, 1809..	32,870,608

There are included in this sum "*charges for management*;" and, as we have before seen, there is some of the debt (small portions) called the loans, or debts, of the *Emperor of Germany*, and of the *Prince Regent of Portugal*, which it is *possible* they may repay us; but this is, as it is called in the account laid before Parliament during the last session, the "Total charge on *account of debt*, payable in Great Britain." And, let me ask any sensible man, what consequence it can be to us what the debt is called, what consequence by what name the different sorts of it may go, so that the interest upon it still goes on increasing, and so that we have to pay the whole of that interest out of the taxes?

When PITT's sinking fund was established, there was a time fixed when the interest should *begin to be diminished*. I mean, a time was fixed, when the people should no longer pay taxes to defray the interest upon the stock, or parts of the debt, which should *after that time be purchased by the commissioners*. The time so fixed was 1808, *two years ago*. The year was not named in the Act; but it was known to a certainty; because this ceasing to pay interest was to begin when the interest upon the stock, or parts of the debt, bought up, together with the sums paid to the commissions out of the taxes, should amount to a certain sum (four millions annually); and as the sums to be paid to them were fixed, it was a mere question of arithmetic when the paying of interest would cease agreeably to the terms of the Act, as expressed in the XXth clause, as follows: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whenever the whole sum annually receivable by the said commissioners, including as well the quarterly sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds herein before directed to be issued from the Exchequer, as the several annuities and dividends of stock to be placed to the account of the said commissioners in the books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, by virtue of this Act, shall amount in the whole to four

"MILLIONS ANNUALLY, the dividends due on such part of the principal or capital stock as shall *thenceforth* be paid off by the said commissioners, and the monies payable on such annuities for lives or years as may *afterwards* cease and determine, SHALL NO LONGER BE ISSUED AT THE RECEIPT OF HIS MAJESTY'S EXCHEQUER, but shall be CONSIDERED AS REDEEMED by Parliament, and shall remain to be disposed of as Parliament shall direct." In *what way* it might have been supposed, that Parliament, in its wisdom, would dispose of these parcels of *redeemed debt*, I shall not, for my part, presume to hazard a conjecture; but, as was before observed, it was easy (the *sums being given*) to ascertain the time when the provision in this clause would begin to operate; and that time was, *the year 1808*.

There was another Act passed seven years later (1792), allotting more of the taxes to the same purpose (Chapter 52 of the 32d year of Geo. III.); and still the same provision was made; namely, that when the produce of the sinking fund should amount to four millions annually, *all the stock, or parts of the debt, that should be purchased up by the commissioners after that time, SHOULD NO LONGER HAVE INTEREST PAID UPON IT OUT OF THE TAXES*; but that *these parts* of the debt should (mark the words) "be considered AS REDEEMED." And so they would. They really, in *that case*, would have been *redeemed*; but the word *redeemed* is now applied, even in the accounts laid before Parliament, to those parts of the debt bought up by the commissioners, the dividend, or interest, on which parts, IS STILL ISSUED AT THE EXCHEQUER; that is to say, *is still paid out of the taxes*! And all this goes on amongst "the *thinking*" people of England!

But what was done in the long-expected year 1808? What was done when *the year of promise* came? This is the most interesting part of this most curious history; but, as to bring to a close the whole of the discussion re-

lating to the sinking fund would extend this letter to double its present length, I think it better to make the remaining part of it the subject of another letter, beseeching you, in the meanwhile, to make up, by your patience in the perusal, for whatever want of clearness may be discovered in the writer.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
WM. COBBETT.

*State Prison, Newgate,
Thursday, 14th Sep. 1810.*

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, OCT. 12, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

THOMAS, C., Bristol, corn-factor.
WATLING, J., and R. K. Vorley, Bread-street-hill, drysalters.

BANKRUPTS.

ANKRETT, J., Walsall, Staffordshire, grocer.
BENNETTS, J., and N. Robins, Gunnislake, Cornwall, granite-merchants.
DAWES, H., Birmingham, curry comb-maker.
MOSSMAN, J., Maulden, Bedfordshire, sheep-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FRASER, J., Glasgow, tea-merchant.
MALCOLM, J., Glasgow, merchant.
REID, G., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, OCT. 16, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

CARTER, H., Hastings, Sussex, chemist.
WHEELER, S.A., Birmingham, wine-merch.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDREWS, J., Strand, tailor
BLACKSTONE, J. jun., Gainsford-street, Horselydown, lighterman.
CLARK, W., Blackburn, Lancashire, draper.
COUPLAND, J., Liverpool, tailor.
EDWARDS, A., Oldham, Lancashire, retailer of spirits.

EDWARDS, D., Milford, Pembrokeshire, and Northwick, Gloucestershire, butter-merch.
GILLER, T., Pendleton, Lancashire, publican.
JONES, J., otherwise J. Peers, late of Devon-street, Liverpool, builder.

MERCEROT, W. C., Ludlow, Shropshire, horse-dealer.

NAYLOR, D., Manchester, carpet-manufact.

SMITH, G. B., Liverpool, joiner.

THORPE, T. G., Milton-st., Dorset-square, fish-sauce-manufacturer.

WELLS, A., Kennington-place, Vauxhall, surgeon.

WEST, J. W. and J. H., Turner's-square, Hoxton, brewers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCT. 15.—We had a good supply of wheat from Kent and Essex this morning, but very little fresh in from the Suffolk coast; the sale was brisk, at an advance of from 2s. to 3s. per qr., arising from a demand from the northern counties, which, with what was taken off by the town millers, cleared the market of the finest new wheat, but there was not the same briskness in old, although higher prices by 1s. to 2s. per qr. were obtained for the first qualities.

The supply of barley was large from the above counties, besides a few cargoes from Norfolk, and prime malting samples, as well as the stained sorts for distilling, supported the terms of last Monday; but the middling descriptions of bright, such as were rather below malting quality, were exceedingly heavy sale, and 2s. per qr. cheaper.

White and grey peas—old at last week's prices, but did not go off freely, the supply being rather large of each sort.

The continuance of abundant arrivals of oats from Ireland causes a dullness in the trade, and the prices of this day week could only be obtained for small quantities to needy buyers.

In beans and other articles there was no alteration.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	19s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new... 50s. to 52s.

Pork, India, new.... 130s. 0d. to —s.
 — Mess, new ... 76s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
 Butter, Belfast 80s. to 82s. per cwt.
 — Carloy 82s. to 84s.
 — Cork 82s. to 84s.
 — Limerick .. 82s. to 84s.
 — Waterford.. 76s. to 80s.
 — Dublin —s. to —s.
 Cheese, Cheshire.... 50s. to 78s.
 — Gloucester, Double.. 52s. to 60s.
 — Gloucester, Single.. 44s. to 50s.
 — Edam 48s. to 50s.
 — Gouda 40s. to 42s.
 Hams, Irish..... 55s. to 80s.

SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 15.

This day's supply of beasts was great ; of sheep, lambs, and calves, moderately good ; of porkers but limited. The trade was, with each kind of small stock, rather—with beef very—dull ; with the former at fully, the latter at barely, Friday's currency.

About two-fifths of the beasts were Irish—chiefly small half-fat steers and heifers—for the most part from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the London marshes : about one-fifth of them short-horns—chiefly steers and heifers—for the most part from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire ; another fifth about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welch—principally North Wales runts ; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Scots, Staffords, Town's-end cows, &c., from sundry quarters. Full three-fifths of the sheep and lambs were Leicester half-breds, of the South Downs and Hereford, with some few of the old Berkshire crosses ; about one-fifth pure South Downs ; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, old Leicesters, and Lincolns ; with a few horned Dorsets, Welch, black-faced Aberdeens, &c.

Beasts, 3,627 ; sheep and lambs, 19,580 ; calves, 161 ; pigs, 190.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 19.

The arrivals this week are large. The market dull, but without any alteration in prices.

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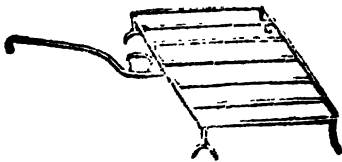
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ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. II.

Glasgow, 19. October, 1832.

ON Monday morning, the 15. of October, I went in a carriage, furnished by my kind friends at EDINBURGH, who accompanied me in it, to a place called QUEEN'S-FERRY, where you cross the Firth of FORTH, to go over to a little place called NORTH FERRY, whence I went in a post-chaise to the ancient town of DUNFERMLINE. But before I proceed to give a further account of my progress, I must observe on something that I left behind me at EDINBURGH, namely, the *Caledonian Mercury* new-paper, promulgating, in one of its columns of the 15. of October, Mr. DEN's address to me at the *Waterloo Room*, the address itself, and my answer to that address; and in addition to this, the editor's statement, "that the large *Waterloo Room* was crowded to excess, long before the hour appointed; that, on his entrance, Mr. Cobbett was greeted with repeated rounds of applause; and that, at the conclusion of the lecture, thanks were given him in the shape of three general cheers; and that he was again cheered when he drove off from the door of the hotel."

In another column of the same paper is the following, which the *Caledonian* gentleman had the justice, the good taste, and the sound judgment to extract and insert from that rumble-tumble of filth and of beastly ignorance, called the *Globe* newspaper:

"COBBETT.—Cobbett, who has by

"this time, we suppose, commenced his lectures at Edinburgh, has been (doubtless) receiving an overflow of that sort of tribute to which his frequent scurrilous abuse of Scotland and Scotsmen has so naturally advanced a claim. The *Caledonian Mercury*, received to-day, contains an elaborate article, in which the almost innumerable contradictions and inconsistencies of the oracle of the *Register* are duly set forth. In a general way, this, of course, conveys nothing but that which all the world knew before; but as a refresher for the modern Athenians, preparatory to the opening of a lecture, it is a formidable affair."

Thus we have a specimen of the expectations of this beastly crew of hirelings. Here was this stupid oaf, who is scribbling in a dirty newspaper in London, while the army-list represents him as a brevet-colonel on full pay doing duty at CHATHAM barracks, and while we are taxed to the tune of five hundred a year, to pay him for his CHATHAM services; here was he, cherishing in his beastly mind the thought that I should be hissed and hooted out of EDINBURGH; or, as another newspaper of that city had advised, flung into the deepest and dirtiest ditch that could be found: and this thought we see coming into his brutal head, in consequence of "an elaborate article," which had been put forth by this very identical *Caledonian Mercury*! But, though this might not much surprise one, coming from a blundering skull, the produce of potatoes, and filled with blubber instead of brains, it really is matter of surprise, that the editor of the *Caledonian Mercury*, a name at once descriptive of a sensible people, and of uncommon science and literary acumen; it is really matter of astonishment to see these two things put forth in a paper under such a title, and in one and the same number.

Enough of these envious, malignant,

mercenary, mean and cowardly wretches; but not enough, and never enough, of the people of EDINBURGH, of all classes, with regard to their conduct towards me; and, self-gratification aside, this is a matter of very great importance, in a *public* point of view; because, somehow or another, no matter how it has happened, but, somehow or another, my name has become identified with certain great measures, involving a *total change* in the manner of conducting the affairs of this kingdom. No matter how it has happened; but *it is so*. Therefore, Lord GREY, if he be not blinded by the set who surround him, must, in this one fact, see quite enough to induce him to believe that it is utterly impossible that the Government should proceed at all, if it attempt to get along without making something like *that sort of change* for which I have so long been contending. I beseech him to think of this matter seriously; and not to imagine that this unequivocal popularity of mine is a thing confined to the breasts of the *working people*. It was not of these that the audiences at the theatre of EDINBURGH were composed. It was not with these that I was invited to dine in that city of science of all sorts. The popularity did not, and could not, arise from any cause other than that which I have stated. I knew not one single soul in that city; my notification in the *Register* that I intended to go to EDINBURGH, brought me a letter from Messrs. CHADWICK and IRELAND, merchants, whom I had neither ever seen or heard of before in my life. The price of entrance at the theatre was, on account of the high charge made for the use of it, a great deal higher than I could have wished, and necessarily excluded working men; and yet that theatre was crammed full from the beginning to the end. There was nothing in my writings; nothing in my character, except that it had been vilified more than that of any other man that ever lived; nothing in my station in life; no possibility of my ever being able to make a return for any favours received. Therefore, my reception and my treatment are to be ascribed

solely to the favour with which my political principles and my well-known endeavours and intentions, are viewed. Perhaps Lord GREY does not think it worth his while to read my *Register*; if so, that is his fault and not mine: if he do, let him ponder well upon what I have now said, before he listen to the advice of those who would make him believe that he can get on with a reformed Parliament *without making any great change*.

In returning, now, to my most delightful tour: upon leaving EDINBURGH, along the very finest turnpike-road that I ever saw, the cause-ways on the sides of which are edged with white stone, and the gutters paved as nicely as those of a street; in leaving EDINBURGH we came close by the castle, which I had not seen at so short a distance before, and up into which I would not go, seeing that there were *soldiers* there; for merely speaking to any one of whom (he choosing to swear that I had endeavoured to seduce him to desert, or quit his post) *I might have been hanged by the neck till I was dead*, according to a law, originally drawn up by SCOTT ELDON, passed for the life of the "good old king," revived again (on the motion of SCOTT ELDON) when his worthy eldest son came to the throne, and *now kept in full force* by the liberty-loving Whigs!

This castle, like the church, is built upon a rock, which rock is very lofty, and almost perpendicular; so that it is a most interesting and magnificent spectacle, especially if you are on any eminence at a little distance from the city; infinitely grander and more interesting than St. Paul's from BATTERSEA Rise. I remember nothing of the sort equal to it, except the view of LINCOLN cathedral. As you come out of the city you see the very pretty and convenient port of LEITH, about a mile and a half away to the right; the Frith of FORTH is before you; the beautiful county of FIFE on the other side of that; and the Highlands rising up in the distant view. Just at coming into the country, losing sight of the water, you get into the

estate of Lord ROSEBERRY, which is one of the finest estates of Scotland. It has everything; fine fields, fine pastures, fine woods, immense tracks of beautiful turnips, stack-yards with a hundred stacks in each; all, however, rendered mournful to me by the sight of the thrashing-machine and of the beggarly barrack, in which are doomed to live on oats, barley, peas, and potatoes, those without whose labour all this land would be worthless, having neither woods, nor stacks, nor turnips, nor herds of cattle, nor flocks of sheep.

After just seeing the top of Lord ROSEBERRY's house, which lies down pretty nearly to the Frith, in a fine glade between two lofty woods, we came to the QUEEN'S-FERRY, took leave of our friends, and sailed across the FRITH, in a large boat, which took us over in about ten minutes, seeing the mouth of the Frith away to our right, and seeing four large *men-of-war* lying in ordinary about a mile up to our left. In that direction, too, we saw the grand mansion of Lord HOPETOWN, in a very beautiful situation, in a well-wooded park, forming part of his immense estate, which is, they say, another of the finest in Scotland. These descriptions do not accord with my former ideas of Scotland, though I knew that there were some very fine lands and places in this country; but it is my business truly to describe that which I have seen, paying no regard whatever to what I formerly thought upon the subject.

From the NORTH FERRY to DUNFERMLINE, the country, which belongs, I am told, chiefly to Lord MORAY, and then farther on to Lord ELGIN, and is in the county of FIFE, the country is nearly level; the land not so good as that in EAST and MID-LÓTHIAN, but still very good; the farms large as before; the turnip-fields prodigious; and uniformly good beyond description; this being the country for turnips, because the FLY never destroys them as it does in England; which, when they hear it, will make English farmers cease to wonder that the crops are so uniformly good.

DUNFERMLINE, which is now a place for the manufactory of table-cloths and table-covers, contains about twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants, and is, like all other manufacturing places, more abundant in small and mean houses than in houses of a different description. It is, nevertheless, a good sold town, and is to return one member to Parliament, who is, they say, quite worthy of its sensible and spirited inhabitants, a good portion of whom, in spite of a dreadful alarm about the cholera morbus, attended in a chapel, from the pulpit of which I harangued them on the necessity of driving out at the door, or tossing out of the window, any candidate who, offering himself as their *representative*, should have the audacity to tell them, that it was beneath him to pledge himself to do that which they wanted him to do for them. After the harangue, I spent a most pleasant evening (which I made too long) amongst these intelligent and zealous men of DUNFERMLINE, and promised to send them a small collection of my books for the use of their *Political Union*; which I shall do as soon as I get home.

This town is celebrated for the abbey that formerly was here, and has been the burial place of several of the Scottish kings, particularly of the renowned ROBERT BRUCE, whose tomb is just opposite the pulpit in the church, and whose names are written, or rather the letters of them are fixed up round the spire of this church.

From DUNFERMLINE I had engaged to go to FALKIRK, which, together with other places, is now to send one member to Parliament. We left DUNFERMLINE about noon on Tuesday, the 16. of October, had to go fourteen miles to KINCARDINE, a little town on that side of the FRITH of FORTH, and then to cross the ferry to go to FALKIRK, at a distance of six miles from the ferry. The land, upon leaving DUNFERMLINE, appears to be as fine as any can be in the world; the pastures very fine, and also the trees; within the reach of fish; and there is wanted nothing, apparently, that God himself could have given to man except fuel; and that is here given in coals,

which may be dug out of every field, and which are so cheap as to be hardly worthy of being accounted a part of the expense of a family. Yet, in the midst of all this, how fares the man who labours on the land? What share of its produce does he enjoy? These questions must receive their answer in another address to the *chopsticks* of the South.

COBBETT'S ADVICE

(2ND ADDRESS)

TO THE CHOPSTICKS

or

KENT, SUSSEX, SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, DORSETSHIRE, BERKSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, NORFOLK, SUFFOLK, ESSEX; AND OF ALL THE OTHER COUNTIES IN THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND.

Glasgow, 19. October, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

In my former address I described to you how the *married* labourers of Scotland were treated, in what places they lived, and what they lived upon: I am now going to describe to you how the *single* men live; I mean the farming men, who are what the law calls servants in husbandry. I mentioned to you before, that the *e* men are lodged, a parcel of them together, in a sort of a shed, and that they are never suffered to eat or drink, or even set their foot in the farm-house any more than the oxen or the pigs are; but I had not then examined the matter with my own eyes and ears, which I now have done; and I shall, therefore, now give you an account of the whole thing, and shall give you my advice how to act so as to prevent yourselves or your children from ever being brought into the same state.

On Tuesday last, the 16th of this month, I went to the farm of a Farmer REID, near the town of DUNFERMLINE. The land is as fine as man ever set his eyes on, having on it some of the finest turnips that you ever saw; and there being in the stack-yard about three-score stacks, perhaps, each containing from fifteen to twenty quarters of corn; fine oxen and hogs in the yard, and fine cows and sheep in the

pastures. I told you before, that the single men lived in a sort of shed, which is here called a "*boothie*"; and the farmer upon this farm living near a town, and being said to use his people rather better than the common run, I wished to see with my own eyes the "*boothie*" upon this farm and the men in it.

The custom here is for men to plough with a pair of horses; to go out at daylight; come in at twelve o'clock, and stay in till two; then go out again and plough till night; and I have seen many of them at plough till sun-set. Coke of Norfolk brought this practice from Scotland to Norfolk; and it has spread over a good part of England. It is a very bad practice, though I adopted it for some time, and, I found it no advantage to me, while it was a great slavery both to the horses and the men.

I went to the "*boothie*" between twelve and one o'clock, in order that I might find the men at home, and see what they had for their dinner. I found the "*boothie*" to be a shed, with a fireplace in it to burn coals in, with one door-way, and one little window. The floor was the ground. There were three wooden bedsteads, nailed together like the berths in a barrack-room, with boards for the bottom of them. The bedding seemed to be very coarse sheeting with coarse woollen things at the top; and all seemed to be such as similar things must be where there is nobody but men to look after them. There were six men, all at home; one sitting upon a stool, four upon the sides of the berths, and one standing talking to me. Though it was Monday, their beards, especially of two of them, appeared to be some days old. There were ten or twelve bushels of coals lying in a heap in one corner of the place, which was, as nearly as I could guess, about sixteen or eighteen feet square. There was no back-door to the place, and no privy. There were some loose potatoes lying under one of the berths.

Now, for the wages of these men. In the first place the average wages of these single farming men are about ten

pounds a year, or not quite four shillings a week. Then, they are found provisions in the following manner: each has allowed him two pecks of coarse oatmeal a week, and three "*choppins*" of milk a day, and a "*choppin*" is, I believe, the half of one of our pin's. They have to use this meal, which weighs about seventeen pounds, either by mixing it with cold water or with hot; they put some of it into a bowl, pour some boiling water upon it, then stir it about and eat it; and they call this BROSE; and you will be sure to remember that name. When they use milk with the meal, they use it in the same way that they do the water. I saw some of the brose mixed up ready to eat; and this is by no means bad stuff, only there ought to be half a pound of good meat to eat along with it. The Americans make "brose" of the corn-meal; but then, they make their brose with milk instead of water, and they send it down their throats in company with buttered beef-steaks. And if here was some bacon along with the brose, I should think the brose very proper; because, in this country oats are more easily grown in some parts than the wheat is. These men were not troubled with cooking utensils. They had a large iron saucepan and five or six brose-bowls; and are never troubled with those clattering things, knives, forks, plates, vinegar-cruets, salt-cellars, pepper-boxes, mustard-pots, table-cloths, or tables.

Now, I shall not attempt any general description of this treatment of those who make all the crops to come; but I advise you to *look well at it*; and I recommend to you to do everything within your power that it is lawful for you to do, to show your hatred of, and to *cause to suffer*, any one that shall attempt to reduce you to this state. The meal and the milk are not worth more than eighteen-pence a week; the shed is worth nothing; and here are these men, who work for so many hours in a day, who are so laborious, so obedient, so civil, so honest, and amongst the best people in the world, receiving for a whole week less than an American la-

bourer receives for one day's work not half so hard as the work of these men. This shed is stuck up generally away from the farm-yard, which is surrounded with good buildings, in which the cattle are lodged quite as well as these men, and in which young pigs are fed a great deal better. There were three sacks of meal standing in this shed, just as you see them standing in our farm-houses filled with barley-meal for the feeding of pigs. The *farm-house*, standing on one side of the yard, is always a sort of gentleman's house, in which there are several maids to wait upon the gentleman and lady, and a boy to wait upon them too. There is, generally, a BAILIFF upon these farms, who is very often a relation of the farmer; and, if he be a single man, he has either a small "*boothie*" to himself, or a place boarded off in a larger "*boothie*;" and he is a sort of a sergeant or corporal over the common men, who are continually under his eye day and night; and who being firmly bound for the year, cannot quit their service till the year is out.

It is from this source that the "*agricultural gentlemen*," as they call themselves, in England, have been supplied with SCOTCH BAILIFFS, who are so justly detested by you. The Scotch landowners, who suck up and carry away almost the whole produce of the earth, have told the English landowners how they manage the matter here. The English fellows find that they can get nobody in England to treat men in such a way, and, therefore, they bring them up from Scotland, and they pick out the hardest and most cruel fellows that they can find in Scotland; so that we have not, by any means, a fair specimen, even of Scotch bailiffs; because nineteen twentieths of them would not do the savage things which the English tyrants want them to do. Well enough may you complain of Scotch bailiffs; and, wherever you find one, you always find the employer to be a grinding, hard-hearted man, and I advise you to have your eye upon every man who has a Scotch bailiff; for, you may be very sure, that his intention is to bring you down to the shed and to the brose; to

prevent you from ever seeing knife or fork, or bread again, and to have you considered as being nothing better than the cattle.

I shall address another paper to you before I leave Scotland; and in the meanwhile it is right to tell you that every good man in this country (and the far greater portion of them are very good men, indeed) detest these agricultural tyrants as much as you and I do. The tyrants take the produce of the land and carry it all away, and treat worse than horses and dogs those who make the produce to come. When a labouring man offends one of these tyrants, he is doomed to starve, or to get away out of the country; and the poor creatures go away from some of the richest lands in the world, and get into England to beg; and then they are sent back again as vagrants. And this, my friends, is the state to which it has been attempted to reduce the labourers of England. Have your eyes open; be resolved to maintain all your rights; be *resolute* in it; and then you will not only preserve yourselves from this horrible degradation; but you will rescue from it your oppressed fellow-subjects and brethren, the labourers of Scotland.

I am your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Directing (as I hereby do) my printers to print off, in the same manner as directed last week, *ten thousand copies* of this address to the chopsticks, with *price a penny* at the bottom of each, and with intimating to my readers that, by application at BOLT-COURT, they may have them at five shillings for a hundred, or fifty for three shillings; with these matters thus settled, I now proceed on my journey from DUNFERMLINE to FALKIRK; the land on both sides of the road extremely fine. We do not, for several miles, see the FRITH OF FORTH, but it is not far to our left. The farms are very fine; turnips surprisingly fine; large woods; rows of trees by the sides of the road; the trees vigorous and fresh and lofty; as beautiful a country, taken altogether (abating only the want of vine-covered

cottages and gardens), as I ever went through in all my life. At four or five miles from DUNFERMLINE we come to a long village, called TORY-BURN, the houses in general having no up-stairs; all the buildings extremely ugly and mean; and yet the village is manifestly in a state of rapid decay, many of the houses being empty, and many of them tumbling down. This village, we perceive as soon as we quit it, has been principally created by the fishing; for here we find ourselves, with the FRITH OF FORTH close down by our left, and we see little houses here and there all along the shore. A little farther on we see the woods of CULROSS, down to our left near the water; and upon the road where we are, we come to a mansion, and pretty place, called TORY. Here we are getting amongst old friends, for here resides Sir JOHN ERSKINE, brother and successor of Sir JAMES ERSKINE (and not Sir WILLIAM, as I thought), who is now dead, and succeeded by his brother JOHN, and which Sir JAMES was husband No. 1. of our Lady LOUISA PAGER, who, as the newspapers told us, and as the courts decided, had No. 2. in Sir GEORGE MURRAY, who is now canvassing for a seat in PERTSHIRE, just over the hills to our right! The newspapers, and the courts too, may have belied her ladyship; and in that case I shall be singularly happy, if she will afford me the means to send over the world a contradiction with regard to this affair; for I have long felt a particular interest in the affairs of her ladyship, who is, to make use of the words of a friend at DUNFERMLINE, "amongst the most "fascinating of all the fascinating creatures in this world;" besides which, she is, in some respects, a person belonging to the people; and I do not think the worse of myself for being a sort of shareholder in a case like this. My Lord COCHRANE used to say, "That "a man might eat mutton till he became a sheep." And a lady may eat taxes till she becomes taxes, however fascinating she may be on the outside. This fascinating creature, though the daughter of the Earl of UXBRIDGE, and

the sister of the Marquis of ANGLESEA, had one pension given her while she was a maiden, and another at her marriage to Sir JAMES ERSKINE. And BURDETT, when he was a noisy patriot, and when he was teaching us the necessity of "tearing the leaves out of the accursed *Red Book*," with just as much zeal as he is now praising the King and the Queen, and urging the people of BATH to elect a placeman who was nursed on sinecure pap, used never to omit to mention the particular case of our fascinating Lady LOUISA, though he might as well have mentioned Lady JULIANA HAY, whom little SANCHE, his colleague, at once brewer and right honourable privy-counsellor, led to the altar a little while ago from the pension-list, where she had been sticking for *twenty-one years at the least*, though the daughter of one marquis, and the sister of another. Faith! she may be sticking on the pension-list yet, for anything that I know to the contrary! But we will know all about this by-and-by: we will have bright Lord ALTHORP's reasons for heaping money upon these ladies while those who till the land live upon "brose," and while those who make the clothing have not half enough to eat. Aye, and we will put Daddy BURDETT to the test, too. We will see whether he will help to tear the leaves out of the "accursed *Red Book*;" whether he will help to endeavour to produce so much of an equitable adjustment as may induce the brewer privy-counsellor to give us back the amount of the receivings of Lady JULIANA.

Quitting TORV, which is a very pretty place, we come, a little farther on, to the very beautiful house and park of Sir ROBERT PRESTON, who is now the owner of CULROSS, which lies away to our left on the side of a very beautiful bend in the Frith of Forth, in a little detached part of the great county of PERTH, and divided from it by the small county of CLACKMANNAN, from the chief town of which Lord ERSKINE took his title. CULROSS is a very beautiful spot. Rising up and bending round by the side of the water. As beautiful a

place as any to be found, about the *Isle of Wight* or the SOUTHAMPTON Water. It was impossible for me to see it without thinking of the NEW-Forest, NETLEY-ABBEY woods, and particularly of that HOLLY-HILL at which once resided that Lord COCHRANE, who was born at this CULROSS, it then being the estate of his father; and to reflect on whose treatment always fills me with indignation inexpressible, knowing as I did, and as I do, that, even if the thing imputed to him had been a crime, he was innocent of that crime; and remembering, as I do, all the base means that were used to render him despicable in the eyes of the people, whom he had served in Parliament with more zeal and fidelity than any man that I have ever known, my Lord RADNOR only excepted; and who was more capable and more disinterestedly disposed to serve his country in arms than any man that I have ever known in my life.

Before we get to KINCARDINE, where we are to cross at the ferry, we go over about a mile or so of poor heathy ground, thousands upon thousands of acres the like of which any one may see in my native county of Surrey. Here, a few miles to our right, we see the OCHILL hills, running along from east to west, and dividing the county of FIFE from the county of PERTH. These hills are not called *Highlands*, though they are very lofty. As we approach KINCARDINE, the view is by far the finest that I ever beheld. We are in the midst of beautiful land on each side of us; the hills before-mentioned continue rising to our right; on our left we have the Frith of FORTH, and then the fine level lands between that and FALKIRK, and at the back of those rising up the very high hills which divide the county of EDINBURGH from those of PEEBLES and LANARK; while, a little to our right and in our front, the Frith of FORTH takes another beautiful bend, with flat lands on the side of it; then come hills rising one above another, and behind those, we see, at a distance, perhaps, from twenty to fifty miles, the tops of the Highlands called the BENCHOCAN, BEN-LIDDI, CRAIG-BENYON

(all of them conical mountains of a prodigious height); and, lastly, the tip of the "lofty BEN-LOMOND" itself, which really seems to touch the sky; which has been the subject of so many sonnets and so many songs, and the syllables composing the name of which are as sweet and as sonorous as the mountain itself is majestic. Very near to the little town of KINCARDINE, where the ferry is, is a very fine house, built by Lord KEITH, looking down into the Frith of FORTH. We crossed the ferry in five minutes; and, getting into a post-chaise which met us by appointment, we proceeded to FALKIRK over a level country, called the CARSE of FALKIRK, just like the Fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire; and, apparently, producing, like them, everlasting crops of wheat and of beans. Here they dig coals everywhere; and close by FALKIRK there is the famous CARROX iron-foundry. Before we get there, there is a country-house, on our right, called KINNAIRD HOUSE, which was the place of residence of the famous traveller, Mr. BRUCE; and, to the honour of the people here, they seem to reverence the place on that account. The CARROX works, prodigious as they are, naturally bring a numerous working population about them; and here is such a population, differing in no material respect from those of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Yorkshire.

Before we got into FALKIRK, we crossed the famous canal which connects the waters of the ATLANTIC with those of the GERMAN OCEAN, coming out of the Frith of FORTH, and ending, as we shall by-and-by see, in the CLYDE, between GREENOCK and GLASGOW. The manner in which a thing so apparently wonderful has been effected, neither my taste nor my time will induce me to endeavour to describe: it is sufficient for me to know that the thing is, and sufficient for the far greater part of my readers to know, that, by the means of this canal, goods, of any weight, are much more easily sent from GREENOCK and GLASGOW to EDINBURGH,

than from LONDON to BARNET or to UXBRIDGE.

At FALKIRK, my friends (BROUGHAM and TOM POTTER will say that "they are *fools*," but it is the FACT that we have to do with), rang the church bells in honour of my arrival, and received me with a hearty shout at the door of the hotel. Now, stop a bit. Is it not worth while for Lord GREY to think a little about this, and to turn again to that which I more particularly address to him in the early part of this article? As to gabbling, hair-brained, feelosofizing BROUGHAM and his crew; as to poor spiteful things like the tallow-man and the brewer privy-counsellors; as to these creatures, who know that they must be nothing if my doctrines and my propositions prevail; as to these creatures, all the addresses presented to me; all the honours with which I have been received, by thousands upon thousands, of whom I knew not a single soul; all the heaps of money (more than sixty pounds a night) paid for going to applaud me at the theatre, even at Edinburgh. All these, and all the rest which I have still to relate up to this day, will, with the "*feelosofers*," the tallow-man and brewer privy-counsellors, only operate in this way. Perceiving that if my doctrines prevail, they must either go to rake the kennel or black shoes, they will think of nothing but of means which they think calculated to counteract me; they will be racking their stupid skulls for tricks and contrivances to be carried on in conjunction with, and by the instrumentality of, such creatures as the POTTERS and BAXTER and SHUTTLEWORTH and their companion the Irish mountebank; through the means of which very identical reptiles, they have now been sending *pamphlets* (bearing the name of their mountebank companion) to their correspondents in EDINBURGH, FALKIRK, GLASGOW, PAISLEY, and GREENOCK; these pamphlets pointing out particularly my writings (*when I was in PHILADELPHIA*) against MEIR and the other Scotch reformers who were transported by PITT and DUNDAS; the stupid POTTERS and BAXTER and SHUTTLEWORTH,

not seeming to think it possible that those writings are seven-and-thirty years old; that I was then only thirty years old myself, or thereabouts; that I was then living in a country where an all-predominant *French* party praised Muir and his companions; and that that was enough, and ought to have been enough for me, who was an *Englishman*, and who knew nothing at all about the merits or demerits of Muir and his affair; the vulgar and rich sots of Manchester not seeming to think it possible that the Scotch had discernment enough to perceive these things: all these vermin, the BURGETTS, THOMPSONS, the HOBBOUSES, the POTTERS, and the like, not forgetting SERGEANT WILDE, and his brother Judge DENMAN, whose exploits in the case of Farmer BOYES and poor COOK, and in the case of the poor *Taffy*, too, may possibly yet be remembered: that all these vermin should see no prospect of escape from something or other unpleasant, unless I can be put down, and that they should entertain the hope of accomplishing the thing; seeing that their stupidity is equal to their spite, is of no more consequence to the public, than it is whether I crush a parcel of cockroaches with my foot, or sweep them into a fire with a broom; but, what the views and EXPECTATIONS of my Lord GREY are, with regard to this matter, is of *tremendous consequence to the whole nation, and particularly to my Lord Grey himself*.

I shall return to this matter by-and-by, when I have proceeded further with the account of my tour. At FALKIRK I lectured from the pulpit of a chapel, as I had done at the town of DUNFERMLINE; spent a very pleasant evening in a company of most respectable tradesmen of the town, with whom I sat up so much beyond my usual hour, that I had not time to breakfast before I came off at eight o'clock in the morning, when I departed amidst the cordial farewells of very numerous friends. At first, the flat land continues for a mile or two, on our way from FALKIRK to Glasgow; but soon after we get upon *high land*. The English reader will

take care not to confound *high lands* with *Highlands*. The former are like HAMPESTEAD and HIGHGATE, and EPSOM downs, compared with the lands approaching the Thames; but the Highlands are chains or groups of mountains in variety of forms and of heights, such as the imagination can never form to itself: they are *rocks*, the base of some of which is many miles across, and the points and edges of which, when not actually lost in the clouds, seem to touch the sky. This distinction my readers will be so good as to bear in mind. We were now, then, upon some of this high land: and, with the exception of the little bit which I mentioned in Berwickshire, and the still smaller bit in FIFE, I now, for the first time, saw poor land in Scotland. Here it is generally a sour clay. The ground is too high, and too cold for oaks; and, as no other trees like clay, everything of the tree kind is scrubby. In some places there is peat. In one part of the journey, we passed by BONNY-MUIR, which means pretty-moor; on an accusation for designing to assemble a rebel army on which, the Scotch reformers suffered so cruelly in 1820, when, as was then said, the infamous spies were so numerous that every man looked upon every other man as a spy, unless he personally knew him. These "*paternal*" exploits of the THING, in the exposing of which, and in defending the Scotch reformers, I only was heard, was forgotten by the shuffling fellows at the Three Golden Balls at Manchester, but it was not forgotten by the good people in Scotland; and particularly by the reformers in GLASGOW, who sent me a written vote of thanks in 1820, and who now, joined by nine-tenths of the whole community, have been showing their gratitude to me in person. And, do those muckworm creatures, the POTTERS, the grubbing TADCASTER fellows, imagine that, merely with their promises to pay printed upon bits of paper, and with their three golden balls; and do cackling SHUTTLEWORTH and pompous BAXTER and full-blooded Yankee DYER; do they imagine, that they, with the aid of a mere real moun-

tebank player, coming piping hot from the cauldron of Sergeant WILDE, being the fellow-labourer of "*our Charley*" in London; do they imagine, are they such complete brute beasts to imagine, that they could persuade, n't the Scotch *people* (for the thought would be worthy of death!) but even one single half-dozen of Scotch ploughmen, or Scotch weavers! If I, where in the Court of King's Bench, and having the group of Whig Ministers before me, stood in need of all my contempt to relieve me from the danger of suffocation at the thought of *running away* from the "GREYS and the BROUGHAMS and the LAMBS and the RUSSELLS;" what, oh God! what am I to stand in need of to prevent me from expiring at the thought of being checked for one moment in my course by such nasty creeping things as the POTTERS and the SHUTTLEWORTHS and the BAXTERS!

We came by the stage-coach; and in the coach there were three very sensible and polite gentlemen, one of whom, a very nice young man, was a hop-merchant and wine-merchant; and as, somehow or another, he began to say something about hops, I took an opportunity of showing off my at-once-extensive and minute knowledge of the subject, from the planting of the plant to the bagging and selling of the hops, naming particular places eminent for the growth of the article. By-and-by, the gentleman began to talk politics; from participating in which I carefully abstained, sitting as silent and looking as demure, as the country people say, as girls who have made a slip in their time do at a christening, there being a *baby* in the case in both instances. But, by-and-by, the conversation began to turn upon myself, and I thought it necessary to take the earliest opportunity to apprise the gentlemen of my identity; and the hop-merchant having said, "I should like to hear him speak," I said, you do hear him now, Sir: an explanation took place of course; and, whatever might be the sentiments of any one of the three, all was very pleasant. The hop-merchant then came back to our old subject, expressing his astonishment

that I, who had been so constantly engaged in pursuits of a quite different nature, should understand *so minutely* every little circumstance belonging to the raising and harvesting and curing and vending of hops; an astonishment which was, doubtless, removed when I told him, that the first work that I ever did in my life, was to tie the hop-shoots round the bottom of the poles with rushes; and that even as soon as I could stand upon my feet, those feet used to help to trample the rushes (spread upon the floor for the purpose, in order to make them pliant to tie with). Seeing that I had thus begun at the very bottom of the business, his wonder must have ceased that I understood so much about hops. After showing him, that, if the infernal duty were taken off, *which costs more in the collection* than its gross amount; after showing him the monstrous effect of this hinderance of the gift of God coming to our hands; after making it clear to him that the brewers of EDINBURGH ale would have for nine-pence, instead of three shillings, the hops which they now use, if this monstrous piece of foolery on the part of the Government were put an end to; after thus I bragged a little about having been born in the parish of FARNHAM, which produces the best hops in the universe, feeling bold, seeing that no Kentish or Sussex or Worcestershire, man was present. For, there is a tenderness upon this subject, which scarcely falls short of that when a young lady of fortune is the object of rivalry. My amanuensis, who is a *Sussex* man, was, to my perfect convenience on the outside of the coach; or, it is very likely that I should have been less forward to indulge in this little instance of human vanity. I promised this young gentleman, that when he came to London, I would take him down and show him the plantations and the people in my country which was very beautiful, and where he would see hop-works in their highest perfection. If he should see this, I hereby repeat my invitation, just observing, that it will be as *well* if, while he is there, he does not say anything to excite a suspicion in the minds

of the people that he thinks that it is possible that there may be hops in some part or other of the world equal to the "FARNHAM." Guarding against *this*, I will warrant him a most cordial reception.

When we got to GLASGOW, we alighted at a hotel; and though I was engaged to take up my quarters at the house of Mr. DAVID BELL, CLYDE BUILDINGS, as I had not breakfasted, I therefore set to that work at the inn, without loss of time, upon everything that is good, but particularly upon some *tender* beef-steaks: a thing which I have not met with before in more than one out of ten beef-steak joints in my life; and, I may as well stop here to observe, that which I have omitted before, that all the beef that I have tasted in Scotland has been excellent. It appears to come from the little oxen, which the Highlands send down in such droves; and a score of which, please God to give me life, I will have next year in Surrey. I should suppose that these little oxen, when well fatted, weigh about twenty score, which is about the weight of a Hampshire hog eighteen months or two years old. The joints are, of course, small compared with the general run of beef in London. A sirloin appears to be no very great deal larger than a loin of large veal rump and all. The meat is exceedingly fine in the grain; and these little creatures will fat where a Devonshire or Lincolnshire ox would half starve. My project is to get a score of them, let them run upon the common till the corn-tops and blades are fit to cut; then feed them with them; after that with mangel-wurzel or Swedish turnips, and have them fat as butter in the months of March, April, and May. I have never seen a piece of pork in Scotland, and there are very few pigs to be seen, though I saw in Berwick-hire a little of the half *wild* breed; that breed having been brought from the Mediterranean by my Lord LAUDERDALE's son or brother. The mutton at GLASGOW is chiefly from the black-faced Highland sheep; and, if it have age (four or five years old) it is exceedingly fine, though

the same pains are not bestowed in making mutton fat here as are bestowed in England; and the same may be said of the beef; and the reader recollects that the Scotch youth, who came to me at KENSINGTON, would not eat his breakfast that my daughter had prepared for him because the beef was "*very fat*;" and, really, my rage upon that occasion would have been less violent, if I had known that the general taste of his countrymen was against very fat meat. These little black-faced sheep, which may easily be made as fat as you please, shall some of them march into Surrey, or be carried in a steam-boat; and my Lord HOLLAND, who has been eating this mutton to my certain knowledge these twenty years, ought to have told us the secret long ago. I think a flock of these little sheep and a drove of these little oxen, are amongst the most pleasing sights that I ever beheld.

No much for the meat of Scotland; and now I am talking about victuals, let me observe, first, that the wheaten bread, of which there is an abundance in all the towns, is just about as good as it is in London; that, besides this, there are oat-cakes made very thin, which are very nice things of the bread kind, it being understood that I am speaking of such as are made in the houses of gentlemen, merchants, and persons who do not very rigidly adhere to the saving of expense; for there are some of these cakes which rank with the "*brose*" mentioned in the former part of this article. Then the oatmeal, when ground and dressed in a nice manner, is made into porridge, just in the same manner as the Americans make the cornmeal into *mush*, and it is eaten with milk just in the same manner. Every morning but one, while I was at Edinburgh, it formed the principal part of my breakfast; and I greatly preferred it, and should always prefer it, to toasted bread and butter, to muffins, to crumpets, to bread and butter, or to hot rolls. This is the living in Scotland, along with plenty of eggs, very fine butter, and English cheese; and everywhere you see a sufficiency of good victuals (including poultry and game); you see it without

ostentation; you see it without being compelled to sit whole hours over it; you see everything good and everything sensibly done with regard to the victuals; and as to the drink, just as in England, you always see ten times too much of it; and I verily believe that I shall be the first human being that ever came into Scotland, and went out of it again, without tasting wine, spirits, beer, or cider. Everybody drinks too much; and it is not just to reproach the working people with drunkenness; if you, whose bodily exertions do not tend to provoke this, set them the mischievous example, by indulging in drink, until habit renders it a sort of necessary of life. While all the world seem astonished at the wonderful labours that I am performing now, I feel that I am leading a very lazy life. The reason is, that I am always sober; always well (whatever the POTTERS may think of it); and, therefore, always fit to be doing *something*, and always wanting to be doing *something*.

I shall lose sight of my "*tour*" presently, if I do not come back to it. I had scarcely begun my breakfast, when the room was crowded with friends, who, in consequence of a mistake which I had committed, had gone to another inn to receive me. To name individuals in such a case would be improper, when all were equally entitled to my thanks. As soon as I was ready Mr. Bell brought a carriage, and took me home to his elegant and pleasantly situated house, in which I now write; from which I go to-morrow by the steam-boat to GREENOCK, and to which I shall return, after having been at GREENOCK, PRISLEY, and HAMILTON; and then, in a day or two, set off to England by the way of CARLISLE, stopping a day at OLDHAM, and another at MANCHESTER, hunting out the POTTERS from their hole by way of episode. And now what *am* I to say of this GLASGOW, which is at once a city of the greatest beauty, a commercial town, and a place of manufactures also very great. It is MANCHESTER and LIVERPOOL in one (on a smaller scale) with regard to commerce and manufactures; but, besides this, here is

the *City* of GLASGOW, built in a style, and beautiful in all ways, very little short of the New Town of EDINBURGH. The new Exchange is a most magnificent place; and, indeed, the whole of the city, compared to which the plastered-up Regent-street is beggarly, is as fine as anything that I ever saw, the New Town of EDINBURGH excepted. The whole is built of beautiful white stone; and doors, windows, and everything, bespeak solid worth, without any taste for ostentation or show. The manufacturing part, with the tall chimneys and the smoke, is at the east end of the city, and somewhat separated from it; so that there is very little smoke in GLASGOW. The river CLYDE runs down through the city; and ships come up and lie by the wharfs for the better part of a mile. Goods are here taken out or shipped with the greatest convenience. Higher up than the point to which the ships come, there are three bridges, which cross the CLYDE, for the convenience of going quickly from one side of the city to the other. By the side of the river, above the bridges, there is a place modestly called GLASGOW GREEN, containing about a hundred English acres of land, which is in very fine green sward, and is at all times open for the citizens to go to for their recreation.

Having three lectures to deliver here, and having engaged to go to GREENOCK the day after the delivery of the third, I had no time to walk about; but Mr. BILL has been so good as to take me round in a carriage, that I might not go away in a state of ignorance with regard to the extent and character of so important a place. I will give an account of this pleasant ride, by inserting a paragraph, from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of this day; to Mr. PRENTICE the editor of which, I take this opportunity of expressing my best thanks for a series of civilities, far too great for me to repay in an adequate manner:

"On Thursday, Mr. Cobbett, accompanied by Mr. Bell, in a carriage and pair, visited various parts of the city. Setting out from Clyde Buildings, they proceeded by Carlton Place,

“ along the Old Bridge, and then
 “ westward by the north side of the
 “ river to York-street, up that street to
 “ Argyle-street, thence to Buchanan-
 “ street, up St. Vincent-street, Hope-
 “ street, and West George’s-street,
 “ round Blythwood-square by Mon-
 “ tague-place, down Bath-street, from
 “ which Mr. Cobbett saw the shipping
 “ in the canal at Port-Dundas. Pro-
 “ ceeding down Buchanan-street by St.
 “ Vincent-place, round George’s-square
 “ by South Hanover-street, and Ingram-
 “ street to the Royal Exchange, where
 “ Mr. Cobbett alighted, and walked
 “ round the Great Room. Mr. Cobbett
 “ expressed much admiration at the
 “ splendour of the building, and the
 “ elegance and extent of the Great
 “ Room. The party then proceeded
 “ down Queen-street, Argyle-street,
 “ Glassford-street, Ingram-street, Mon-
 “ trose-street, George’s-street, to the
 “ University, where Professor Mylne
 “ received Mr. Cobbett, and showed
 “ him the Museum, the College, the
 “ Faculty-hall, &c., all of which Mr.
 “ Cobbett seemed much pleased with,
 “ and laughed heartily at the prospect
 “ of his being elected Lord Rector.
 “ From the College Mr. Cobbett pro-
 “ ceeded up High-street to the Royal
 “ Infirmary and Cathedral ; from thence
 “ down High-street, Saltmarket-street,
 “ and drove round the Green, which he
 “ admired exceedingly, and calculated
 “ by the eye that it contained above a
 “ hundred acres. Mr. Cobbett then
 “ visited Messrs. Henry Monteith and
 “ Co.’s Turkey red dyeing and print
 “ works at Rutherglen bridge, and was
 “ received by Mr. George Rodger and
 “ Mr. Harvie, the managers. Mr. C.
 “ seemed much gratified by his visit to
 “ the works, and acknowledged the
 “ attention paid to him by these gentle-
 “ men. Mr. Douglas, being at Bridge-
 “ ton on his canvass, accompanied Mr.
 “ C. through the work. Mr. Cobbett
 “ then proceeded through Bridgeton,
 “ by Canning-street, Green-street, Tu-
 “ reen-street, to Gallowgate-street, and
 “ down that street, by the Barracks, to
 “ the Old Exchange, where he alighted
 “ and visited the Tontine Coffee Room ;

“ Mr. Cobbett very much admired the
 “ room, the buildings, and the arcades
 “ of the Exchange. He then proceeded
 “ westward along the Trongate and
 “ Argyle-street, up Queen-street to
 “ Upper St. Vincent-street, and alighted
 “ to meet a party at dinner at Mr. John
 “ Boyle Gray’s. On passing the George
 “ Hotel, George-square, Mr. Cobbett
 “ observing two soldiers on duty ex-
 “ claimed, ‘ What are these soldiers do-
 “ ing there ? ’ which was explained to
 “ him. Altogether Mr. Cobbett express-
 “ ed himself much pleased at the extent
 “ and appearance of Glasgow. We
 “ understand he will leave this city to-
 “ morrow for Greenock, but will return
 “ again here. Mr. Cobbett will, very
 “ probably, visit some other establish-
 “ ments and places in Glasgow on his
 “ return.”

Greenock, 21. October, 1832.

After lecturing at GLASGOW, on
 Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday
 nights, I set off by the steam-boat for
 this town yesterday morning at eight
 o’clock, accompanied by my kind and
 generous entertainer, Mr. BELL, by Mr.
 DOUGLAS, of BARLOCK, who is a candi-
 date for GLASGOW, and by Mr. GRAY. I
 had not time in writing at GLASGOW to
 notice several things which I shou’d not
 have omitted. There is the finest, most
 convenient, and best conducted *cattle*
market that I ever saw in my life. I do
 not like to see manufactories of any
 sort ; but that of Mr. MONTEITH, for
 the dyeing and printing of calicoes and
 shawls and handkerchiefs, and upon a
 scale of prodigious magnitude, I did go
 to see, and I saw it with wonder that I
 cannot describe. First, there was a
 large room full of men, engaged in
 drawing, upon paper, the flowers and
 other things which were to be imprinted
 on their cotton ; then there was another
 set to put these drawings upon blocks
 of wood ; then there was another to
 fasten on little pieces of copper upon
 the wood ; then there was others to
 engrave upon copper, in order to print,
 pretty nearly as printing work is carried
 on ; then came the men to mark the
 copper with the blocks according to the

drawings ; and lastly came the printers, who carry on their work by rollers, and effect their purposes in a manner so wonderful, that it almost makes one's head swim but to think of it. The buildings belonging to this dyeing and printing concern are as large as no very inconsiderable country town.

I was not aware that GLASGOW was an ancient city ; but I now find, that it was the *see* of one of the archbishops of Scotland, which was divided into two archbishoprics, one in the east and one in the west ; the *see* of the latter of which was GLASGOW, and that of the former St. ANDREWS, in the county of FIFE. There is a college here of very ancient establishment, which, as the above paragraph relates, I went to see. Of the cathedral, only the nave and the chancel remain ; the transepts appearing to have been demolished. It is very ancient, and was once very grand, though for a long time it appears to have been miserably neglected ; but the two ends of it serve as churches to two parishes of the present inhabitants, which, however, seem not to be attended to with that care, and kept in that good state, that the other churches are.

With regard to the treatment that I received at GLASGOW, I cannot speak of it, until the next number of my *Register* ; because I am to return to GLASGOW again, to be at a public dinner there on the 29th of this month : this *Register* will appear there before that day, and I wish not to be at GLASGOW when that *Register* shall be received there. My treatment, therefore, by the people generally, and especially by individuals, is a subject that must be reserved until my next *Register* ; when I must also speak of this place, and of the treatment that I have received here. This present article I shall conclude with inserting an ADDRESS, which, on Friday last, I received at GLASGOW, from the reformers of NEWMILNS, AYRSHIRE, who came to me from that town (a distance of about twenty miles) for the express purpose of presenting me this address. If vulgar TOM POTTER and his mountebank companion ; if the Whig-Judge, Sergeant WILDE, and DRAYTON the

auctioneer ; if the tallow-man privy-counsellor, or the brewer privy-counsellor ; if BROUGHAM and DENMAN and BROUGHAM's precious crew of poor-law commissioners ; if these fellows could have seen and heard Oh, no ! what a fool I am ! It would have produced no effect upon these conceited and stupid creatures ; but if my Lord GREY could have seen the deputation that came twenty miles to bring me the following paper, and could have heard what they said, in addition to what they say in the paper itself, he would have said to himself : " If any considerable portion of such men as these, think as these men think, and have formed the resolution that these men appear to have formed, I must adopt the positions of COBBETT, or, after a vain struggle, sink in the attempt to resist them." The manner of presenting this ADDRESS, the hand-writing in which it was drawn up ; the cleverness, the great talent displayed by the gentleman (a very young man) who presented it to me ; the beautiful speech with which he prefaced the delivery of it into my hand ; everything belonging to the matter would have dictated to a man of sense to exclaim, " The principles of this man must prevail, and his plans must be adopted." Here follow the address and the names subscribed to it ; and, let the base POTTERS, the stupid SHUTTLEWORTH, and BAXTER, read it, and then wait eagerly for the arrival of the bloody old *Times*, to see if it contain nothing to comfort them.

To WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.

The reformers of Newmilns, Ayrshire, beg leave to congratulate you with feelings of the most unqualified gratification and delight upon your visit to the land of our nativity, which long did, and still does, contain hearts devoted to the cause of freedom. We have long and fondly cherished the hope of being enabled to address you in person, and thus we gladly avail ourselves of the

present opportunity. Our long perusal of your unrivalled writings has kindled in us an attachment for you, which nothing but the hand of time can extinguish. Your manly and unwearied advocacy of the rights and usefulness of the working classes, has called, and will call forth, the thanks and acclamations of a grateful people. To the labours of your pen we are chiefly indebted for the exposure of the workings of the paper-money system; a system fraught alike with cruel oppression, and destruction to sound morality. The plan of an equitable adjustment brought forward by you in the Norfolk Petition, and which you have ever since so ably advocated and defended, in conjunction with the other measures so clearly developed in the lectures delivered by you upon your fourteen propositions, we consider to be the only real cure for the miseries of a long-afflicted and injured people. And, Sir, we will not, we cannot despair of justice being done to us so long as God in his goodness to you and our country, grants you health and strength to continue your exertions in our behalf. We rejoice in the triumph of the Reform Bill, although we know it to be short of our just and natural rights, as we trust it will be the means of your introduction into Parliament along with a sufficient number of other representatives, pledged to and supported by the people, who will carry into effect your or similar measures, which will make our beloved country what she once was, and what nature has so admirably fitted her for by her geographical position, and by the strength, industry, and ingenuity of her inhabitants, the queen of nations and the abode of liberty, peace and plenty.

That you may live to see your la-

bours crowned with success: that you may descend to the grave amidst the tears of a grateful people, and that your memory may be cherished as the friend of your country, as long as its history shall continue, will be our unceasing prayer.

William Campbell	Andrew Nisbett
Hugh Brown	John Alexander
James Wylie	James Shaw
Robert Connell	James Campbell
John Campbell	Robert Campbell
James Mackie	James Nisbet
William Connell	James G. Smith
James Young	John Smith
George Mackie	James Smith
Alexander Brown	Andrew Terrance
George Nisbett	James Mason
John Brown	Robert Morton
John Conn	John Steel
Adam Haddow	Archibald Borland
John Campbell	William Steel
James Campbell	George Smith
John Parker, jun.	James Morton
George Nisbett	Hugh Muir
Andrew Allan	Archibald Hood
James Shaw	Alexander Inglis
John Donald	Alexander Parker
John Nisbett	James Young
William Murray	James Cameron
James Reid	David Sorance
James Nisbett	James Brown
John Darnalde	John Harris
James Wilban	William Lambie
Peter Nisbett	Hugh Love
Matthew Richmond	James Morton
John Smith	William Morton
John Howie	John Morton
James Middleton	Alexander Hood
Thomas Middleton	James Savers
Andrew Mackie	Hugh Savers
Robert Dabriel	James Inglis
Henry Harris	Andrew Pollock
James McGregor	John Morton
Andrew Love	Daniel Ferguson
David Pollock	James Young
Matthew Nisbett	James Brown
Thomas Reid	John Borland
John Campbell	William Smith
James Bell	John Jamie
George Pollock	John Harper
Robert Pollock	Hugh Morton
Mungo Reid	John Borland
James Campbell	John Norton
John Wilson	Nicol Brown
James Richmond	Robert Triler
Alexander Brown	Thomas Brown, sen.
John Campbell	John Dykes
Andrew Brown, sen.	William Smith
Andrew Brown, jun.	Thomas Paterson
Alexander Smith	James Morton
John Smith	Archibald Morton
Hugh Smith	James Mair
James Smith	George Mair

William Allison	George Morton
Robert Hood	Nicol Brown
John Hood	Thomas Brown
Richard Morton	John Mair
George Hood	James Mair
James Howie	Robert Alexander
William Cunningham	Thomas Mair
James Lumsden, jun.	James Mart in
Thomas Craig	Thomas Brown
James Runtrey	John Kilpatrick
George Morton	John Connell
Archibald Jorranee	Thomas Dykes
Andrew Jorranee	James Auld
Robert Young	John Hood
Archibald Young	Hugh Nation
George Smith	John Bawa
Adam Yalier	Hugh Mair
John Brown	Adam Morton
William Brown	James Jorranee
David Smith	James Morton
Robert Steel	James Smith
Peter McKenzie	James Young
William Harris	J. W. Lyon, Surgeon
Hugh Paton	John Richmond
William Woodburn	Matthew Paton
James Pollock	Matthew Mair
John Auld	Archibald Mitchell
William Frew	Matthew Wylie
Hugh Young	James Mitchell

NEWBURN is so situated, that I can go through it, in going from GLASGOW to get into the CARLISLE road; and, do this I will, unless something should happen to render the doing of it very inconvenient. I answered this address verbally, there being no time for doing it in any other manner. Precisely what I said I cannot now recollect, but I was so struck with the behaviour of the deputation, with their unfeigned attachment to me, whom they had never seen, and whom they are probably never to see again, that I was induced to trouble them with greater length, in my answer, than would, generally speaking, have been proper; but, I took this opportunity of assuring these kind and clever young men that, if I were chosen a member of Parliament, happen what would, I never would, for one single moment, be a party to a deceiving of the people; that I had taken a farm as a place of retirement; and that, if I found the people of England so base as not to go hand in hand with the people of Scotland, and insist upon those things being done which ought to be done, I would retire to that farm, and never remain for one minute to give my countenance to a *sham*; that, however, I felt

perfectly confident that the people in England would also do their duty; that they would insist that the work of legislation should be done by *day-light*, and not carried on under the roof of a victualler, mixing legislative speeches with the rattling of knives, forks, plates, and dishes, the drawing of corks, and the jangling of glasses; I trusted, that the people would insist, that the work of law-giving should no longer be carried on in this manner; and that, in that case, they might rely upon my best efforts to the last moment of my health and strength.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I have received very pressing invitations from the other side of the FRITH of FORTH, and from STIRLING. Indeed, from STIRLING, PERTH, DUNDEE, MONROSE, ABERDEEN, ELGIN, in what is called the North of Scotland. If I were sure that the Parliament would not be dissolved, I would go to these places now; but, as I have to do with a set of pretty gentlemen, some tailow-men and some brewers as well as privy-counsellors, whose business it seems to be to make human affairs uncertain, and human life a burden; I dare not move my body, at present, farther from the scene of action than I now am. If it please God to preserve my life, until the middle of next June, I will come to the North with one of my sons, and I will go into every county, and go even into the ORKNEYS, and see the good people there, to whom I taught the straw-plat manufacture. I will go and see how the Highlanders live, and how they raise those pretty sheep and oxen that they send to be devoured by others. I will go and inquire upon the spot into the manner in which the natives of the county of SUTHERLAND were driven from the land of their birth by the countess of that name, and by her husband, the Marquis of STAFFORD; and, if I be in Parliament, I will then endeavour to induce the nation, and through it the Parliament, to come to some settled determination relative to the right of landowners to drive away the natives of the land, or to refuse them a share of its produce. It is high time

that we come to some settled notions relative to this matter. I am very sorry that I cannot accept the invitations that have been given me now; but I will endeavour to show my gratitude by my visit next year.

GOVERNING OF SCOTLAND.

Greenock, 22. Oct. 1832.

It was high time that somebody should come to Scotland to be able to explain to Englishmen how this country has been treated. I, who had known so many Scotchmen ever since I was sixteen years old, who had had so many of them come to visit me, in the jail into which I was put for writing against the flogging of local militia men; I, even I, had strong feelings excited in my mind against Scotland generally (always expressly making great exceptions) by observing that the scoundrelly "*feclosufers*," who preached up a doctrine, tending to cause the people of England to be treated like cattle: even I could not make it out how it was, that Scotland should spew forth so many of these monsters. I now see to the bottom of the whole thing. Those who have read the history of the Roman empire, know that it extended itself over all Europe; and that the farther any part of its subjects were from Rome, the worse they were treated by their governors (called pro-consuls) that were set over them. LA FONTAINE, in his beautiful tales, relates, that a man came before the senate from one of the distant provinces to complain of the monstrous injustice and cruelty, exercised by the pro-consul in the province from which he came; that the senate heard his eloquent and indignant description with patience; and then laid their heads together to consider about the wrongs inflicted on this province, and about the answer that they should give to this eloquent complainant; when one of the senators said, "Make him himself pro-consul of his province, and you will hear no more complaints from him, I will warrant you." This was done, and the

province was oppressed more than ever. Just thus it has been with Ireland and with Scotland, which have always been injured by the selfishness and treachery of those whose birth ought to have taught them to be their protectors; and, the renegade villainous "*feclosufers*," who have come to London from Scotland, have been, and are, the corrupt tools of the Scotch oligarchy for selling their own country, and of the English oligarchy for pillaging and enslaving the people of England. Here is this great commercial and fishing town of GREEKOCK, with a population of thirty thousand souls, and with a custom-house like a palace, to have one member of Parliament, while the miserable town of THETFORD, in Norfolk, without any trade, in the middle of a barren bit of ground, and with a population of only 3,402 souls, to have two members of Parliament! A hundred instances, pretty nearly as shameful as this, might be pointed out; but, here is DUMBARTON, on the side of the CRYDL, at once commercial and manufacturing to a certain extent, having a population far surpassing that of CHIPPENHAM; but there must be two or three other towns added to DUMBARTON, making up about twenty thousand people, in order to entitle them to have *one* member, while the old rotten borough of CHIPPENHAM, which has only 5,270 people, is to have *two* members! How came the Scotch members in the house not to contend against this monstrous injustice? Ah, faith! nineteen twentieths of them would have been glad if Scotland had no members at all! But, as it is; bad as it is; monstrously unjust as it is, it will put an end to the *pro-consulships*, and drive all the "*land-clearing*" and poor-rate-abolishing "*feclosufers*" to the devil, who must be sighing for them as the bridegroom sighs for the bride. It will be a happy meeting. As the coachman says, in *TOM JONES*, it is very proper that there should be a hell for such monsters to go to. However, as they may escape in the next world, I am for doing them justice in this; and, if I have not been diligent enough heretofore, I will *now* discharge my duty, at any rate.

As a little specimen of the treatment which the Scotch pro-consuls have suffered their country to receive, I will mention the conduct of what is called the "TRINITY-HOUSE," with regard to pensioners. This has been a great instrument in the hands of corruption. I must explain a little the nature of it, before I proceed to the specimen above-mentioned. This "TRINITY-HOUSE," as it is called, is a corporation, originally founded for the purpose of causing lighthouses, buoys, and pilots, to be provided, for the purpose of securing safe navigation into and out of our harbours. The members of it consist of what are called "*elder brothers*;" and a great number of the aristocracy, who scarcely know a buoy from a tea-kettle, are "*elder brothers*" of this concern, which has the fingering of immense sums of money; a circumstance which you have already supposed, the moment you heard that the *aristocracy* thought it an honour to belong to it. These "*elder brothers*" get the money by taxes levied upon ships, and all sorts of sea-vessels, and by the rents of estates, which, at various times, good and public-spirited merchants and other men, have bequeathed to this corporation, from the most benevolent of motives, and for purposes which they expected would be answered by their bequests. A reformed Parliament, unless it will want reforming again the first week, will ransack this monstrous concern to the bottom, and teach the "*elder brothers*" that the money is not to be expended upon grand dinners, and the like. But, at present, I mean to speak only of the treatment which *Scotland* receives from these "*elder brothers*;" and this, too, only in the particular case of its *pensioners*. A part of its funds is annually expended in pensions given (or ought to be given) to meritorious seafaring persons, having served principally in matters connected with *commercial* navigation; and not with matters relating to the warlike marine. These pensioners are naturally persons belonging to the several commercial sea-ports; and, if the TRINITY-HOUSE were just in bestowing

these pensions, we should naturally find that the number of pensioners at each commercial sea-port, would, in some degree, at any rate, correspond with the amount of trade and population of each sea-port respectively. In the year 1825, an account of the number of these pensioners was laid before the Parliament and published. That account, the commercial towns ranged in the following manner, with its number of pensioners against each; and, if the Scotch and Irish readers still want something to convince them of the tendency of the pro-consul government, let them look well at this list.

ENGLISH TOWNS.

	Number of Pensioners.
Aberistwyth	17
Alonby.....	19
Berwick	52
Bideford	93
Bristol	72
Caernarvon	81
Dartmouth	177
Exeter	179
Fishguard	123
Gainsborough	100
Ilfracombe	98
Ipswich	67
Liverpool	282
London	3,741
Lymington	86
Newbiggin	85
Newhaven.....	16
Penzance.....	56
Ramsgate.....	59
Scarborough ..	158
Scilly.....	38
Shieldses (the two) and Newcastle	678
Staith.....	280
Stockton-upon-Tees ...	65
Sunderland	150
Workington	255
Yarmouth.....	360

Total for England .. 6,408

SCOTCH TOWNS.

	Number of Pensioners.
Aberdeen.....	14
Montrose.....	91
Glasgow.....	2
Greenock.....	5
Total for Scotland ..	112

IRISH TOWNS.

Cork	60
Total for Ireland ..	60

There, you scoundrelly "*feelosofers*," who sell your own country, and who come to point out to our oligarchy how they shall check the population and drive the people from the land; you renegade scoundrels; you base instruments of injustice, tyranny, and cruelty, who applauded the driving of the natives out of the county of SUTHERLAND, and who are advising all insolent and stupid beasts of landowners, to desolate the villages and drive out the people from Kent and from Sussex, and to have a few slaves in "*boothies*," to raise corn and cattle for the French to come over and take at their pleasure; there, you renegade Scotch scoundrels, that is what you could never find out! But, it is what the Scotch reformers have seen long and long enough; and, therefore, it is that they gather round me on whom they can rely for my best efforts to put an end to these abominations.

What! your "*feelosofical*" blood, though put into you by the earth and the air of Scotland, can move, can it, tranquilly through your veins while you see the little miserable village of NEW-BIGGIN, in Westmoreland, which contains only *a hundred and fifty-two souls*, have almost as many pensioners upon this list as the whole of Scotland put together, while GREENOCK has only *five*, GLASGOW only *two*, and many other towns of commerce not one! But NEW-BIGGIN lies close by the rotten borough of APPLEBY! LONDON has no right to more than about a thousand of these

pensioners; and yet it has more than one half of the whole. Do not these things want rectifying; and are you not the greatest villains that the world ever saw, or the most stupid of beasts, to be crying up the happiness of Scotland, and to be labouring to reduce England to a similar state? Only think of the monstrous partiality here exhibited. Here we see the little miserable port, which is hardly a port, of WORKINGTON, with *two hundred and fifty-five* pensioners, while GLASGOW has *two*! Aye, but WORKINGTON is close by the rotten-borough of COCKERMOUTH; and the voters at COCKERMOUTH would naturally not be the worse for a pension, given under the name of sea-faring men at WORKINGTON. Base and mercenary ruffians, your days of "*feelsofy*" and living in idleness are at an end: the reform, defective as it is, will destroy you as completely as if you had been shot or run through the body. No matter about *Whig* or *Tory*: the *people* will have these abominations put an end to: and, you must take to the honest calling of sweeping the streets or blacking the shoes. I have a hundred times said, that, on general subjects, when speaking of our country, I made use of the word England, I wish to be understood as including every part of the kingdom. I know, that for England herself to be happy and free, her laws (as they stood before the reign of George the Third) must be extended to, and firmly take root in Scotland and in Ireland; I know, that every lash given to either of these two countries inflicts a wound upon England herself; I know, that the accursed "*boothies*" of Scotland, and the accursed potato-diet of Ireland, tend to take the meat and the bread, and the knives, forks, and plates from the tables of the labourers of England. Therefore, a love of England herself would induce me to endeavour to cause justice to be done to Scotland and to Ireland; but, if that were not the case, I should hate myself if I were capable of keeping silence, being a witness of these monstrous oppressions.

GLASGOW ELECTION.

THE thing is done in Scotland. When I read of the fifty Tories, who came out of their dining-room (at DUNDEE, I think it was) with bloody handkerchiefs tied round their heads, I exclaimed, "Thank God Almighty! Scotland is free at last." That was enough for me. And, notwithstanding the contest between Whig and Tory; notwithstanding the number of members who will be sent to Parliament who really wish for no reform at all; notwithstanding the monstrously unfair distribution of suffrage and allotment of members, Scotland will no longer say unto *corruption*, "Thou art my father, and to the worm, though art my mother and my sister;" she will no longer creep like the worm, nor again be the victim of corruption; and, if we, in England, were to be so base as to neglect our duty, we should be shamed into the performance of it by these our countrymen who have so long been oppressed in a manner so cruel. Amongst all the marks of energy and of good sense which I see everywhere in Scotland, the universal voice of the people at GLASGOW, in favour of Mr. DOUGLAS, of BARLOCK, is not amongst the least. There are several opposing candidates; but the principal are a couple of false Whigs; one a Mr. OSWALD, a manufacturer of some sort; and the other a surgeon from India, of the name of CRAWFURD, who is married to a daughter of the late PERRY of the *Morning Chronicle*; who abides somewhere in Kent; who is somehow or other in great favour with my dignitary Dr. BLACK, through the patronage, I dare say of the now elder Mr. PERRY, and of Mr. BENTLEY, executor of the late Mr. PERRY, who are great cronies of my dignitary, and who are endeavouring to get Mr. PERRY elected for the borough of CHATHAM. These are the wheels that are moving Dr. BLACK, and the base and bloody old *Times*, to endeavour to promote the interests of CRAWFURD, and to cause it to be believed, that Mr. DOUGLAS has no chance. Never was there a greater falsehood: Mr. DOUGLAS has pledged himself most

manfully and most distinctly to endeavour to accomplish all the things which the people have most at heart; and, as to his unpopularity, let my English readers take these facts: at my lectures, the play-house was filled full in every part, gallery, pit, and boxes; and, the tickets being sold, and the boxes taken, beforehand, many hundreds were obliged to go away without getting entrance; that, therefore, here was a fair meeting of the middle and the working classes of GLASGOW; that Mr. DOUGLAS did me the honour to attend at these lectures; and that he was always received by the audience with three rounds of applause, as hearty and as unanimous as any that I ever heard in my life. So much, then, for the lie of the bloody old *Times* with regard to what it calls the unpopularity of Mr. DOUGLAS. This nasty and beastly old thing seems to have been afraid to refuse to insert the following two letters, one from MANCHESTER, the other from GLASGOW. It did insert them on the 8th of October; and, if the reader will go through them, he will understand pretty accurately what are the prospects of the election of the important port and city of GLASGOW.

Sir,—You have lately thought proper to announce very strongly, and particularly in your Journal of Thursday, which I saw here yesterday (where I happen to be on a visit), on the conduct of Mr. Hume in recommending representatives to certain towns in opposition to the Whig or Ministerial candidates, previously in the field.

Your paper enjoys the widest circulation, and it exercises very great influence on the public mind. Upon that account I thus publicly and decidedly, though respectfully, beg leave to dissent from your opinion and doctrines on the point in question. Mr. Hume has, somehow or other, obtained the confidence of all those unconnected with the Pension List and our overgrown establishments in church and state. He is one of the very few members of Parliament who have proved themselves to be the staunch and consistent friends of the people on all occasions, and his motives are considered pure and disinterested. He had been applied to, it seems, and requested to suggest and point out to the electors of Bath and other places, men whom he considered to be both able and determined to enforce and carry the true purposes of the Reform Bill into full effect in the House of

Commons, and who would willingly pledge themselves to their constituents accordingly. Now, Sir, are you really prepared to maintain that the electors would be wrong in returning such representatives as these, because they happened to be men who disclaimed all connexion with Lord Grey's or any administration whatever, and would enter into the House of Commons, therefore, as the unfettered and determined advocates of the people? A Ministry truly worthy of the country, and such as ought to guide the nation and its destinies at this eventful crisis, could not but rejoice at seeing a House of Commons filled with such members.

The Reform Bill was conceded to the loud and general outcry of a distressed country, reduced to extremity by a long-continued course of corruption and misgovernment, which existed and scourged the land for so many years, because it was beyond the power of being checked and controlled by the people. The act of Parliament, or "Reform Bill," now affords to the people though at the eleventh hour, this just and efficient control, in all time coming, over their own affairs,—if they have only the good sense and firmness to be true to themselves, and choose men devoted neither to a Whig nor a Tory party, but to the good of the country at large; and who are determined to bring the real benefits that may be derived from the Reform Bill into full and effectual operation as speedily as possible, in order to lessen the burdens and alleviate the sufferings of the country.

Though there are many great and crying evils which will fall to be remedied in consequence of this memorable act of Parliament, yet the very first and most important point to be obtained, and which will give some relief to the country, is cheap government,—namely, the abolition of sinecures, pensions, and all places whatever that can be dispensed with; the unsparing reduction of salaries which cannot be dispensed with; and curtailing our overgrown civil, military, and church establishments, at home and abroad. And who are the men who will have the courage and patriotism to commence and complete this Herculean, but imperative, task? Let the electors of Great Britain and Ireland seriously pause, and consider this well. It will be for them to decide whether they can fairly expect to obtain any effectual relief from men connected with either of the two great political parties of the state, who, for the sake of place, have always been found so eager to vanquish and eject each other from the executive Government of the country.

You have taken occasion also in your journal of Thursday to make some remarks on the candidates for the representation of Edinburgh and Glasgow. I have resided in the former city for the last 20 years, and (being a native of Dumbartonshire) I was educated and lived at Glasgow (where I am still a frequent visitor to my nearest relations) for as long a period. I therefore know the

state of feeling, and the individuals you allude to, in those cities, much better, I believe, than your informant seems to do, at least if he speaks (through you) according to his real knowledge and information on the subject. If the electors of Edinburgh return Mr. Aytoun in preference to Mr. Abercrombie, it must be because they feel assured that he will serve them more zealously and essentially in Parliament, than the man who is quartered upon the public for doing nothing, and is fettered and gagged by an unearned pension of 2,000*l.* a year for life. If the country obtains a tithe of the justice it expects from a reformed Parliament, it is quite clear that this very pension is one of the first which will be, and ought to be, lopped off. The electors of Edinburgh ought to be the best judges of their own interest, and as they will send members to the "House," not to please Lord Grey's administration, I presume, but to serve themselves, I cannot see, therefore, how they can be justly blamed if their choice should fall upon Mr. Aytoun. As to Tory Ewing, of Glasgow, as you are pleased to call him, and who happens to be a distant relation of my own, he is no Tory, but as good a Whig as Lord Palmerston, or even Sir John Cam Hobhouse, with ten times their talent and information. Mr. Douglas, of whom you speak so lightly and incorrectly, is a gentleman of extraordinary abilities and accomplishments, who is universally respected by high and low, with the exception of some of the ultra Tories, from one of whom (in disguise) I suspect you have derived your information.

I am an old and confirmed reformer, as you will perceive, when I state that the "Father of reform," the virtuous and venerable Major Cartwright, was my intimate friend, and resided with me during his visit to Edinburgh in 1815. If you are possessed (as I believe you are) of that manliness and candour which you lay claim to, you will publish this letter, as well as my letter of the 24th of July, "To the Electors of Edinburgh," signed "An Old Scottish Reformer," and which you will find in the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 26th of July. I now forward to you for that purpose. You are of course welcome to comment on these letters with all gentlemanly freedom, in your powerful and influential journal. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
AN OLD SCOTTISH REFORMER.

64, George-street, Manchester, Sept. 29.

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,—I am sorry to see you have allowed some injudicious person to usurp the editorial pen in respect to the Glasgow election. A similar article in the *Morning Chronicle* would

* We have not room for that letter in addition to the one now inserted.

not have excited surprise, because Mr. Crawford is connected with Mr. Black's friends, the Perries: but it was not known that he could sway the *Times* too.

Of all the Glasgow candidates Mr. Douglas was the first publicly mentioned. And an election committee, upon the broadest and most public basis, was in progress to ascertain which two of the reformers who might be proposed to represent Glasgow had the greatest support, in order that the weaker candidate might retire and support the stronger, when a party, well known in Glasgow, under the name of "Digesters," from their having entered into a private cabal to "digest measures for the people to carry into effect," brought out Mr. Oswald and Mr. Crawford.

When this plan to defeat the wishes of the citizens, and to keep out their popular candidate, was discovered, Mr. Douglas the very next day published his address to the electors. Afterwards he addressed fourteen large assemblies of electors, who published strong resolutions in his support, and spontaneously named on the spot local committees, consisting of above 1,200 persons, who, by an active canvass, have already insured his election.

In attempting to address the electors at public meetings, in imitation of Mr. Douglas, Mr. Crawford demonstrated to the conviction of the whole Glasgow public his inferiority and incompetency. No Glasgow journalist could be induced to publish anything so notoriously untrue as that Mr. Crawford—totally unknown to Glasgow—had the slightest chance of success against Mr. Douglas, who had been known as an active, consistent, and energetic advocate of reform, both by speech, writing, and action for the last 25 years.

While Mr. Douglas's support was increasing, and Mr. Crawford was losing ground every day, some friends of the latter circulated through the city a fabulous account of the state of the canvass. To expose this device, and from a full confidence in their own strength, Mr. Douglas's committee proposed to Mr. Crawford the plan of a joint canvass in order to unite reformers by the retreat of the candidate having the fewest votes. This fair proposal was rejected by Mr. Crawford, with whom therefore rests the blame of the continued discussion among reformers.

Mr. Douglas is invidiously styled an "attorney," to color a false imputation of unpopularity. Mr. Douglas is very different from what the English understand by an attorney. His education, general and professional, would have entitled him to admission as a Scottish or English barrister. The thousands who applauded his recent addresses, and gratefully recollect his public services, will read with astonishment the assertions of his unpopularity and of the implied popularity of Mr. Crawford, which no Glasgow newspaper would have risked its credit by publishing, and which therefore have been systematically published in distant newspapers, to which Mr. Crawford's friends had access.

Mr. Crawford never had any chance of success. He is unable to speak. He cannot make himself intelligible in a popular assembly. He has no readiness, nor faculty of applying his knowledge. His qualifications consist in being a good writer; but in this he is inferior to Mr. Douglas, as every one who has read Mr. Douglas's pamphlet on the poor-laws and law reform can testify. In every other respect, in all that concerns the country or the people Mr. Crawford is immeasurably below Mr. Douglas.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A GLASGOW ELECTOR.

Glasgow, Sept. 29.

TO THE ELECTORS OF BERKSHIRE.

LETTLER I

Glenock, Scotland, 22. Oct. 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I EXPECTED to be able to be at READING and NEWBURY by the last week in this month. It being out of my power to accomplish that, in consequence of my engagements in Scotland, I take this method of expressing my hope that you will not cover yourselves with everlasting disgrace by choosing, to *represent you*, a fellow named JOHN WALTER, who lives at BEAR-WOOD, somewhere between OAKINGHAM and READING, and who was part-proprietor, manager and conductor of the *bloody Times* newspaper for many years; and he was so at the time when that bloody vehicle justified the murder of the Protestants at NISMES, in France; when it hunted poor CASHMAN the sailor to the gallows; when it insisted upon the necessity of our carrying on war against America until we had deposed JAMES MADDISON, and when it justified the deeds of our own fellows, in 1817, in passing those horrible bills, by which Englishmen, if

reformers, were shut up in prison at the pleasure of SIDMOUTH and CASTLE-READH, without even being told of any offence that they had committed ; and when READING jail and its dungeons were crammed with these victims.

This infamous newspaper, which still continues its bloody course, always justifying every tyrannical and cruel deed, may now be *managed* by other persons ; but, this JOHN WALTER was the manager of it during the time of which I have spoken ; during the publication of the infamous things which I have particularly mentioned, and of hundreds of other things equally infamous : yet, that *jesting gentleman* ; that dealer in puns ; that retailer of Joe Miller-like wit ; that HENRY MARSH, who has been a swaggerer about *reform* for so many years, has the incomparable baseness to stand forward as the champion of this newspaper-grinder, and to make his merit as a newspaper-grinder, the GROUND OF HIS PRETENSIONS to represent the county of Berks ! However, you must be too tired of this babbler's jesting ; of the ten-thousand-times-told tales of this everlasting diner and toaster, who has the astonishing impudence to tell you, that the bloody instrument of tyranny, the *Times* newspaper, " was always the friend of reform : " you must have seen too much of this despicable jester by this time to pay any attention to what he says, while he is going about from place to place guttling and guzzling at the expense of this WALTER and by the means of money got out of his bloody newspaper ; which, though it has just now had something like justice done to it by Mr. ALDERMAN SCALES, is not now more infamous, nor so infamous as it

was at the time when it was conducted by this JOHN WALTER.

I am here at a great distance from my books ; but, when I get back, I will carry you down chapter and verse for all that I say about the conduct of this fellow. I will produce you, from his own paper, proof of the truth of all that I say. But, did not SCOTT ELDON make him a justice of the peace ? did not WELLINGTON sanction his being made a justice of the peace ? If you be reformers, what do you want more than that ? However, the thing to do is, for you to put the following questions to WALTER :

1. Are you the printer, and do you receive the profits of the printing, of the bloody *Times* newspaper, *now* ?
2. Are you a proprietor, and shareholder, along with ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRIGHT, of the bloody *Times* newspaper ?
3. Was that true which STODDART published respecting your conduct as to your publishing bills against the poor reformers in 1817 ?
4. How much of the public money have the divers branches of the family of WALTER received within the last five-and-thirty years ?

These questions may do for the present. But, as to this last question, I am determined, if I be in parliament, that the matter shall undergo a thorough investigation. There has always been, for years past, part of this brood of the WALTERS fastened upon this devoted people, in some form or another ; and I am resolved to cause a strict inquiry into this matter. When I get home, I will begin to collect accurate information upon the subject. I saw a letter, in the hand-writing of old WALTER, the

founder of the crew, which letter was written to be shown to me, confessing that he had received seven hundred pounds in the time of the sway of PITT, *for libelling the sons of the king*. In short, I will show you how you would cover yourselves with everlasting infamy if you were to elect this man. You are told, that by electing him you will "*keep out a Tory*." Keep out a Tory! What Tory upon earth can be so bad as a man like this? And what principles has he? And what does he understand, except the getting of money by grinding and publishing dirty paragraphs?

Mind, I will go into Berkshire and say all this to the fellow's face; and in the town or village nearest to where he lives, if he have the pluck to come and meet me. I have no time for any thing more at present: I shall be able to get into Berkshire by the middle of November or thereabouts, of which you shall be duly apprized. DAN STEWART, the other great agent of tyranny in 1817, who has retired with his justice of peaceship into Oxfordshire, has the prudence to keep quiet. I will go and find out DAN's quarters and beat them up; for, as I have a hundred times said, there will be no good and righteous government in England until these men shall be *legally dealt with* for their conduct in 1817. I will be bound to stick a blister-plaster up on them, that shall not be jested off by the swaggering and jesting-toastmaster HARRY MARSH.

My friends, in the hope that you will reject this newspaper fellow with scorn, and begging you to be assured, that I will come down and challenge the fellow and his jesting champion to meet me face to face,

I remain,
Your faithful Friend,
And most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I hereby request persons acquainted with the matter, to be getting ready materials for a full history of old WALTER and all his descendants and collateral branches, and particularly to collect information relative to the sums of money, in whatever shape, that any of them may have had from the public.

NOTIFICATION TO CORRESPONDENTS.

My correspondent, who sends me an invitation from DARLINGTON, in the following words, is respectfully informed, that I shall be at CARLISLE on, or about, the 2d of November; that I shall go thence to DARLINGTON, and that I will stop there two nights; that I intend then to go to LEEDS, stop there one night, then go to BRADFORD, stop there one night; then go to TADMORDEX, and ROCHDALE, and stop a night at ROCHDALE, if possible; then go to OLDHAM, stop there a night; then to MANCHESTER, and stop there a night, just to row up the POTTERS and SHUTTLEWORTHS and BAXTERS, and to tell them of the wonderful effects that the pamphlet of the mountebank has produced in Scotland; then go to BIRMINGHAM and COVENTRY, and stay a night at each place, just to describe to them the wonderful advantages that the Scotch have derived from their one-pound notes. I had almost forgotten the invitation from DARLINGTON, which has been conveyed to me in the following words, from the chairman of the meeting, held there for the purpose of sending me an invitation.

Resolved—"That Mr. COBBETT be
"earnestly solicited to visit this town,

“to deliver lectures on the political
 “state of the country, the impartial
 “knowledge of which, by all classes of
 “the community, can alone work out
 “the salvation of Great Britain from
 “her political degradation; a means,
 “which may not be more efficiently
 “employed and cultivated than when
 “communicated with the eloquence,
 “zeal, and patriotism of WILLIAM COB-
 “BETT.”

THE LORD MAYOR'S ADDRESS. EYE-WATER.

THE Lord Mayor of London has issued his address to the electors of the city, and, as it is very elaborate and more explicit than any that has yet been issued by any candidate, as it says something upon every topic that the people care anything about, and as it speaks well upon every one, this address is published by me as an example to candidates and electors all over the kingdom. The Lord Mayor has come out voluntarily with a string of pledges that render any thing more, as far as regards him, quite unnecessary: for it is impossible that he, with this paper on record, with the eyes of his constituents on him, should act a false or shuffling part when in parliament. He must follow the instructions of his constituents in the votes that he will have to give on the different measures that he evidently contemplates; and, the Lord Mayor of London, professing what we see underneath, and pledging himself as he there does, with what face can the hypocritical shuffling Whig candidates refuse to declare openly their principles and pledge themselves in detail to *certain specific measures*? Shufflers, shufflers! it is this that makes them

wriggle and twist about; this that makes Torrens abuse me; but the whole crew of them will be brought down to specific pledges yet before the day of election, or they will stand a poor chance of being elected; and my real opinion is, that they will calculate to a fraction the worth of being in when bound down hand and foot by pledges, and then, if worth the while, if they think that with these pledges at work in the parliament, the shadow of a sovereign in the corner of the Exchequer remains to be given to tools, in they will rush like hounds to the scrag-pole; I believe they will make a calculation as nice as that which the paper-money makers of New York made when they issued notes so long as they paid the expenses of paper and print and house and clerks; and I believe that upon the result of the calculation will depend, whether or no the Whig candidates will take the pledges or not. By-the-by, a very clever small pamphlet has been put into my hand, and to the influence of which I am inclined to ascribe the explicitness and the spirit of the Lord Mayor's address. It is entitled “*Eye-Water for the use of Electors in general and of those of London in particular*,” sold by Wilson, Royal Exchange. It is a little *resumé* of past events, in which they are so well contrasted, and the principal actors in them so shown off, so clearly and in so small a space, that the drowsiest alderman of all the drowsy court that he belongs to need not rub his eyes for a month after one application of this “water.” The author concludes his observations on the City of London with this:—

“The electors of London will soon
 “have an opportunity of showing their
 “detestation of this corrupt and profligate system, by choosing for their re-

"representatives in parliament, men who
 "will distinctly pledge themselves to
 "promote, by every means in their
 "power, a full and complete investiga-
 "tion and exposure of all the *jobbing*
 "transactions of the Corporation of
 "London, and also of the various *com-*
 "*panies*, and *parishes*. If a candidate
 "hesitate to pledge himself, it may at
 "once be concluded, that he does not
 "intend to consult the wishes of his
 "constituents, after he shall have
 "coaxed them out of their votes by
 "vague and delusive promises. It is
 "not to be expected that candidates
 "will be found to pledge themselves to
 "*every thing* that may be required,
 "because one body of electors may
 "propose tests which may differ from
 "those of another body. But as there
 "are some in which all *sincere* re-
 "formers agree, they should be in-
 "sisted upon as indispensable.

"1st. The total abolition of all sine-
 "cures, and of all pensions not
 "given for well-merited services.

"2d. The abolition of tithes, and the
 "appropriation of all church pro-
 "perty to public uses; paying the
 "clergy only for real services.

"3d. The repeal of the duty on soap,
 "hops, and malt: and of the stamp
 "and assessed taxes.

"4th. The shortening the duration of
 "Parliaments; and the establish-
 "ment of the vote by ballot."

In this little pamphlet there is a great deal of "*my thunder*," but the author is not base wretch enough to abuse me while he makes use of my bolts, and this being the case, I am pleased to find a coadjutor in my disciple, and I applaud him greatly for the blows that he has dealt to the base newspapers and their baser bribers.

THE ADDRESS OF SIR JOHN KEY, BART., LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS.

GENTLEMEN,—The voice of the nation has assigned to the inhabitants of this great city the meed of honourable distinction for the prompt and vigorous support they gave to his Majesty's Ministers, when—amid circumstances of the most fearful and portentous character—they nobly persevered in procuring for the people of England the passing of the Reform Bill, as the means of restoring to them their long-lost rights.

The Reform Bill passed—the most important assembly that ever swayed the destinies of a nation is about to be convened—and upon the choice of individuals to compose it will depend whether that bill is to be merely the idle record of a speculative theory, or whether it is substantially to regain for, and secure to, the nation good and cheap government, and, as its fruits, to dispense to the people the blessings of liberty, prosperity, and peace.

To my avowed attachment to the cause of reform I owe the unusual distinction of being twice called upon to fill the civic chair; and to the same circumstance I am indebted for an invitation by a large portion of your body to offer myself as a candidate for your suffrages at the approaching election.

Deeply impressed with the responsibility that will devolve upon the representatives of the nation at the first meeting of the reformed Parliament, were I to consult my own feelings, I should shrink from the task which the confidence of my fellow-citizens proposes to assign me; but we live in times when the post of honour and of duty is not a private station. Those who, by the expression of their opinion, or the influence of their station, supported the principles of the Reform Bill during the recent struggle, gave by their conduct an implied pledge to their Sovereign, to his Ministers, and to the nation at large, that if called upon, they would assist in working out the benefits which, in honest hands, and honest hands alone, that measure is calculated to secure.

It is with these feelings I have accepted the invitation, and upon you I throw myself with confidence for support.

The all-absorbing question of parliamentary reform has hitherto prevented me from making my fellow-citizens acquainted with my opinions upon other great subjects of national interest. The magnitude of the constituency of the city renders it impossible that I should by personal canvass individually acquaint the electors with my views upon those topics. I shall make arrangements to meet, before the dissolution of Parliament, such large bodies of the electors in different districts as may find it convenient to attend; but, as public meetings are but little favourable to the statement

of opinions in detail, I avail myself of this unusually explicit form of address, even at the risk of being thought tedious, to develop my sentiments upon all those leading subjects of public policy which must speedily undergo the consideration of the reformed House of Parliament.

It is one of the characteristics of a free nation, that differences should prevail, and be avowed in the *details* of questions, even amongst men who are on the *main agreed*. I can therefore scarcely hope that the following sentiments, upon so many and such various subjects, will be found in all things conformable to the opinions of others. I have, however, written them with honesty, candour, and truth: I throw myself upon you, the electors: try them by the same standards; and if, when examined, they shall be found upon the most important points coincident with your own, I shall calculate with confidence upon receiving your suffrages, as I trust your *experience* of my conduct in the office I am about to quit will leave no doubt of the *zeal* and *firmness* I shall manifest in their advocacy and support.

Reform.—True to the assurance which His Majesty's Ministers, in the name of the reformers of England, gave in their place in Parliament, I will, if elected one of your representatives, endeavour to maintain the integrity of the present Reform Bill in all its essential provisions. Some of the details relating to the registration of votes, and the right of suffrage in the ancient scot-and-lot boroughs, require amendment—they may be liberalised without trenching upon the fundamental principles of the bill. Let the workings of the bill be fairly tried, and its provisions not lightly changed. But reform in Parliament is only a *means*, and not an *end*: if experience shall show us by indubitable evidence, that, as it now stands, it fails to secure to the people the *object* of reform—good and cheap government—I will support a measure to extend the scot-and-lot franchise (which is practically enjoyed by you) to the other parts of the empire.

Duration of Parliament.—This question was especially reserved by the Ministers for further consideration. I regard the passing of the Septennial Act as a gross infringement of the constitution. It became one of the greatest means of withdrawing from the people the control over their representatives, and one of the leading causes of the corruption of former Parliaments. To prevent its having the same effect upon the reformed House of Commons, I will vote for its repeal.

The Ballot.—This was also reserved by Ministers for future consideration. Many upright and conscientious reformers, measuring the independence of other men's minds by the standard of their own, are in favour of open voting. I hope that the operation of the Reform Bill will supersede the necessity for resorting to the introduction of so novel an expedient; but if experience shall prove to us that flagitious bribery, like that which dis-

graced the corrupt multitude at Liverpool, or cruel oppression, such as that which the inhabitants of Newark and Stamford suffered for the independent exercise of their franchise, can no otherwise be effectually prevented than by the ballot, I will give it my unhesitating support. The nation has a right to the honest vote of each elector, free from the influence of *bribery*; each *elector* has a right to the exercise of his own suffrage, free from the influence of *fear*; and to secure those rights every other consideration must, in my opinion, of necessity give way.

Economy.—I will support every practicable measure of economy and retrenchment in the public expenditure—the abolition of needless and sinecure places, and unmerited pensions. The salaries of the great officers of State, and other meritorious public servants, ought also to be reduced. A large diminution has taken place in the rate of profit of capital employed in all the various pursuits of trade and industry, as it has in the price of labour: the remuneration of the public servants should experience a corresponding reduction. I will give my vote to reduce the standing army to the lowest standard consistent with the security of the state, as I will for a large diminution of the number of unemployed officers, and of staff appointments, which entail upon the country an enormous expense.

The Crown Lands.—The vast revenues derivable from this source have hitherto been employed in rewarding the pliancy of court favourites, or bribing the proprietors of nomination boroughs, to secure corrupt majorities in the House of Commons. The dignity and comfort of the Sovereign and his family have been munificently provided for by an ample civil list. The crown lands are national property, and ought to be applied to national purposes; let them be sold, and the produce appropriated in part discharge of the public debt, or in meeting some of the other exigencies of the State. By the above, and other means of a similar tendency, we can alone expect to uphold the public faith, and yet effect so large a diminution of taxation as to restore prosperity to the nation and happiness to the people.

The House and Assessed Taxes.—These taxes press with unequal severity upon trade, and ought to be repealed. The inhabitants of this city are crowded together in highly-rented houses, rendered indispensable solely by the pursuits of trade and industry. No man can have been twenty miles from London but must have observed the country in every direction studded over with the castles and mansions of the nobility and gentry—yet are those abodes of luxurious ease and indolence comparatively untaxed, while you, who reside in the city of London alone, pay more for the house-tax than all the inhabitants together of eighteen out of the fifty-two counties of England and Wales; and the householders of the metropolitan districts pay more than those of forty-six counties together. Surely this tax is

destined to be repealed upon the motion of one of the representatives of those who are chiefly oppressed by its unjust operation. If by your support I attain the object to which I aspire, and no man more competent to the task undertake it, *I will, during the first session, move for its repeal.*

The Tithes.—The system of tithes is impolitic and unjust; the oppressive mode of their collection, and the unequal mode of their distribution, are amongst the least of its evils. It prevents the employment of capital in the cultivation of the land—deprives the farmer of his profits—the labourer of his employment—and greatly enhances the price of the productions of the soil;—the system must be abolished. The church property, as it has been termed, has been wrested from the purposes of its primitive appropriation—namely, the support of the clergy—the relief of the poor—the maintenance of the church—the extension of education—the promotion of charitable and benevolent objects, and the advancement of religion and piety—to those purposes it must be again restored, and if in amount it shall be found inadequate to those objects, a tax upon the land shall be imposed in substitution of the odious system of tithes.

The Malt Tax.—This impost, with the soap-tax and others of a minor character, which fall with unequal weight upon the humbler classes of the people, should be repealed—in connexion with contemptuous measures of economy and retrenchment, they may be taken off without endangering the safety of the country or the stability of its institutions.

Corn Laws.—The tithes and malt-tax abolished—no corn-laws should be allowed for a moment to continue:—the soil and climate of our country, with the wealth of its capitalists and the industry of its labouring population, will then enable the English farmer to dispense with all protecting duties: I would then vote for their entire repeal,—in the meantime I would support any measure that might be brought forward, to substitute a moderate and fixed duty upon the introduction of foreign corn, for the present system, founded upon the fluctuations of the average, a system always liable to the injurious influence of interested and fraudulent returns.

Free Trade.—The principles of free trade rightly understood and applied are manifestly to the interest of the nation:—the capital and enterprise of the British merchants—the skill and ingenuity of the British manufacturers, and the industry and perseverance of the British workmen, would enable them successfully to compete with the foreign producer in every branch of the staple manufactures of our country; but the face of the system has been disfigured and its operation impeded, by circumstances wholly foreign from its principles:—a reduction of taxation will lighten the springs of industry, and remove all those inconveniences which have hitherto attended

the introduction of the new system of commercial policy:—besides which, the Government of the country, relieved from the corrupt influence which has impaired its strength at home and its respectability abroad, will be enabled to enforce with full reign powers that *perfect reciprocity* which is essential to the application of the principles of free trade.

Bank Charter.—This subject has been under the consideration of a committee of the House of Commons. It elected your representative, I will carefully weigh the evidence, and support such modifications of the charter, should it be renewed, as may appear to be just to the proprietors and beneficial to the nation: upon this subject I will earnestly seek the instructions of my constituents, when the time shall arrive for the settlement of a question of such vital importance to the nation at large, and this city in particular. At any rate, I will support no measure that will sacrifice the interests of the country for the benefit of a few:—I will support no measure that will allow of secrecy upon so important a subject as that of the currency:—I will vote for no charter that shall give to a body of individuals the power of arbitrarily and capriciously contracting and dilating the circulating medium,—thus changing the value of all commodities, deranging all the relations of society, and alternately pressing down every class of the community.

East India charter.—This question has likewise been submitted to the consideration of a committee. I will, in like manner, attentively examine the evidence, and take the opinion of my constituents upon a question in which the interests of this great city are affected by considerations apart from those of national policy. As a principle, I am opposed to every species of monopoly that cannot be clearly shown to be indispensably necessary. I will, at all events, not support the renewal of any charter that shall not open the Indian empire to a free intercourse with the natural-born subjects of these realms: India will then present a wide and extended field for the employment of English capital; her boundless resources will amply repay the enterprise of the British merchant, while the countless myriads of her people will become invaluable customers for the products of British industry. Britain is now known to a large portion of the continent of India, only as a triumphant conqueror, let her be opened to a free and unrestricted intercourse with England, and the enterprising character of our countrymen will speedily carry into the heart of that rich and fertile country the spirit of commerce and civilization; we may thus, ere long, become the instruments of extending the blessings of knowledge and the mild doctrines of the Christian faith to millions who are now sunk in the depths of ignorance and idolatry.

Ireland.—I desire to see the discontent of that ill-fated country removed by giving to her equal and just laws:—the expense of maintaining large military establishments in Ire-

land, to keep down the people, is amongst the penalties which England pays for the misgovernment of the Sister Isle. I will support any measures that may be proposed to diffuse more generally amongst its inhabitants the benefits of education and knowledge:—I will vote for the introduction of a modified system of Poor Laws:—A mass of misery and wretchedness by those means removed,—we may hope that the spirit of insubordination and lawless violence will cease;—Capital will then flow into Ireland in aid of the pursuits of industry, and in development of the great natural resources in that interesting country, while the periodical migration to England of a large portion of its distressed labouring population will be prevented:—Our parochial taxes will thus escape from a burden they are ill able to bear, and the labour of our own industrious mechanics and workmen will not be subjected to unnatural depression.

The Slave Trade.—I will vote for the entire abolition of Negro Slavery:—the traffic by man in the body of his fellow-man is manifestly contrary to every principle of religion and humanity. It is nine years since, by the resolutions of the House of Commons, the colonial proprietors and their local governments were directed to adopt these regulations which would prepare the slaves for freedom:—they either have, or have not, obeyed their directions; if they have, no obstacle remains to immediate emancipation—if they have not, Parliament should at once take the most vigorous means to prepare the slave mentally and morally for the enjoyment of freedom. The statutes of an unreformed Parliament have, it is true, recognised a pecuniary right of the master, in the person of the slave—upon this fact the West India planter founds his claim for compensation: I view the question of the extinction of slavery as wholly unconnected with that claim: Let that be fairly and impartially considered by the representatives of the nation in a reformed Parliament, and let justice be done. The time, however, for the emancipation of the slave is the moment he is prepared for freedom—his body must not be made the pledge for the price of his own redemption,—neither should he be detained in bondage, until compensation be made to those who have invested their money under the sanction of wicked and bad laws.

In a reformed Parliament, measures will be introduced to reform the administration of the laws,—the constitution of corporations,—and the management of public charities: Under the fostering protection of corrupt Parliaments, the corruption of those institutions has nearly kept pace with its own abasement, and with its reform must their amendment take place. I will afford to all such measures my decided support, as I will to the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and to the passing of such laws as are essential to place the freedom of the press upon a sure foundation.

The foregoing subjects are those which will force themselves upon the attention of Parlia-

ment during its first session. I have endeavoured, frankly and explicitly, to state the course I shall pursue in reference to each, should I, through your suffrages, be honoured with a seat in that assembly.

Measures the same as, or similar to, those to which I have adverted, will, I have no doubt, be originated there by men who, by their talents, acquirements, habits, and experience, are far better qualified than myself to advocate the necessity of their adoption. Should I be elected, I will diligently attend the House and give them my hearty concurrence and support; and if necessary, I shall fearlessly, and to the best of my ability, state my reasons for believing that by such measures alone can the country be extricated from its present difficulties, and the prosperity and happiness of the people be placed upon a firm and durable foundation. I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN KEY.

Aschurch-lane, Oct. 17, 1832.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCT. 19, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

THOMAS, W., T., and L., Narrow-street, Ratcliff, ship-owners.

BANKRUPTS.

CHANNON, J., Park-street, Grosvenor-sq. dealer and chapman.

COLLINS, J. M., Knightsbridge, livery-stable-keeper.

GELDARD, W., Denmark-st., Soho, currier.

HODGSON, J. W., Wigton, Cumberland, common-brewer.

HULME, W., Manchester, draper.

LYON, J. jun., Salford, Lancashire, malt-dealer.

MARSH, W. W., Oxford-street, book-eller.

POWIS, B., St. Helen's-place, City, ship-owner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

KAY, J., Partick, weaver.

TUESDAY, OCT. 23, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BROWN, C., Tottenham-court-road, dealer in china.

SEARS, M. U., Charter-house-sq., engraver.

STAPLEDON, H., St. Leonard's, Hastings, Sussex, fishmonger.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWYER, R. G., Brick-lane, Old-st., grocer.
 BRIND, W., Brook-green, Hammersmith, bill-broker.
 BURCKHARDT, J. C., King-street, Golden-square, jeweller.
 CUMBERLAND, C., Sheepshead, Leicester-shire, miller.
 DANBY, L., and W. Wood, Horncastle, Lincolnshire, drapers.
 DIXON, B., Salford, saddler and victualler.
 FENTON, J., High Holborn, glass-dealer.
 HALL, W., Nottingham, bobbin-maker.
 HENNER, C., Birmingham, victualler.
 JOHNSON, J., Salford, timber-merchant.
 LUCAS, T. F., Long Buckby, Northampton-shire, stage-coach-proprietor.
 PHILLIPS, G., Bishopsgate-street Within, ironmonger.
 SMITH, J., Bristol, merchant.
 SMITH, J., Walsall, factor.
 STEWART, J., Blackman-st., Southwark, hat-manufacturer.
 TAYLOR, R. jun., Liverpool, bookseller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE. OCT. 22 — Our market having been abundantly supplied with all grain last week, induced the consumers to buy freely; which, together with the demand for wheat for execution of orders from Yorkshire and Scotland, occasioned the advance noted in the prices of this day week; but the trade was exceedingly heavy this morning, having a large show of samples from Essex and Kent, and the northern demand subsiding, very little progress was made in sales, at a reduction of full 2s. per qr.

The magnitude of the supply of barley having exceeded the immediate demand, a considerable quantity of last week's arrivals remained over for this morning's market; and although we had but little fresh in to-day, even the finest making samples with difficulty obtained the highest quotation of last Monday; but all below that description is full 2s. per qr. cheaper, as the maltsters will not take off any of the stained sorts.

White peas are full 2s. and grey ones 1s. per qr. lower, and were heavy sale at those abatements, the supply of each having considerably increased. Beans were slow sale at a reduction of 2s. per qr. The very large arrival of oats in the course of last week being followed by a good supply fresh in to-day, have overstocked the market, and although the finest samples of Scotch and English supported the terms of last Monday, the inferior descriptions of new were nearly unsaleable at very low prices.

Wheat	56s. to 62s.
Rye	33s. to 35s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	38s. to 42s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 36s.
— Tick	30s. to 32s.
Oats, Potato	20s. to 21s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 53s.
Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.
— Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.
— Cork ... 82s. to 83s.
— Limerick ... 82s. to —s.
— Waterford ... 76s. to 81s.
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 78s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 60s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.
— Edam ... —s. to —s.
— Gouda ... 40s. to 42s.
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 22.

This day's supply of beasts was great, but not so great as was that of this day se'night; of porkers but limited; of sheep, lambs, and calves, moderately good. The trade was throughout dull; with each kind of prime meat at fully—that of mudding and inferior quality barely—Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the beasts were Irish, principally not more than half-fat steers and heifers, for the most part from Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the London marshes: about a fourth short-horns, chiefly oxen, steers, and heifers, for the most part from Leicestershire and Lincolnshire sea-side marshes, and the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welch runts, chiefly from our western and midland districts, and Town's-end cows; with a few Scots, Staffords, &c., from sundry quarters. Full three-fifths of the sheep were Leicester half-breds, from the South Downs and Herefordshire crosses; about one-fifth pure South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Lincolns, Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned Welch, Dorsets, Aberdeens, &c.

Beasts, 3,201; sheep and lambs, 22,090; calves, 157; pigs, 160.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 26.

The arrivals this week are moderate ; the market dull, but not lower prices.

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3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$

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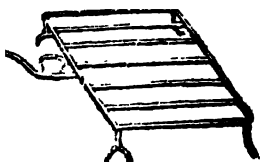
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ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. III.

Paisley, 26. October, 1832.

In my last I had not time to say anything about my passage down the CLYDE, from GLASGOW to GREENOCK; and for the reasons there stated I spoke in a general manner, only, of my treatment at GLASGOW. I must now say upon that subject, that I was at the house of Mr. BELL, received as if I had been a father or a brother; that I dined there, and also at Mr. GRAY's, (writer,) with many of the first merchants of GLASGOW; that Mr. BELL's elegant and very pleasantly-situated house was at my service, for the receiving of friends, deputations from the towns and villages around; and that, in short, if I had gone to that fine city; that beautiful scene of commerce and of manufactures at the same time; if I had gone thither with power to add to the riches of the place, and to dispense honours and favours around me in all directions, I could not have been received or treated with greater favour and kindness. Mr. PRENTICE, the very respectable and able editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, was the only person connected with the press with whom I came in immediate contact. I should want words to describe the extent of his good offices, had not experience furnished me with the means of adequately describing it by a contrast. I say then (and that will do justice even to him), that, in character and in conduct, he showed

himself to be *precisely the contrary* of the infamous wretches, whom those two impudent women, ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRAIGHT, hire to write in the bloody old *Times*; precisely the contrary of what was that JACK WALTER, whom SCOTT ELDON made a justice of the peace, and who is now (monstrous impudence!) a Whig candidate for the county of Berks; *precisely the contrary* of what this fellow was when he was the manager of the bloody old *Times*.

As I mentioned before, Messrs. BELL, DOUGLAS of BARLOCH, and Mr. GRAY, accompanied us to GREENOCK, where we were received by the two Messrs. BAINE, who are great merchants there, and by my excellent and staunch old friends and adherents, Messrs. CAMERON, CAMPBELL, and others, respectable tradesmen in that town. Agreeably to appointment we were lodged at Mr. BAINE's country house, about three quarters of a mile out of the town, situated close on the bank of the Frith of CLYDE, with the little village of HELLENSBURGH on the other bank, and the Highlands rising up behind that.

The whole of the way down the CLYDE is interesting beyond description. It is a fine wide river at GLASGOW; gets wider and wider of course; but for several miles down it is walled on each side in the most complete manner. All the way down to our left we have Renfrewshire, very soon after we leave GLASGOW, which is in the county of Lanark. The land to our right is, first, a strip of levelish ground, with little country seats, with here and there a manufactory of some sort. To our left it is an extended flat of very fine land. There are several considerable country seats, those of Lord BLANTYRE and of Mr. SPIERS of ELDERSLIE, in particular. At about half the way down the town of DUMBARTON, lies, on our right, the Castle of DUMPARTON, on a round and almost perpendicular rock standing out in the water; an object worth travelling from the Isle of Wight to this spot barely to

see. The town of **DUMBARTON** lies down between two hills. The ground now becomes very hilly on our right, though it is generally cultivated for some distance back; and, behind these high grounds, the Highlands tower up; and this is the sort of coast which continues on to **GREENOCK**, and then continues all the way round to the corner of the main land opposite the **ISLE OF BUTE**. About half way between **DUMBARTON** and **GREENOCK** is the little seaport, called **PORT-GLASGOW**; and here the ground from being flat as before, becomes rocky and lofty very near the shore, and thus continues all the way to **GREENOCK**.

At about seven miles from **GLASGOW** we pass the mouth of the famous canal, which goes close by **GLASGOW**, close by **FALKIRK**, and which connects the Frith of **CLYDE** with the Frith of **FORTH**; and thus connects the waters of the **ATLANTIC** with those of the German Ocean. Near **DUMBARTON** we passed the spot where they say are the remains of the old Roman wall, which went from the Frith of **CLYDE** to the Frith of **FORTH**; and by the means of which those gentlemen thought proper to divide the Highlands from the Lowlands of Scotland. I may as well observe here, that the river **Clyde** rises in the mountains which divide the county of **EDINBURGH** from the county of **LANARK**, and that other branches of it rise out of mountains that divide the counties of **PERBLES** and **DUMFRIES** and **AYR** from the county of **LANARK**. The river **FORTH** rises at the foot of the famous mountain called **BEN-LOMOND**, and runs down through the country dividing **PERTSHIRE** from **STIRLINGSHIRE**, and **Stirlingshire** from the county of **CLACKMANNAN**. All to the north of the canal which joins these two Friths, is called the *North of Scotland*: the other is, of course, called the *South*.

The harbour and bay of **GREENOCK** are very fine. The town, which consists of thirty thousand people, is built in a little ^{valley} the high land beginning to rise up immediately behind it to the south; the streets are regular, conveniently wide; the houses built of stone;

and everything wearing the appearance of ease, competence, and great solidity. The house of Mr. **RAINE**, in which I was lodged, was, in every respect, as nice an affair of the kind as I ever set my eyes on; outside, inside, and all about it, as complete as anything of the sort that I ever beheld. But, the great curiosity here, and the thing upon which the people pride themselves, and most justly, is what they call the "**SHOWS-WATER**," of which I must speak a little, though my account must be very inadequate. For a good while I declined going to see this affair; but, at last, I did go, and I rejoice that I did, for I have seldom seen anything in my life that afforded me more pleasure. **GREENOCK** lies in a little flat, to the north of very high rocky hills, which stretch round behind it nearly from water to water. No fresh water stream or river came near it; and though it had public pumps or wells, it often experienced very great inconvenience from the want of fresh water. On the high land about six miles to the south of it, there was a little stream or bourne (as we call those runs of water which are occasionally dry), and which came out of one of the still loftier hills to the south. After going in a northerly direction for some distance, it took a turn to the west, and went down a deep ravine into the Frith of **CLYDE**, not approaching anywhere to within six miles of **GREENOCK**. In finding its way to the ravine, it passed along a flat at the back of the **GREENOCK** hills. By the means of dams, the water proceeding from this bourne, was formed into a lake; at six miles, observe, from **GREENOCK**, but between the lake and **GREENOCK**, was a chain of lofty hills, beginning at the east and terminating towards the west. Here was the water, but the difficulty was to get it to **GREENOCK**. After various schemes about tunnels to go under the hills, and steam-pumping, and God knows what besides, Mr. **THORN**, a native I believe of the **ISLE OF BUTE**, made a proposition for carrying the water to **Greenock** by an aqueduct, which he finally accomplished, at a comparatively trifling expense, and in a

manner so clever, as to be worthy of the admiration of every beholder ; and there are now two hundred and sixty acres of water in the grand reservoir, with three other subsidizing reservoirs of greater or less extent ; the whole amounting to 396 acres ; and there is all this water brought to the side of the high hills behind GREENOCK ; and there it comes tumbling down in various aqueducts ; not only supplying the town with water amply at all times, but furnishing the means of turning flour-mills, cotton-mills, or anything of the sort, at the cheapest possible rate. Four large mills for corn, or flax, or both, are already put in motion by this water ; they are building now, and they say that here are the means of working forty of the largest mills that can exist. The reservoir or lake, is six hundred feet above the level of the sea : the aqueduct takes the water from the tail of the ravine, which is very deep, and carries it along around the end of the high hills at the back of GREENOCK ; gets it creeping about, in all directions, till it finally brings it to its destined spot, always by a fall of six feet in the space of a mile. To guard against the consequences of melted snow, or torrents of rain, there are self-opening and self-shutting sluices ; and, therefore, though the aqueduct is only six feet wide at the bottom and twelve feet wide at the top, its banks are never disturbed. They say, that the people were wholly incredulous as to the practicability of effecting this thing ; that scarcely anybody believed that the water could ever be brought to GREENOCK ; and that, on the day on which the aqueduct was opened for the water to proceed, not less than ten thousand persons were assembled to witness the result of this brilliant experiment. Mr. THORN, who did me the honour to accompany me and Mr. BAINE, in riding round the lake, is a man of too much sense and too much merit to set any value upon an empty title ; but if George the Fourth had made him a baronet instead of COUTTS TROTTER, WALTER SCOTT, or PARSON BATE DUDLEY, he would, at any rate, have, in some degree, diminished the contempt and dis-

gust with which men now view that hackneyed hereditary honour.

After going to the Scotch church, on Sunday the 21st, and there beholding a very decent service, and hearing, from three verses of St. PAUL's 2nd epistle to TIMOTHY, beginning at the 14th, a very able sermon in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity ; after dining, on the Monday with Mr. BAINE, the chief magistrate, in company with his colleague, and several other gentlemen of the place ; I set off (after another lecture that evening) the next day for this place. I cannot, however, take leave of GREENOCK, without observing on the contrast which it formed with all the other sea-ports that I had ever seen in my life. Captain COBB, with whom I crossed the Atlantic the last time, used to be everlastingly pestering me with his praises of GREENOCK ; about its solidity, cleanliness, and the good manners of the people. As I was going to the church, the sight brought COBB to my mind. All the people seemed to be in the streets ; all going away to their different churches ; no noise of any sort ; no dirtily-dressed person ; and not a soul to be seen who did not seem seriously engaged in the business for which the day was set apart. COBB used to say, that it was like a Connecticut sea-port ; and I dare say it is : for the religion is the same, and I dare say that the manners of the people are very much alike.

SIR MICHAEL SHAW STEWART is the landowner in and around GREENOCK ; he has a very beautiful place a little way from the town, and down by the side of the Frith ; there are many farms in a little valley going from his house round to GREENOCK ; these farms are small, but the people appear to be very comfortably off, and, though living amongst these rocky hills, twenty times as numerous as in the fine fat lands in the Lothians. The deciduous trees do not grow large ; I saw no oaks at all ; but SIR MICHAEL STEWART has some very fine woods of fir and larch upon the hills round about his house ; the evergreens flourish here surprisingly ; I never saw the *Portugal laurel* and the *arbutus* in greater perfection. The

horse-chestnut, the lime, the plane, the sycamore, and the ash, all seem to flourish as well as in any part of England. Ayrshire comes down, in one part, very near to GREENOCK. The cows are of the *Ayrshire breed*, white and red, with a large portion of red; small head and neck, fine tail, straight back; in short, the Durham cows, precisely, only upon a small scale. From these cows comes cheese, in great abundance and very fine. They say that it is the only county in Scotland that produces cheese. I should like very much to have half-a-dozen of these cows; but to get them from such a distance is next to impossible, without an enormous expense; and, perhaps, they would degenerate after all.

In the scourging days of CASTLEREAGH (who soon afterwards cut his own throat and killed himself, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent, and who was carried to his grave amidst the exulting shouts of the people of London and Westminster); in those scourging days the scourge reached even GREENOCK; corruption in her fury hunted out victims amongst the public-spirited men, even in this pious and quiet town; one of whom, deeming accusation to be a sentence of death, and giving himself up as condemned, even before he was tried for high-treason, actually *shaved his head*, that the executioner might not be able to hold it up by the hair! The jury saved him: he lived to see the end of CASTLEREAGH, and to shake by the hand one who had risked so much in defending the conduct of him and his countrymen upon that occasion! Ah! foolish and base villains of the LONDON and EDINBURGH press! If you forget these things, the reformers of Scotland do not. To the grateful recollection of these acts of mine, I owe the reception that I have met with. Relying upon this recollection, I set at nought all your instigations to Scotch hostility; the result has shown the innate vice of this people; and also shown the soundness of my judgment.

STATESMAN VANSITTART, who began his brilliant career as Commissioner of Scotch Herrings, first started, it seems,

from this nice town of GREENOCK, which is famous for its fisheries; and, what is curious enough, the Scotch have by no means forgotten the statesman, and the small manœuvring which was played off by him, while he was in Scotland; the nice little contrivances to get himself the *freedom of the city of EDINBURGH*, and all the other pretty means by which the base creatures of OLD GEORGE ROSE assisted to get him puffed up, in order that there might be a pretence for giving him parcels of our money. The history of this VANSITTART is all that will be needed by our children who are now about being born, to enable them to judge of the state of degradation of their fathers. This man did what they call *study the law*; carried a *bag* (made for holding briefs) to the *quarter-sessions of READING* in Berkshire, of which county he is a native; having marched, in all possible ways, in the same line and direction as ADDINGTON, and having started with him from pretty nearly the same spot. The law not being a profitable trade with our VAN, he took to *politics*; and we shall, by-and-by, see him taking to *piety*. His first stroke in the way of getting on in the world was a *pamphlet*, written by him in *praise of the PITT-system of finance*; and the object of which was to induce the nation to believe that the war did not at all impoverish them; and that THE DEBT which PITT's monstrous loans were creating, presented no subject of *alarm* to the mind of any sensible man, excepting the circumstance, that "*the sinking fund would pay it off too soon!*" No wonder that VAN is a peer, and a law-maker in his own right; from such hopeful beginnings what was not naturally to be expected? VAN's promotion began, as matter of course; and there being great scarcity in England, in the years 1800 and 1801, VAN was, in the former year, made "*Commissioner of Scotch Herrings*," and as such came to Scotland, under the patronage of old GEORGE ROSE, then a secretary of the Treasury, and a sinecure placeman, to the tune of three thousand pounds a year, with another sinecure place for his son WIL-

LIAM, to the tune of two thousand pounds a year, or thereabouts; which sinecures his sons, GEORGE and WILLIAM, still have, while the weavers of PAISLEY are covered with rags and are half-starved. VAN having executed his commission, went back to England, slavered over with the praises of the base part of the Scotch, and well loaded with the contempt of every Scotchman of sense and independence. The salary of the "Commissioner of Scotch Herrings" continued till he got another post, the name of which I have forgotten, but which, doubtless, he will be *desired to tell some of us* one of these days. PITT went out of office in 1801 to let in ADDINGTON, to make the peace of AMIENS for him; and VAN (famous in finance!) became, under his countryman, ADDINGTON, a *secretary of the Treasury*. There was VAN now in his element: *taxing, funding, loaning, and Exchequer-billing*; Oh! what a time for VAN! His glory, however, was too great to be uninterrupted. PITT, tired of being out of place, and his tax-eating crew sighing to be again at the honey-pot, turned out ADDINGTON: away went poor VAN, but well provided for by a *retired allowance*. PITT lived but a short time after this: the Whig Ministry that succeeded him lasted but fifteen months; the old Duke of PORTLAND became Prime Minister; and PERCEVAL, the real Minister, was placed in the post of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; and back went VAN into his post of secretary of the Treasury. PERCEVAL having been put an end to in the year 1812, the wise LIVERPOOL became Prime Minister, and VAN, *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; in which post he remained, until succeeded by "*Prosperity ROBINSON*," in the year 1823, when the King did himself the honour, an honour quite worthy of such a king, to clap a coronet on the head of VAN, and put him in the house of hereditary lawgivers, under the title of "*BARON BEXLEY*," of BEXLEY, in the county of KENT; where VAN, they say, is now in the habit of *singing hymns* in his groves, on one bank of the pretty little river CRAY, having in full view, at the same time, on the other bank (at scarcely a

stone's throw distance) the house in which CASTLEREAGH cut his own throat!

Curious progress! beginning with the curing of Scotch herrings, and ending in a peerage! Curious literary progress! beginning with a pamphlet expressing fears that the national debt would be paid off too soon, and ending with the circulating of Bibles and the singing of hymns! But VAN had merits as a *statesman*, to be sure? Yes, that he had; for, in 1811, he proposed a resolution, which the 658 adopted, stating, that a "*one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea in gold*." In 1819 he supported PEEL's Bill, and the doctrines on which it was founded, and which declared that the one-pound note *had been worth only fourteen shillings in gold* in 1811! In 1822, VAN brought in a bill (which was passed by the clever 658) to *issue small notes again*, in violation of the bill of 1819! This was VAN's last and greatest act of all; for it produced the TERRIBLE PANIC of 1825 and 1826, which has been ruining families, undermining property, and producing unspeakable misery, from that day to this! Devil take the King, I say, then, if he had not made VAN a peer! Neither JONATHAN WILDE, nor any of his DESCENDANTS, ever merited a HALTER better than VAN merited a peerage!

But what is most curious in the history of VAN, is, that, while a nation, whose money matters VAN held the management of, was growing *poor*, VAN was growing *rich*! This is something very wonderful: that he should be growing rich while the nation was growing poor. In human life, generally, we find, that all belonging to the same concern become rich or become poor together. If the farmer become poor, you soon see his servants and his stock of every description exhibiting symptoms of his diminished means. If the tradesman become poor, you see all his work-people worse clad and worse fed. All being under the influence of the same cause, all experience a similar effect. Just the contrary with VAN, who is said to be worth *half a million of money*, and who, having the limit,

the lark, and all the harmonious finches, to join him in the day, and the nightingale's melody to assist him by night, sings his hymns in some of the sweetest groves with which God has ever had the goodness to garnish the earth; just the contrary with VAN, I repeat, who has thus been rising into enormous wealth, while the industrious millions, of whose money he has so long had the fingerings, have been sinking into misery; and while that *dear* which he (pious man!) was *afraid* would be paid off *too soon*, swelled up, *during his financial career, from three hundred and forty to eight hundred millions of sovereigns!* Wonderful thing! Strange spectacle! Prodigious cause, which could produce effects so opposite at one and the same time!

However, leaving the "*feelosofers*" to account for this, I cannot dismiss VAN without talking of something *practical*. How it was that VAN *got* his money it is impossible for me, *precisely*, to say: how much was brought him by the daughter of old BENX, who was also, nearly all his life, a placeman and a pensioner at the same time; about these matters I will not speak, because I cannot speak with certainty; but I know these things; namely, that VAN had little or nothing thirty years ago; that he now has a town house, a country house, and a peerage; and that he is said to be worth a very large parcel of money, besides those estates in land which we know him to have; and I know that, though his salaries were large enough and a great deal too large, they could not have been much larger than the amount of his annual expenditures during the said thirty years. Now, then, I put it to any *reasonable* man, whether we ought to be deemed impertinent and troublesome, if we were to ask VAN, in this day of our need, to *help us a little*; to give us a lift; I mean, to give us a little of his money? I am aware that it will be said by his friends, that *he owes us nothing*; that all that he has got has been *honestly gotten*; and that if *we*, sinful creatures as we are, cannot account for his having got rich while we have been getting

poor, it is because we are unable to comprehend how effective piety is in the producing of riches. Those friends of VAN will refer us to the history of GIL BLAS, giving an account of the prodigious prosperity of DON MANUEL ORDONEZ, who was the keeper of the great poor-house of the city of VALLADOLID, and who "was so pious a man that he *got rich* in taking care of the concerns of the *poor*." I am aware of all this; I am aware that there is nothing to oppose to these observations of the friends of VAN; but still I must be permitted to say, that I can see no harm in respectfully applying to VAN to spread a little of his money about amongst us as well as his Bibles. We ask for bread, and he gives us a book, which, as far as the belly is concerned, is much about the same thing as giving us a stone. In short, not to mince the matter any longer, I am for making a *regular* application to VAN for some of his money: Poh! for the coronet and the robes! let him keep them; but, for some of his money I am for making a regular application, either in the way of *gift* or of *loan*; and, if I be in Parliament, and if no other man propose it, I, WILLIAM CORNELL, am the man to do the thing. The French republicans (sad dogs!) had what they called *des emprunts forcés*; that is to say, *forced loans*. Nay, in one or two instances, they had *des dons forcés*; that is to say, *forced gifts*. God forbid that I should propose an imitation of these *sad fellows*: I shall tread in the steps (as far as I have any influence) of the "*heaven-born*" minister, PITT; and shall propose, in the case of VAN, nothing more than "*a voluntary loan*," or, "*a voluntary contribution*," not forgetting to remind VAN that he was one of the great literary defenders of these two methods of obtaining supplies for the relief and safety of the nation! And thus, *I for the present*, take my leave of VAN, giving him my positive assurance, that, if he and I live till I have been in Parliament a month, he shall again hear from me, who have not had my eye off him for a month at a time, during the last thirty years.

There is a neighbour of VAN, who was

brother secretary of the Treasury along with GEORGE ROSE, and who is now a noble peer under the name of FARNBOROUGH; in which parish (near Bromley in Kent) my Lord CHARLEY LONG has his mansion and park and some of his estates. I dare say he would be glad of an opportunity of lending the poor nation a little money, or even giving it some, if applied to in a respectful and every way proper manner. I am for no impertinence in these cases; for no disagreeable questioning or altercation; but just a simple and respectful appeal to the charity and generosity of the parties. However, enough of these things for the present. I must now get on with my tour; which tour my readers will, I dare say, wish to see at an end, being, as it everlastingly is, interrupted by these digressions. Well, then, to get on, we set off from GREENOCK about two o'clock, after having surveyed the SEWEE WATER, and taken leave of our friends; and after having (which I had nearly forgotten) been to see the straw bonnets and hats of Mr. MUIR. My readers will recollect my numerous writings about this straw-bonnet manufacture, and all the intricacies relative to which I have given what so much care and neatness in my little work called "COMMON ECONOMY." they will recollect what infinite pains I took about it; and I can tell them, that it was not only pains that it cost me; but, altogether, more than *three hundred pounds* in the way of expense, without ever having the design or thought of profiting from it myself in any degree whatever, directly or indirectly. I was the originator and the perfecter of the whole thing myself. This manufacture gives decent and wholesome employment to many persons in the South of England, and converts into beautiful articles of dress the offal produce of our own native fields. Amongst other persons who applied to me for information respecting this matter, were two very simple but very worthy men from the ORKNEY ISLANDS, which are situated to the north of the North of Scotland, and about eight hundred miles to the north of London. Whether I deserve, as the

mortified, spiteful, and ridiculous reptile, who writes the *Scotsman* newspaper at EDINBURGH, says; whether I deserve, as this beaten reptile says I do, to be deemed an enemy of Scotchmen, let these good fellows of the ORKNEY ISLANDS tell. If they had come from my own native parish, I could not have treated them with more generosity and kindness. The distance from which they came, indeed, was an additional motive to the exercise of kindness towards them. Victuals and drink, at all times of the day, and at the same table with my own family, were at their service. I devoted to them time which I never yet bestowed upon persons of high rank in life. I showed them the various sorts of the straw; explained to them the modes of plaiting, of bleaching, of raising the straw; and set some young women at plaiting, that they might see them at the work; gave them specimens of the plat, and of the straw, and of the mode of sewing it together; wrote many letters to them afterwards, and got thanks from my Lord FORKESTONE and other members, that the postage might cost them nothing. Before this they used to plat *split-straw*; and, for the making of that poor rattle and coarse stuff, they used to import the straw from *England!* They now raise their own straw; and about two thousand of them, in those most northern parts; in those little islands almost in the *Frozen Ocean*, now gain comfortable livings at their own little homes, by a manufacture which surpasses everything of the kind ever seen in Great Britain. Let these people say what I deserve at the hands of Scotchmen. I wonder, by-the-by, who is the *landowner* in the ORKNEYS, what proud leather-headed fool it is; and whether he has not yet discovered that it is his duty to come to me and thank me for this great benefit done to his islands; if the haughty and stupid and insolent aristocracy think it wise, tacitly, to discourage the progress of so clear a benefit to the country, merely because it cannot be encouraged without adding to my celebrity, and without creating public gratitude to-

wards me ; if they think that, by this conduct of theirs, they can prevent the people from duly estimating my services and for being grateful for them ; if the stupid things think this, or have thought this, will they now open their eyes, or will they be blind still ? Will they still persevere in showing their insolent spite ; after what they have now seen ? I think they will. To the mortification of their proud stomachs, let them know these things, that the *people*, the *millions*, everywhere say, " If any other man had done this good to the country, he would have been applauded to the skies by the aristocracy, and loaded with riches at our expense ; " that, even this base and malignant hostility (which is everywhere perceived and understood) has made the people rally round me with ten times the zeal that they otherwise would have done ; and let them, for their comfort, take this, that ninety-nine men out of every hundred, in the whole island of Great Britain, are firmly convinced that the reform will not be worth one straw *unless I be in Parliament !* There, mass of stupid pride, take that, get it down into your stomach, or chew it about and spit it out again, just which you please. If I had the power to destroy you (speaking with some exceptions), I should have as perfect a right to do it as a man has to kill a viper that is just about to stick its teeth into his flesh, and, if I were not to do it, as I certainly should not do it, the forbearance would be an act of generosity and not of justice. Ah ! turn up your upper lip, and draw up your nostril, now, do ! Be supercilious asses to the last. But, remember, that you have an account to settle with the people, who may possibly be less disposed to forbearance than I am ; and whose demands, they being just and legal, no man will have a right, even to endeavour to control. Remember *that* ; and now listen if you like, or let it alone if you don't, to the account of my progress in my tour, which will be much better employment for you than the endeavour to hatch addle-headed schemes for driving the working-people from the land of their

birth, and for raising by steam-engines corn and cattle, which there will be nobody to eat.

After viewing Mr. MUIR's great parcels of bonnets and hats, we came on through PORT-GLASGOW to Paisley, a distance of about sixteen miles. At first, and until after we pass PORT-GLASGOW, the Frith of CLYDE is close upon our left, with high and almost perpendicular rocks, covered on the top with scrubby underwood, on our right. Then gradually wheeling round to our right, we come into a country perfectly flat, stretching all round to a great distance. The land is a sort of fenny or moorish land, but apparently bearing fine crops of corn, though we saw here none of those noble fields of turnips which we saw in the counties of Berwick, Haddington, and EDINBURGH, that is to say, in the Lothians. The cows are still of the Ayrshire breed, and very fine. We arrived at PAISLEY about five o'clock, and I lectured at seven, in a large church ; I did the same the two succeeding evenings. On the 24th, I went, in consequence of an invitation which that gentleman gave me in person at GLASGOW, to dine with Mr. SPIERS, at his beautiful seat, near the CLYDE, at ELDERSLIE ; where I saw some as beautiful trees as I ever saw in the whole course of my life ; and a great many of them, too ; in short, as well-wooded a park as is to be seen in all England, and as well arranged and as neatly kept ; the pastures of this park as fine as can possibly be conceived ; scores of oxen fattening, and hundreds of the little black-faced sheep, which, I perceived, get the foot-rot sometimes, when brought upon these fat lands. Mr. SPIERS, who is called the father of the county of RENFREW, who is said to be the *oldest reformer* in the kingdom, having commenced his career in that way in 1778, who was ten years a member of Parliament for this county, who is a brother-in-law of Lord DUNDAS, I believe a nephew-in-law of Lord FITZWILLIAM, and who, of course, has had ten thousand tugs at him to withdraw him from his reforming principles, has, nevertheless, the surprisingly great merit

of having been able to resist the power of all those tugs; as a complete proof of which, I mention for the satisfaction of my readers, and for the mortification of those toad-eating, spiteful devils, the hired scribblers of the *Scotsman*, and JACK WALTER and the she-proprietors of the bloody old *Times*, the fact, so honourable to me, as well as to all the other parties concerned in it; that Mr. SPIERS (the greatest land-proprietor in the county of Renfrew) came to PAISLEY to be chairman of a dinner, given to me there, on the 26th of October, accompanied by his son-in-law, Mr. BONTINE, who is a candidate for the county (against Sir MICHAEL SMAV STEWART), whose address I shall by-and-by insert, who is a young man of great promise, and who is, I am glad to say, likely to succeed: this venerable and universally-respected gentleman, accompanied, besides, by his eldest and second sons, did me and the reformers of PAISLEY the very great honour of presiding at a dinner, which was conducted in a manner worthy the good sense and public spirit of the parties, and which, after short, neat, and pertinent speeches from the gentlemen whom I have named, and from others, and particularly from Mr. SPIERS's eldest son, who discovered, in this little specimen, quite enough to convince me of his capacity to be greatly useful to his country. After these things, this dinner terminated at a very early hour, without a single man appearing to have partaken of anything stronger than water. Here I, in fact, took my leave of the people of PAISLEY, amidst marks of friendship, such, indeed, as I have everywhere experienced, and such as would, if there were no other ties, bind me fast, to the last hour of my life, to the service of my grateful, kind, and generous countrymen.

Dalzell House, near Hamilton, 28. Oct., 1832.

The day before the dinner took place I went to see the beautiful manufacture of silk, carried on by Mr. FULTON and Son. I never like to see these machines, lest I should be tempted to endeavour to understand them. I constantly resist all the natural desire which

people, out of kindness, have to explain them to me. It is also wonderful, that as in the case of the sun and the moon and the stars, I am quite satisfied with witnessing the effects. This silk affair, however, afforded one very pleasing circumstance. It was all put in motion by a wheel, turned by three men; and there was a great number of young women and girls employed at the work, and all very neatly and nicely dressed. The things they make are beautiful beyond description. I went afterwards to see the weaving of shawls and of waistcoat-stuff at Mr. BISSERT's; the means and operation relating to which, appeared still more wonderful. In these fabrics our countrymen now surpass, not only all the rest of Europe, but those of India too; and I understand that PAISLEY surpasses all the rest of the kingdom in this respect. A blessed *Government* it must be to produce a state of things in which a *barrack*, furnished with well-fed, well-clothed, and well-armed soldiers, is established for the purpose of keeping in a state of obedience to the laws, these ingenious and indefatigably industrious people, who, while the soldiers are well fed, well clad, and well lodged, have not half a sufficiency of food of the very coarsest kind; have their bodies half covered with rags; scarcely know what a knife, fork, and plate mean; and have, in many cases, nothing but a mere whisp of straw to sleep upon! Blessed state of things! Better that the country should be abandoned; better that it should become a desert, than that such a state of things should be suffered to exist; better that destruction should come upon the whole of us, than that the makers of these beautiful goods should be thus compelled to live like hogs and dogs, while those whose bodies are decorated by these goods are wallowing in luxury, proceeding from deductions made from the earnings of these indefatigable people. On the same day, when I expected to go and see Mr. DUNCAN HENDERSON, who, from his attachment to me, or rather to my writings, had taken so much pains to cultivate my *corn*, I was informed, that

I had to see his widow, for that he had died on the day of my first arrival at GLASGOW. As a mark of my respect for the memory of so worthy a man, a man of so much public spirit, and so justly beloved, I went to see Mrs. HENDERSON, at which she was very much pleased; and she showed me a letter, written by myself to her late husband, on which he had set so much value as to have it framed and hung up as a picture, and of which letter (if I get a copy of it in time) I will insert a copy in this *Register*. Not to see him, and still more to find that he was dead, really cast a damp over my pleasures at PAISLEY; though at no place where I have ever been in my life was I ever received with more cordiality, nor was my reception anywhere ever accompanied with circumstances better calculated to leave lasting impressions of gratitude on my mind; amongst which circumstances I must by no means overlook the hospitable, the kind, the cordial, the brother-like, and sister like manner in which I was received, lodged, and entertained by Mr. and Mrs. ARCHIBALD STEWART, of whom I took my leave yesterday morning (Saturday the 27th), and came to this place by the way of Glasgow, stopped again at Mr. BELL'S, being there taken up by him and brought to HAMILTON (where again in a church) I lectured last night. I forgot to mention, that, even on the day of the dinner, I went out, in the middle of the day, and lectured at a very nice little manufacturing town called JOHNSTONE; and I will be bound to say, that a more soul-stirring sermon never came from that pulpit before. I did not melt the hearts of my audience, but I made them pretty hot, when I described the manner in which my Lady SUTHERLAND had swept the people off the land in the North. "What!" exclaimed I, "have we not a right to be upon the land of our birth? Are we to be told, that we are bound in duty to come out and venture our lives in defence of that land against a foreign enemy, and yet, that we can be swept off from it when the landowners please?" Faith, my Lady SUTHERLAND would

have had some new thoughts come into her head, if she could have witnessed the indignant and enraged looks of my hearers.

This noon-lecture at JOHNSTONE was to make up for the idle time in the evening that was to be passed at the dinner. So that, here have I been in Scotland twenty days, and I have lectured every day except the Sundays, and on each of the Sundays I have written a *Register*. Having travelled, besides, the better part of two hundred miles during the same time, slept in seven different beds! "What!" the LORD ADVOCATE and ABERCROMBIE and the POTTERS and SHUTTLEWORTH and their mountebank, and CHARLEY PLARSON and Surgeant WILDE and Lord MELBORNE and the tallow-man and brewer privy-counsellors; "what!" will they all exclaim, "will this devil of ours never die and never be ill!" And old daday BRADLEY, that poor decrepit patriot, will exclaim, "What! and is he then actually to come and pull me along by the ears, 'gout' or no gout, 'and perhaps through 'a heavy fall of 'snow;' is this never-eating, never-drinking, never-sleeping, never-resting, inflexible, hard-hearted dog, to come and remind me of what I used to say about the regiment and the room; about Lady LOUISA PAGER and Mrs. Fox and her daughters; and about 'hired shiffs, Parliaments, and kings;' is he to come at last, in reality, and drag me as a badger is dragged out of his hole, and remind me of what I used to teach about the 'necessity of pulling down great families;' and, above all things, is he to come and drive me out to face the cheated people of WESTMINSTER, or compel me to help him 'to tear the leaves out of the accursed Red Book?'"

From GLASGOW to HAMILTON (near which is the famous palace of the Duke of that name), the road runs along not far from the CLYDE, and we enter, in fact, into what is called "the vale of the Clyde," which has in it everything that can be imagined that is beautiful. Cornfields, pastures, orchards, woods, beautiful in their own form as well as in the

variety and fine growth of the trees. Dr. DREAD-DEVIL (who wrote in the same room that I write in when I am at *Bolt-couft*) said, that there were *no trees* in Scotland, or at least something pretty nearly amounting to that. I wonder how they managed it to take him about without letting him see trees. I suppose that lick-spittle BOSWELL, or Mrs. PROZZI, tied a bandage over his eyes, when he went over the country which I have been over. I shall sweep away all this bundle of lies. I have no whim and no prejudice to gratify: it is my business to speak of things as I find them. On the 1st of November, I am to go to LEXARK, which is at the "*falls of the Clyde*." I defer my account of this vale till I have been thither, and until I have seen both banks of this beautiful river. How surprised my readers will be to hear of Scotch orchards, one single orchard being worth from five hundred to a thousand pounds a year; and that, too, an orchard not exceeding ten or twelve English acres in extent; and, how indignant they will be when they are told that the present Reform BILL, brought in by a native Scotchman, GIVES TENNER MEMBERS TO ALL SCOTLAND, than are given to a population in England NOT EXCEEDING THAT OF EDINBURGH ALONE, and not anything like that of GLASGOW ALONE!

But to remark on these matters, and to prove to Englishmen, that this treatment of Scotland is as injurious to England as it is to Scotland herself, must be put off till the next *Register*, which will be dated from I cannot tell where.

WM. COBBETT.

THE DEVIL

GRINDING HIS TEETH AND CURSING.

READER, you never saw the devil, of course, and, unless you read the *Scotsman* or the bloody old *Times* newspapers, I dare say you never will; but, supposing him to be well represented in the caricatures that we have recently seen in

London; and supposing him to be in a dreadful rage on account of some great disappointment; matter would come out of his mouth something like that which the *Scotsman* of yesterday, the 27th instant, has belched out in his rage at the kind treatment that I have met with in Scotland; and particularly at the thought of a *public dinner* being to be given to me at GLASGOW. Read the article, I pray you, and you will see how the wretch writhes; you will think that you hear his vile blood boiling under his dirty skin. A dinner! Ah, why does nobody give him a dinner? He knows very well he is the man that ought to have public dinners given him; that he is the man that ought, in reason and in justice, to be the object of public approbation; and yet his dull-eyed and besotted countrymen cannot perceive it! Well, if I were he, I would let them perish then; I would take no notice of such stupid creatures! But, what will the beast say, then, to the dinner at PARLEY; to the ringing of the bells at FALKIRK; to various other such demonstrations in every town and every village that I have gone near to? Why, he will say that his countrymen are all rogues or madmen. Well, then, why not let them alone. But, seriously speaking about this matter, the hiring fellow would be wholly unworthy of notice, if he were not the tool of the Whig-faction, and particularly of JEFFREY and ABERCROMBIE, whom, if I had been a little earlier, I would have blown out of the water, even at EDINBURGH itself. These men clearly see that I have brought into Scotland a mass of information, which will finally be their total overthrow. They see that I have put the struggle upon a new footing. That it is no longer Whig-faction against Tory-faction; but both these factions combined against the *phalanx of the people*. They think that I am likely to be one of the leaders of that phalanx; and, therefore, rat never sighed for the destruction of cat so sincerely as they sigh for mine. This poor hired reptile puts forth nothing of his own; he is merely a dog set on by his employer; and what he writes is only worth reading as

it shows that I have stung those employers to the quick. With this preface I insert the article, which exhibits the devil grinding his teeth.

COBBETT IN GLASGOW.

To the Editor of the Scotsman.

Glasgow, 29. October, 1832.

"SIR,—It is now a long time since I had the pleasure of addressing you. The political excitement having in a considerable degree gone down with us, things have been somewhat stagnant for the last four or five weeks, with the exception perhaps of our *harmonious* Jubilee. To revive us a little, however, we have had a visit, as well as you, of the great Lion from the South, who has condescended to show us hyperboreans his teeth, and to growl a bit after his most approved fashion. He has been well lionized here, and is likely to be still further entreated. Nearly a brace of hundreds, a public dinner, and the unequivocal patronage of at least one of our Parliamentary aspirants, are no bad returns for three nights' performance of this ancient vender of political cataplasms.

"There are certain substances in nature which possess a marvellous property of attracting sticks, straws, and other worthless substances. Our friend Cobbett possesses this faculty in great perfection. Wherever he goes, by a sort of natural attraction, he is immediately surrounded by all those whose more volatile opinions, as well as generous contempt for rigid public virtue, naturally dispose them to welcome one who either supplies to them arguments for their own views, or at least powerfully laughs others out of any which they may chance to possess. However, to say the truth, we have laughed heartily *with*, and sometimes at, the old gentleman. The wight is indeed to be pitied who expected any illumination from William Cobbett; yet is he very entertaining, and occasionally very happy in his sarcasms. Like a skilful coachman, he always applies his whip 'to the raw.' With the

"morbid parts of our social system, no man is better acquainted, or more skilful and amusing in his demonstrations; and although not a bit cleverer than his neighbours at untying any of the Gordian knots of our perplexed politics, he is not afraid to deal with them after a more succinct and less laborious fashion. Now, this being more congenial to all those who would rather *act* than *think*, comprehending a respectable minimum of society, it is not to be denied that the advent of the *Great Grumbler* has been hailed with infinite satisfaction by the above description of persons, and with a more chastened delight by the lovers of amusement in general.

"We can understand why all men from the Lord Provost downwards, (who, good easy man, it is thought had no *easy* seat of it the first lecture) should have been desirous to hear Cobbett; but speculation is afloat as to the motives and objects of the *minimum* who are going to honour their idol *with a public dinner*. By some, it is conjectured *electioneering* influences of no small weight are expected to result from his visit and dinner; by others, that the 'Political Union' will incontinently declare against the debt being held to be *national*; while, by others of more sanguine temperament, it is imagined that in William Cobbett they behold, in so far at least as the *dead weight* is concerned, another Peter-the-Hermit, who perambulates the country to deliver the body corporate 'from the body of this death!' Whatever may be the occult reasons for bending the knee at a public board, to the *immediate abolisher* of national debt, tithes, paper-money, pensions, standing army, corn-laws, malt, and all taxes whatsoever—to him, the greatest political renegade who has ever lived—who has been at once the eulogist and defamer of Burke, the contemner and worshipper of Tom Paine, the heartless detractor of Thomas Muir, and the ungrateful libeller of Sir Francis Burdett—the vulgar panderer to Eng-

“lish vulgar pot-house prejudices, and
 “the unceasing detractor of Scotland
 “and its ‘*antallettual*’ people—what-
 “ever, we say, may be the motive for
 “bending the knee to such an honest,
 “patriotic man, it is a subject of morti-
 “fication and shame to all of whose
 “character and talents Glasgow has any
 “reason to be proud. You will proba-
 “bly hear from me again upon this
 “laughter-exciting topic; in the mean
 “time, I remain, sir, &c.”

NEWS FOR LONDON.

To Dame Anna Brodie and Mrs. Fanny Wraight, She-Proprietors of the bloody old Times, and Cousins of Jack Walter, who has the incomparable impudence to offer himself as a Candidate for the County of Berks.

ABUSIVE WOMEN,

Dean SWIFT says, that, “when women behave like blackguard men, they are no longer to be considered as belonging to the sex of which they wear the ordinary apparel, but are to be considered as bullying men, and are to be kicked down stairs accordingly.” Not being disposed to go up your stairs for any purpose whatsoever, I cannot, of course, act towards you upon the principle of SWIFT, though I am determined to go and overhaul Cousin JACK as soon as I get back to the *Sootk*. In the meanwhile I send you a piece of news from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of yesterday, the 27th inst.; it will give you singular pleasure, I dare say, and may serve to comfort Cousin JACK until I can get back to him, when I will give him comfort enough I will warrant him.

“Mr. Cobbett arrived from Paisley early this forenoon at Mr. Bell’s, Clyde-buildings, where he resides during his visit to Glasgow, and soon after, accompanied by his secretary and Mr. Bell, set off in a post-chaise for Hamilton, where he is to lecture this evening. We understand that Mr. Cobbett, after visiting Hamilton Palace, &c., will proceed to Dalzell,

“and return to Glasgow on Monday,”
 “in time for the public dinner to be
 “given him on that day.”

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

It is rumoured that the Whigs are likely to find it convenient to dissolve the Parliament *very early in December*. I hope they will give me time to get into Berkshire, to tell the people there something about JACK WALTER and his man STODDART. However, I shall get there if I can. I shall quit GLASGOW on the 3. of November, shall go by KILMARNOCK and DUMFRIES to CARLISLE, thence to DARLINGTON, and then push on towards the Wen with as little interruption on my route as possible. Let us get together; let me be one of the number; and we will soon see whether laws are to be made by candle-light, and the penalty of death voted for by men coming reeking from a smoking-room, or men picking their teeth, or belching out the fumes of brandy-and-water. We will soon see whether there be to be a real reform or no reform at all.

SCOTCH REPRESENTATION.

HERE it is that the reform will work wonders. Scotland ought to have had a hundred and twenty or thirty members at least, which I do not put upon paper to *have it read while I am in the country*; for this that I am now writing cannot possibly be read in Scotland till two days, at least, after I am out of it. I will show hereafter how beneficial it would have been to England, as well as to all the rest of the kingdom, if Scotland had had her due share of members; and, oh! if I, when at Edinburgh, had known what I now know, what a basting I would have given that Lord Advocate, upon his own dunghill, for his baseness in bringing in a bill which takes, first, the town of DUMBARTON in the county of DUMBARTON; then goes across the CLYDE, into the county of RENFREW, to tack

on PORT-GLASGOW and the county-town of RENFREW itself; then goes into the county of LANARK, to tack RUTHERGLEN on to the list; and, not yet finding enough, again crosses the county of RENFREW, and goes (forty miles from DUMBARTON) to find KILMARNOCK, in the middle of the county of AYR; and all this in order to get together a population of *forty or fifty thousand souls*, to be considered as belonging to one borough, in order to make the whole of these populous and commercial or manufacturing places worthy of having ONE MEMBER; while that same LORD ADVOCATE had voted for the English bill, giving TWO MEMBERS to BARING'S borough of THEIFORD, which contains *three thousand four hundred and fifty souls!* Oh! had I known this before my lecturing at EDINBURGH, how I would have roared the "DEMOSTHENES of Scotland!" However, omission is not remission; and that the "DEMOSTHENES" shall find.

Notwithstanding all these contrivances, however, SCOTLAND will act her part well; she will do her best at any rate. She will send some men that will do their duty. That my readers in general may be able to form some judgment as to the mood that the Scotch people are in, I will here insert, FIRST, the address of Sir JOHN MAXWELL to the electors of PAISLEY; SECOND, the county of RENFREW pledges; THIRD, Mr. BONTINE's address to the electors of the county of RENFREW; FOURTH, Mr. FAIRRIE's address to the electors of GREENOCK, which has been answered by Mr. WALLACE, who is also a candidate for GREENOCK; but I have not any address published by Mr. WALLACE. After these, I shall insert the address of Mr. PRÄSE to the electors of DURHAM, which I ought to have inserted before. In Lanarkshire there is at present no opposition to Mr. MAXWELL, who is heartily approved of by all the good reformers. Every one makes sure of Mr. DOUGLAS of BALLOCH being one of the members for GLASGOW; and, though there are several candidates, there is no one who does not profess himself a friend of a very great change for the better. The

documents that I am about to insert are worthy of being read with great attention by my English readers; for these documents alone will be sufficient to convince them, that Scotland will not be trod under foot.

SIR J. MAXWELL'S

Second Address to the Free and Independent Electors of Paisley.

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,— Now that the great charter of our national liberties is fairly sealed, I take the freedom of congratulating you on your obtaining possession of those just rights for which you have so nobly exerted yourselves; and as you have now entered into that era which will form one of the most remarkable epochs in our national history, I conceive it necessary again to address you in reference to that important situation I have been called to by so great a portion of all classes of the intelligent inhabitants of your populous, and I trust soon to see, flourishing town.

As a warm friend to the principle that every man who presents himself as a candidate for the honour of a seat in the legislature, should give pledges to his constituents of the course he will pursue in regard to those great measures necessary for bringing back the country to that state of prosperity from which it has of late been fast receding; I take this opportunity of again referring to those pledges you have presented to me; and that there may be no misunderstanding either as to their import or of my acceptance of them, and for the information of all concerned, I shall insert them here.

They are as follows:—

1st. That I will neglect nothing in my power to obtain an immediate repeal of the Septennial Act, and the re-establishment of triennial Parliaments.

2nd. That I shall endeavour to secure the total abolition of all monopolies and restrictions on trade, particularly the corn-laws, and all other laws affecting the importation of human food; the

trade with India and China, and the bank monopoly.

3rd. That I will do all in my power to procure a reduction of taxes, and, in particular, the repeal of the assessed taxes, and of all taxes on knowledge, or affecting articles of health and cleanliness; and also the abolition of all unnecessary offices and unmerited pensions, and generally, that I will resist every wasteful or lavish expenditure of the public money.

4th. That I will do all in my power to obtain a thorough burgh reform, so as to have the election of the magistracy and council placed in the hands of the burghesses.

5th. That I will endeavour to procure a revision and change in the forms and manner of administering the laws, so as to distribute cheap and expeditious justice to all classes of society, and a cheap and simple mode of conveying property.

6th. That I will insist for the entire and speedy abolition of colonial slavery.

7th. That I will support the abolition of the law of entail.

8th. That I will support an act for placing the heritable property of persons dying intestate, in some measure on a similar footing with moveable property.

9th. That I will, at all times, and in all things, act in my capacity of representative, conformably to the wishes of my constituents deliberately expressed; and if I shall not, at any time, feel inclined to do so, I shall, at their request, resign to them the trust committed to me.

MY RESPECTED COUNTRYMEN,—I assure you, that, as a candidate for the honour of representing you, I at once accepted of the whole of the above pledges with pleasure: the shortening the duration of parliaments; the abolition of the corn-laws, and of the East India Company's, and of every other monopoly; the reduction of taxes, particularly those on knowledge; a reform in the burgh elections; the cheap and expeditious administration of justice; the abolition of slavery, not only in our own colonies, but over the whole globe; and the abolition of the law of entail, as

well as that of primogeniture, are for the most part objects, you are aware, I have long earnestly pursued, and to obtain the whole of them no exertion or influence in my power shall be wanting, whether I am returned to Parliament or not; and of all your pledges, there is none I will abide by more readily than that of resigning whenever I fail to give satisfaction to my constituents.

But to render some of the measures you have pointed out equitable, it will be necessary that others be adopted, with regard to which, it is proper you should fully understand my views. In the first place, in justice to the farmer, the abolition of the corn-laws will require that a revision of contracts should take place, in order that landlords may not have the pretext of law for committing acts of injustice; and it is also necessary that the same course should be followed between the nation and the national creditor, before any beneficial reduction of taxes can be expected; but whether this is to be by an alteration of the currency or otherwise, no measure shall have my support which has not for its object the preserving of the precious metals as the only legal tender. The present state of Ireland calls loudly for the abolition of tithes, and in carrying this into effect, it will be necessary to institute an inquiry into the state of the church establishment generally. Some alteration of the Reform Act, in connexion with the shortening of the duration of Parliaments, may also be requisite: and while, from the unexamplified unanimity with which that measure has been received by the country, it is entitled to a fair trial; yet should an extension of the elective franchise, the lessening the expense, or any other improvement be called for, I will be ready to give it my best support.

At an early period I expect to have the pleasure of waiting upon you in person, when, if required, I will cheerfully explain myself more fully on any point of legislation, which in the above outline may be omitted; and I have only again to state, that if I am so far honoured with your confidence as to be returned your representative, nothing in

my power will be wanting to make your sentiments known, and to enforce your views in Parliament. My unwearied aim shall be to secure the prosperity and happiness of the country at large, and in particular, that of the independent inhabitants of Paisley.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obliged servant,

JOHN MAXWELL.

Pollok, 28. July, 1832.

COUNTY OF RENFREW PLEDGES.

Within the Saracen's Head Inn, Paisley, upon the 2. August, 1832, at one o'clock p.m.

At a General Meeting of Delegates, elected and sent from the freeholders in and about Neilston, Barrhead, Johnstone, Kilbarchan, Bridge of Weir, and a body of farmers in the abbey parish of Paisley, attended by several freeholders from the neighbourhood of Lochwinnoch, and some other parts of the landward portion of the county of Renfrew ;

Mr. JAMES CALDWELL was called to the chair.

Mr. Dunlop of Carlibar laid before the meeting a communication which he, as chairman of the last meeting of delegates, had received from Mr. Thomas Baird of Pollokshaws, which with a writing, bearing to be the resolutions of a meeting of electors held in that town, were read ; and in reference thereto, this meeting regrets that, after such an arduous struggle for reform, these electors should have hesitated at last in avowing their sentiments on some of the more prominent and well-known abuses that exist in our national affairs, when about to have a member chosen to represent them in the first reformed House of Commons ; so as to ascertain, by means of explicit pledges, that he will support their views. And more especially it is regretted that they should have thought of pursuing a separate course by themselves, different from the rest of the county, on this important subject.

The meeting having now proceeded to the business for which the delegates assembled, it was, in terms of the

instructions to them from the freeholders in the several quarters above-mentioned,

Resolved—That members* chosen to be representatives in Parliament, ought to forward and support the views and wishes of their constituents ; and whenever they cannot do so, it is their bounden duty to resign their office. Therefore, it appears to this meeting, that in order to secure the legitimate objects of representation, the member who may be selected for this county ought to give the pledges following, viz. :

1st. I will neglect nothing in my power to obtain an immediate repeal of the Septennial Act, and the re-establishment of triennial Parliaments.

2d. That I shall endeavour to secure the total abolition of all monopolies and restrictions on trade, particularly the corn-laws and all other laws affecting the importation of human food ; the trade with India and China, and the Bank monopoly.

3d. That I will do all in my power to procure a reduction of taxes, in particular a repeal of all taxes on knowledge, or affecting articles of health and cleanliness ; also the abolition of all unnecessary offices, and unmerited pensions ; and, generally, that I will resist every wasteful or lavish expenditure of the public money.

4th. That, along with the abolition of the corn-laws, I will support a revision of the contracts between landlords and tenants, so as to substitute a grain rent for money-rents, where these are not already the rule ; and, generally, proportion the landlord's claims upon his tenant in the changed state of farm produce.

5th. That I will exert myself to procure a revision of the laws and statutes relating to the turnpike and parish roads and bridges in Scotland, with the view of having the management of these placed upon an improved and more responsible footing ; and of having all intromissions regarding these published annually to the public.

6th. That I will do all in my power to obtain a thorough burgh reform, so

as to have the election of the magistracy and council placed in the hands of the burghesses and householders.

7th. That I will endeavour to procure a modification of the game-laws, and a revision and change in the forms and manners of administering the laws in Scotland generally, so as to distribute cheap and expeditious justice to all classes of society, and a cheap and simple mode of conveying property.

8th. That I will insist for the entire and speedy abolition of colonial slavery; and that, in our relation with other countries, I will endeavour to advance the great interests of peace, liberty, and human improvement.

9th. That I will support, with all my power, freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech and opinion, unlimited toleration in matters of religion, and complete publicity in everything in which the public is concerned.

10th. That I will institute, or assist in the institution of an inquiry into the state of the Church Establishment, with a view to remove the abuses which dishonour it.

11th. That I will exert all my power to have the tithe-system of Ireland revised and improved, and a salutary provision made for the poor of that country.

12th. That I will support the abolition of the law of entail.

13th. That I will support an act for placing heritable property of persons dying intestate, in some measure on a similar footing with moveable property.

14th. That I shall use every effort in my power to obtain the speedy abolition of impressment for the navy, and of flogging in both the army and navy.

15th. That I will support a revision of contracts between the nation and the national creditor, with the view of procuring a proper adjustment of the national debt.

16th. That I will at all times and in all things, act in my capacity of representative, conformably to the wishes of my constituents, deliberately expressed; and if I shall not at any time feel inclined to do so, I shall at their request resign to them the trust committed to me.

It was further resolved,

1st. That the influential voice of the new freeholders, not being confined to the elections merely, but intended of course to bear on all other important questions in the country, it is alike their duty and their interest to have their claims immediately enrolled, as, without this, their official usefulness to themselves and to the community will be lost. And it is hoped that each district will immediately appoint committees to give directions and assistance to their fellow-freeholders in the registration of their claims.

2d. That this meeting earnestly recommend unanimity among all the electors in the county, on the subject of the ensuing election, and in the full confidence that Sir M. Shaw Stewart, the present excellent representative, will be ready to accept the pledges now adopted, and thereby obviate all contest for the suffrages of the new constituency. The chairman is appointed to transmit a copy of these pledges to him, and respectfully to solicit his answer, for the guidance of the delegates, by Wednesday next, the 8th inst., to which day, at 1 o'clock p.m., this meeting will stand adjourned.

3d. That the thanks of this meeting are due to Sir John Maxwell, for the noble example he has given in accepting the pledges proposed to him by the electors of Paisley, and for the cordial manner in which he recognises the principle of such a course in his late address to the electors.

(Signed) JAMES CALDWELL,
Chairman.

TO THE LIBERAL AND INDEPENDENT
ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF REN-
FREW.

MY FRIENDS,—The obstacle which prevented me from acceding to your very flattering and generally-expressed wish of becoming a candidate for the representation of this county, when I had the honour of meeting with your respectable body of delegates, on the

6th of September, and to which I alluded in my address to you of the following day, being now removed by the liberal and public-spirited answer which Mr. Spiers gave to your deputation on the 6th instant, and learning both from the address then delivered to him, and from subsequent communications I have received, that you still entertain the same feelings towards me, I consider it due to you, and to myself, thus to announce that it is with pride and gratification I accept of your invitation, and declare myself a candidate for the high honour and important trust of representing you in the first reformed Parliament.

Holding the opinion as I do, that a member of Parliament should truly represent the views and support the interests of his constituents, rather than his own preconceived or rashly-adopted notions, or in other words, that he should be really the representative, not of himself, but of those who elect him, I need scarcely say, that I consider it peculiarly necessary, not only that his political sentiments should be understood to coincide with those of the people whom he represents, but that he should unequivocally show that they do so, by giving specific pledges, at least on all those leading measures of legislation, on which the country is generally agreed. This seems to me the more expedient at this eventful time, when so many changes are expected, and indeed necessary to be adopted in the system of our Government, and without which, I fear the people would run no small risk of having the Reform Act, which has cost so much trouble, rendered in a great measure, useless.

To many of you my political sentiments are pretty well known, but I shall be most happy to meet with you personally, in districts or otherwise, and explain my views *specifically* on all subjects of necessary reform. In the meantime, I beg it to be understood, that as it is from no personal motives I now come forward, but solely to aid you in preserving the county from falling into a state of vassalage, I shall be most ready to retire, if, before

the election, you select any other candidate more likely to further your views, and to co-operate with you in his favour.

I have the honour to be,

My friends,

Your fellow-reformer,
R. CUNNINGHAME BONTINE.

Emlaystone, 15. Oct., 1832.

MR. FAIRRIE'S ADDRESS

TO THE

ELECTORS OF GREENOCK.

GENTLEMEN,—It was my wish to have delayed the announcement which I now make, until the Reform Bill, the new and glorious charter of the liberties of Scotland, had passed into a law. But Mr. Wallace having taken the field, I am compelled to come forward instantly with the intimation that I mean to offer myself as a candidate for the honour of being your representative in Parliament.

I lay claim to your support on the ground that I “have had every opportunity of being acquainted with the feelings and wishes of the inhabitants on “most great national subjects;” and “that “from my youth I have been exerting “myself in the promotion of our most “important charities and institutions.”

Brought up in our national church, I feel a sincere attachment to it as the simplest and purest form of an establishment. By its original constitution, the heads of families were entitled to a control in the appointment of their pastors, and I certainly have always felt desirous of the reintroduction of such a check on the exercise of patronage. The churches of England and Ireland form a perfect contrast in almost every respect to ours; and in their pluralities, and their non-residences, and the inequalities of the incomes of the clergy, call for the exercise of the cautious but firm hand of the reformers.

Such, Gentlemen, are the sentiments which I entertain upon the most important of these topics, respecting which you would naturally be desirous of

learning my opinions. And I have only further to add, that should I be fortunate enough to obtain a majority of your suffrages, you may rely on my unceasing endeavours being employed in the advancement of the true interests of the country, more particularly of Greenock.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN FAIRRIE.

Greenock, 2. July, 1832.

SPEECH OF MR. PEASE,

ONE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,
AT A RECENT MEETING OF THE
ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DI-
VISION OF THE COUNTY OF DUR-
HAM.

MR. PEASE (after having been introduced by Mr. Mewburn), addressed the assemblage to the following effect:—If he had listened to the feelings of his own breast,—if he had consulted only the dictates of his own judgment,—as to whether he ought to stand forward as a candidate for the representation of the county of Durham, he should soon have got a plain and decisive answer. But when it came to this point,—would he, or would he not, obey the call, not of 4 or 5 but of 800 or 1,000 of his fellow-countrymen, who entertained a conviction that he would protect their rights, guard their privileges, and watch over their interests, the question arose whether or not he was ready and willing to serve them with zeal, honour, integrity, and the greatest application and industry he could bring to the task? These were the feelings which prompted him to accept their flattering and honourable invitation. (Cheers.) This, he apprehended, would effectually rid him of any imputation of presumption on his part. (Cheers.) If it were asked what were the purposes he proposed to effect by being returned as one of their representatives to Parliament, he would give the question an explicit answer. That nothing but a sense of duty to his country, and his desire to justify the partial and kindly feelings that had

been evinced towards him, by those who solicited him to come forward as a candidate, by a strict and undeviating attention to the furtherance of the important and various interests of the division, could have induced him to accept their invitation. (Cheers.) He was a friend to every interest, in short, to be found within the circumference of the district. He had nothing further to recommend him to their notice. He had no high birth or connexions to boast of—he could not take out his purse and say, if the electors would not take him for love they should for money—he would not say he would take their farms from them if they would not vote for him; but if they had farms he would endeavour to make them prosper on them. (Cheers.) He trusted, however, that it would be deemed no reproach to him that he had not birth, rank, or high associations, to encourage him in aspiring to what he regarded as a most honourable distinction. (Cheers.) They must recollect that all men were not born in castles or palaces—it was not the lot of every person to spend hundreds and thousands of pounds, just as if money was to be picked up in the streets: he knew how difficult it was to get money—how hard a task to fill a purse, and how easy a one to empty it (cheers and laughter); and it was precisely on these grounds that he was desirous of having a seat in the legislature; it was on these grounds that the wishes of his constituents would be his wishes—their interests his interests; and to promote the former and protect the latter would be the great and leading objects of all his exertions if, by their favour, he should be elected one of their representatives. (Cheers.) He should feel for their difficulties, he would delight in their prosperity, he would be a sharer in their joys, and would participate in their sorrows—he would know the burdens that pressed upon them; and would ever cherish those feelings which a representative ought constantly to have in his bosom, lest, when he got into the House of Commons, and no longer saw the faces of his constituents, he should forget their wishes and neces-

sities, and think only of attending to his own wants instead of benefiting them. It was for these reasons he was not ashamed to own his rank in life. With regard to the agricultural and commercial interests of the country, he did not know which to mention first; he was quite positive they were one and the same. He knew that commerce could not flourish unless agriculture flourished also; and he was alike confident that agriculture must go down if commerce forsook the country. (Cheers.) He must ever consider their interests inseparable, and if he should be sent to Parliament, he would go there as a man bound to hear both sides of the question, and after having done so, to decide as became an honest and enlightened legislator, upon the evidence and the arguments that had been adduced, and upon these alone. (Cheers.) Further than this he did not wish to go, and would not. (Cheers.) He was well aware of the cant and slang which were generally adopted by candidates at elections; but he would neither say nor do any thing to please any particular party, or to elevate one class of the community at the expense or by the depression of another. (Cheers.) In making this remark, he begged to be understood as indulging in no reflection upon either of his brother candidates. Referring to the present state of public affairs, he might, in agricultural phrase, say that though England had had a grand ploughing-day—though she had ploughed down fields that were over-grown with weeds and corruption—though she had cut down those weeds, and uprooted that corruption—the future fertility of the land would depend upon the sort of seed that should hereafter be sown; for if it were sown with the same seeds as before, however well the ground might be fallowed, the crop would still be the same. (Cheers.) But if they would look at home—if they were to act as though they considered that Reform had to begin at their own doors, and would elect only such men as were qualified to serve their country, by fairly promoting the interests of every branch of the national industry, instead of

looking only to the advancement of one interest, and that interest their own, they might expect to secure that best of all results—the general prosperity and happiness of the whole country. (Loud cheers.) He exhorted them to consider this subject maturely and seriously; for the duty which the people of England had now to perform was one which did not relate merely to the affairs of a month or a year—it did not involve considerations important only to themselves, but matters of the mightiest consequence to their children, and to generations yet unborn; for, according to the example shown at the approaching election, he firmly believed, not only the fate of this country, but the destinies of the empire, for ages yet to come, would be affected. He was anxious, therefore, that the electors of this district should show that they were not instruments or slaves in the hands of any man or party, but that they would exercise their votes as they should think best for the common interest of all classes, and would neither be tricked nor intimidated on this the most important point of public duty. (Cheers.) Many bright examples were recorded, of instances in which, as regarded the present crisis, neither threats nor cajolery could induce electors to swerve from the path of independence and integrity,—to betray the interests of their country, or to sacrifice the rights of their children and posterity. (Cheers.) With respect to the agricultural interest, he was astonished that any individuals, calling themselves men of honour, should go from place to place, accusing him of designs which, if he entertained them, would be calculated to destroy his own property. This was one of the most ungenerous and unfounded statements that could be uttered; for he would avow here, as he had done in every other quarter of the district, that he considered the agriculture of the country to be the prop and support of our national greatness. (Loud cheers.) He felt perfectly convinced that it was the first and greatest interest of the country, and that if we wished to build a superstructure of commerce or manu-

factures, it must be based upon agriculture. (Cheers.) If he were asked whether he would give to any class peculiar or exclusive privileges, he would say "No." He could not wish to see farmers reduced lower in the scale of prosperity than they were at present. (Cheers.) Having his eyes open, and knowing the burdens which the farmers of this country had to bear—that they had to pay tithes, church-rates, highway-cess, and poor-rates—he would ask whether any man could, for a moment, hold it to be either just or expedient to bring in foreign corn, grown by those who had no such imposts to sustain, and produced by the labour of men fed upon stuff which he should blush to offer to an Englishman's lips. (Cheers.) For those reasons, he was an advocate for giving full and adequate protection to agriculture. (Renewed cheers.) He would not, now, enter any further into the consideration of this question; but he should be ready to state, to any gentleman who might ask him to do so, his opinion upon the rate of duties, and the period for which these duties should be enforced, upon the importation of foreign grain into this country. He thought it was impossible for the farmers to be placed in a worse condition than they were at this time; and he would quit the subject, for the present, with this observation,—that he felt deeply for the difficulties of the cultivators of the soil; and if he had not hitherto paid the same attention to agriculture as to commerce and manufactures, he was not too old to learn, and was willing to receive instruction. (Reiterated cheering and loud laughter.) He declared again he would never go to Parliament as the advocate of one interest. He knew that many persons whom he was addressing were not electors—it made no difference with him. He knew it was by the favour of the electors only he must stand or fall; but if he were returned to Parliament, he should consider himself as the representative of every man, woman and child, in the district,—and more than that, it would be his constant study, wish, and endeavour, to represent them effectively. (Cheers.)

He would not advert at much length to the state of things as they existed under the old system. But he would say, that if the people of England had known the way in which their money was squandered, they would have been still more discontented with their situation than they actually were. There were such lists of "Extraordinaries!" Aye, extraordinaries indeed. (A laugh.) Things could never be right till the representatives knew, months before the estimates were introduced, what these were for. It was too much for them to be called upon to vote 5,000*l.* to this person, for doing nothing, 10,000*l.* to that for doing very little, and other vast sums, for nobody knew what. How, he begged to ask, could a seaman stop a leak if he did not know where it was? But the mode heretofore adopted was, to bring forward the estimates when very few members were in the House, and most of them asleep. In this manner, thousands and millions of the public treasure had been voted away, sub silentio. He considered it most necessary to watch the tap; and if any of the old leaven men were sent back to Parliament, it would be necessary to watch the bung-hole as well as the tap. (A laugh.) He was satisfied the money of the nation could not have gone out of the spigot-hole only; or we should not have been 800 millions in debt. (Cheers.) If the people had had such representatives as Joseph Hume—who, long-headed Scotsman as he was, was yet a true-hearted friend of the English people,—so far from having incurred this lavish waste, they would always have had a shilling's worth for their shilling—aye, and it would have gone hard if, in driving a bargain, they did not get thirteen-pence for their shilling. (Cheers and laughter.) If England had been governed in this spirit for the last forty years, instead of going about the world, tinkering the vessels of every other state, regardless of the leak in her own, we should have had occasion to look into the dictionary to find the meaning of the word "oppression." (Continued cheering.) But he had heard that sundry colonels and captains, and a

certain noble marquis, had been much shocked by his observations on this point. "What a vagabond," said they, "that Mr. Pease must be, to go about 'the country, in such a way, protesting 'against war!'" It was well for such men to praise the bridge that carried them well over, it was well for them and for noble lords to extol a system which gave them honours and rewards. It was not for them to complain of war, or of the cost it entailed upon the country; but it was for him (Mr. Pease) and for the people, upon whom the burden of supporting it alighted, to condemn and prevent it—for though others had obtained honours and glory, the only honour and glory which the people of England had enjoyed was that of paying the piper. (Cheers and laughter.) The late war had chained a millstone around our necks which, while other nations were fast rising into eminence, would bow us to the earth for many a long year. But he did not despair. If the reformed parliament would make economy the order of the day, be careful of the public money, commit no waste, and pay men only as they deserved, the time would come when the national resources would be fully adequate to our wants, and a great reduction of taxation would take place. (Cheers.) But to look a little further into this subject. If we had not spent our millions in manning ships and equipping armies, to bolster up tyranny and oppression in different parts of Europe, we might have had the same quantity of tea for 2d. or 3d. for which we now paid 5d. or 6d.,—good drink for 1½d. instead of 3d.—tobacco for 2d. instead of 4d.—and so on through the various articles consumed by the poorer classes. (Cheers.) The gentleman who rode in his carriage, supported on springs, paid 6l. 10s. per annum towards the expenses of the last war; it was for nothing else—and the poor labourer could not wash his face, or put on a clean shirt, without contributing something to the same object. A man who had six windows in his house could not add another, to improve his prospect, or add to the health and comforts of himself or family, with-

out paying two guineas a year on account of the war. If a man looked into a newspaper to see the price of stocks, he was taxed for the information—if he bought an almanac for 2s., to number the days of the year, he was taxed fifteen-pence of the price. Even a bunch of matches was deemed a fit subject of taxation—it was even trebly taxed—the brimstone, the wood, and the string that tied them up, each were taxed. In short, every thing, whether consumed by the high or the low,—whether it was ate, drank, worn or read, was taxed; and all to pay the cost of the late war. (Cheers.) He was an advocate for equal laws for the poor and the rich, as well as equal taxation. If he saw a couple of poor men settling their differences by a fight, he could perceive no justice in sending them to the treadmill, for a breach of the peace, while gentlemen who fought duels were admitted as bold fellows, and had their bravery recorded in the newspapers. (A laugh.) Neither did he think it right that a poor man who took a hack horse for twenty days, should be taxed 1s. 6d. per day, thus paying 30s., while a man who could afford to keep a horse of his own, in his own stable, was taxed only 24s. for three hundred and sixty-five days. He complained, too, of the oppressive operation of the heavy probate duties on personal property, while real and entailed estates were left untouched. (Cheers.) The existence of slavery he had ever considered a blot on our national character. We had heard from year to year, that it would be done away. If it were asked, when? it was answered, as soon as possible. So it had gone on from time to time; and he was afraid, if we had to rely upon the disposition of the planters, or of some ministers of the Government,—he did not say all of them, we should be no nearer to the attainment of our wishes than we were at first. (Cheers.) There was yet the same want of reading and instruction; but we could not be surprised that those who deprived the negro of his liberty, shall endeavour to keep him in ignorance of his God, and to rob him of his Sabbath. But if the

Reformed Parliament did not abolish this abominable system, he, for one, should be much mistaken. (Cheers.) He did not mean to speak with severity of all slave-owners; for many had inherited their estates from their fathers; but knowing how prone was the heart of man to the infliction of wrong, he thought the power to torment our fellow-creatures ought to be taken away, that the temptation to use it might cease to exist. (Cheers.) After alluding to the evils resulting from the East India Company's monopoly, the injustice done to the millions of our fellow-subjects in India by the Government of the Company, reproaching the boast of the latter, that they derived a large revenue by encouraging the debasing superstitions of the country, and expressing his ardent hope that he should shortly see the day when the searching hand of reform would redress the grievances existing in the Eastern world, as well as in our Colonial possessions in the West Indies. Mr. Pease proceeded to say that he knew the question of reform in the church establishment of this country was one on which the people felt deeply and keenly at the present moment. He thought it was "too bad" that a farmer in casting up his accounts at a year's end, could not do so without seeing such a desperate blotch on the debtor side of his book, in the shape of outgoings for tithes. (Cheers and laughter.) He knew the difficulties of the subject, and felt them acutely. He was anxious, above all things, for the spread of godliness: but he could not shut his eyes to the abuses of the establishment. (Cheers.) He could not but say that there was something very wrong in it; and that it was time there was a reform there. (Loud cheers.) There was a wide difference between the honey-bees and the drones. (A laugh.) And he was also of opinion, that as tithes and all other offerings were given as a means to an end, Parliament and the Government would do right if, while they paid every attention to justice and religion, they were to consider how far the means contributed to that end. (Cheers.) He would not shut his eyes to the benefits

of the establishment; and he was one of those who would not refuse the right hand of fellowship to the minister who made the object of his care the cure of souls and that alone—but with the man who spent his time in imitating the follies of the day, and who looked not even after the bodies, much less the souls, of his flock, with such a man he would have no communion. (Cheers.) He would not destroy the church for mere love of change; nor would he consent to pull down (as we understood him to say) one stone of the edifice, unless he could replace it with a better. He would not deprive the church of its ornaments and beauties; but he would wish to see it distinguished by that alone which was really beautiful and enduring. (Cheers.) Mr. Pease concluded an eloquent and impressive speech by saying, that without meaning anything in the shape of reproach to either of his brother candidates, he must declare that he would never attempt to win the favour of any part of the county by a course of personal conduct which was foreign to his habits and principles. He could not attend races, or dinners, or balls; he could not engage in fox-hunting, or the pursuit of the pleasures and amusements of society. He had between 4 and 500 men in his employment, who, for their interests and for his, required to be looked after with a watchful and an attentive eye. He could not, he said, do these things, unless he wished to throw his workmen out of employment, to ruin his wife and family, and to send himself into the Gazette. (Cheers and laughter.) But he could make arrangements which, at a definite period of the year, would enable him to serve the division in Parliament; and as he had hitherto worked industriously to serve himself, he was now ready to devote his time and his industry to serve his country. (Cheers.) All that he could promise was, that if the Almighty should bless him with life and health, and inspire him with the same sense of duty, what honesty, morality, and religion required of him, he would continue faithfully, zealously, and conscientiously to discharge, as a representative of free-

born Englishmen and of the electors of the southern division of the county of Durham. (Loud cheers.)

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

LETTER V.

"I would inculcate one truth with peculiar earnestness; namely, that a *revolution* is not the necessary consequence of a *national bankruptcy*."—*Pursuits of Literature*.

GENTLEMEN,—Before we resume the discussion relating to *Pitt's grand sinking fund*, which want of room obliged us to break off at the close of the last Letter, I think it may be useful to submit to you here an observation or two, calculated to obviate any unfounded apprehensions that might otherwise be excited by the apparently inevitable fate of the paper-money; and this I deem the more necessary, as publications are daily appearing from the pens of ignorant or interested persons, the evident tendency, and indeed object, of which is to persuade the public that the existence of the Government, that the existence of law and order, that the safety to persons and property, nay, that the continuance of the very breath in our nostrils, depend upon the credit of the bank-notes.

The author, from whose writings I have taken my motto to this present number of my work, was, you see, of a very different opinion; and I have quoted his sentiment upon the subject, because his work is well known to be of what is called the ANTI-JACOBIN kind, that is to say, a work, the tendency of which is to prevent men like you from having any thing to say or to do, any more than your horses, in the affairs of government. This writer, who, however, might mean well, and who is certainly a very clever man, so far from supposing that the existence of the government depended upon the credit of bank-notes, is, you see, fixed in his opinion, and an opinion that he wishes "to inculcate with peculiar earnestness," that a *REVOLUTION*, thereby meaning a change in the form of government, is *not* the necessary consequence, even of a *national bankruptcy*;

that is to say, not only a total discredit of all the paper-money and especially the Bank-of-England notes, but also an utter inability to pay, in any way whatever, the interest upon the National Debt, or any part of it.

This is my opinion also, as it always has been since I turned my attention to the subject. At the beginning of the present war, Mr. ADDINGTON, who was then the Prime Minister, told the House of Commons, that one of his principal objects in laying on the Property Tax and other war taxes, was, "to convince Buonaparté, that it was *hopeless* for him to contend with our *finances*." To which the MONITEUR, or French government-newspaper, replied: "*Pay your bank-notes in gold and silver, and then we will believe you, without your going to war.*"*

Whether the Minister made good his promise; whether he has convinced Buonaparte, that, it was "*hopeless* for him to contend with our *finances*," you, gentlemen, are as likely to be able to judge as anybody that I know. I, for my part, blamed the Minister for holding out such a *motive* for his taxing measures. I said to him: The true way of convincing your enemy, that this war upon your finances will be useless, is to state explicitly to the world, that you are not at all afraid of the consequences of what is called a national bankruptcy; for, while you endeavour to make people believe that such an event *cannot possibly happen*, they will certainly think that you regard it, if it should happen, as *irretrievable ruin and destruction*; and, therefore, as you never can quite overcome their apprehensions, the best way is to be silent upon the subject, or, to *set the terrific bug-bear at defiance*. To Buonaparté's exultation at our approaching bankruptcy, the answer is always ready: France has been a bankrupt; France has not paid her paper-money in specie; yet, France is not the weaker for that; France is, in spite of her ruined finances, in spite of the long pamphlets of Sir Francis D'Ivernois and

* Register, vol. 3, p. 948, June, 1803.

Mr. Rose, in spite of the longer speeches of Lord Mornington, Lord Auckland, and Mr. Pitt, in spite of the innumerable columns of figures which these noblemen and gentlemen have drawn up in battle array against her; in spite of all this, France is yet powerful, yea, much more powerful than she was before she experienced what is called a national bankruptcy. What ground, therefore, have the French to rejoice at our finances being about to undergo a similar operation?

Such were *my* sentiments and my reasoning upon this subject, seven years ago; a time, when to pronounce the word *depreciation*, as applied to bank-notes, was sure to expose a man to charges very little short of *treason*, which charges were made by those very persons who have now declared the greater half of our bank-notes to be "*destructive assignats*," and who have called them "*vile and dirty rags*." My opinion was, and it still is, that the total destruction of the paper-money would not cause any change injurious to this kingdom; and, indeed, I should have a most hearty contempt for the constitution and for the whole form and composition of our Government, if I thought that their existence depended upon the credit of bank-notes. There are however, those who think just the reverse; and these are, too, writers, who appear to be entirely devoted to the Government: one of whom goes so far as to say, that the Government has *no other trust-worthy support* than that which it derives from the bank-notes. "The human mind," says he, "is sensible only of the present good, or evil, and has too little thought to anticipate consequences, and *if it was not for the immediate personal interest of a very large and informed part of the community in the national debt, patronage and paper currency, GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE NO EXISTENCE*, standing insulated on the pure basis of duty, and remote national and respective good. The conduct of Sweden, America, Ireland, and the Jacobins of England, in their partiality for France, exemplify a want of sense to execute

"the maxims of EPICURUS; the paper currency of bank-notes (there should be no country bank) offers to Government a *most indestructible support*, because IT MAKES THE DAILY BREAD OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL DEPEND SUBSTANTIALLY ON THE SAFETY OF GOVERNMENT," whereas money, which may be *hoarded*, separates the individual from the public safety. In the present revolutionary state of the world, I think our paper currency a most *miraculous mean of salvation*, and the man who would propose the payment of bank-notes in specie at any period, to separate individual property from public safety, might as well propose the *burning of the navy to protect the commerce of the world!*"*

Gentlemen, do you remember the writings of PAINE? Do you remember the *Rights of Man*, for the writing of which the author was *prosecuted* by the then Attorney-General, who is now the Lord Chancellor? Do you remember the *Rights of Man*, the author of which was prosecuted, and, being absent, was *outlawed*; the publishers of which were prosecuted all over the kingdom; the circulating of which was forbidden by proclamation; and, to counteract the principles of which, ASSOCIATIONS were formed of the rich and the powerful? Well, it was in this very work that the doctrine here laid down by this government writer was first started. PAINE said, that the *existence of the Government depended upon the existence of the bank-notes*, and that the question was not *how long the British Government would stand*, but *how long the funding system would last*. PAINE's mode of reasoning was, if I am correct in my recollection, as nearly as possible like that of this government writer. He laid it down as an admitted fact, that the people (owing to causes that he stated) must be *wholly indifferent about the fate of the Government*; but that, as so many of them were, either by holding *stocks or bank-notes*, interested

in the fate of the Government, they would, *while the stocks or bank-notes lasted*, continue to support the Government, whatever might be their *feelings* towards it. But, that when, from whatever cause, the funding system should fail, not a soul would be found to lift a finger, or even to express a wish, in favour of the existence of the Government.

Just the same, or rather more, is now said by this government writer—a writer, one-half of whose pages are filled with invectives against those whom he calls the friends of the Emperor of France. But how is it possible for anything to be written more agreeable to the Emperor Napoleon than what this writer has put forth? Until now the world has been told that we entertained a real *love for our Government*; that we were attached to our constitution because it afforded such fine *protection* to our *persons* and our *property*; that we loved the constitution, because it insured to us the enjoyment of *liberty*, and defended us against every species of *oppression*; that we had made numerous sacrifices, and that we were ready to make as many more; nay, even “to spend our *last shilling*, and shed the *last drop of our blood*,” for the sake of these *liberties*, and in defence of a *king*, whom we so *dearly loved*, and in gratitude for the blessings enjoyed during whose reign we held a jubilee. Until NOW this is what the world has been told. But NOW it is told, by this loyalty-professing writer, that the only motive whence we support the Government at all, is to preserve the value of the bank-notes that we hold; that, if it was not for the immediate personal interest of so many people in the *national debt*, and for *patronage* and *paper currency*, the Government could have *no existence*; that we support the Government because, without its existence, the bank notes would fall, and because, by the number of bank-notes, we are thus made to depend upon the safety of Government *for our daily bread*; and that, therefore, the man who would propose the payment of bank-notes in gold and silver at

any period, might as well propose the *burning of the navy*, or, in other words, the giving up of the country to France.

What, gentlemen! are we never then to see gold and silver again? Every Minister; every member of Parliament; every one of those who endeavoured to palliate the measure of protecting the Bank Company from paying their notes in gold and silver; every one of them “*lamented the necessity*,” as they called it, of the measure. But NOW, behold, we are told that it was a *good thing*; and not only a good thing, but that *the Government could not exist without it!* Gentlemen, we call ourselves a “*thinking people*,” but, believe me, that this is what would not have been said to any other civilized people upon earth.

We might here easily show how encouraging a prospect doctrines of this sort hold out to our enemy, and how strong an inducement to use all those means whether in the way of attack or of menace, which are likely to destroy the credit of the paper money; that being, if these doctrines be good, the sure and certain way of destroying our Government. But another opportunity will offer for observations upon these matters; and it is now time that we return to our inquiry into the SINKING-FUND.

In the last letter, having stated the provisions, made in the acts of 1786 and 1792, for the nation's *ceasing to pay interest* upon the stock that should be redeemed, or bought up by the commissioners, after the year 1808; or in other words, the nation's *ceasing to pay taxes* on account of the stock, or part of the debt, which should be bought up after that time; having stated these provisions, we were proceeding to inquire—*What was done in the long-expected year, 1808!* What was done *when the year of promise came?*

Why, my neighbours, *nothing at all was done*: just nothing at all in the way provided for. The nation ceased to pay no *dividends of interest*: and, of course, this work of redemption caused *none of its taxes to be taken off*. “Well,” say you, “but is it possible, that, after such

"a solemn proceeding; after the *express* and *positive* declaration in two acts of Parliament, that the dividends of interest *should* cease to be paid in 1808: is it possible that, after that, all the dividends did continue to be paid, *just the same as if those acts had never been passed?*" O, yes! It is not only possible to be so, but it is so. All the dividends have continued to be paid; and *are paid to this day*. The above-mentioned provisions, in the acts of 1786 and 1792 were *repealed*. The Parliament undid what it had before done. It did away the provisions which it had made in 1786 and 1792. It passed another act, which said that those provisions should not be carried into effect; or in other words, that which was *law* before was no longer *law*.

This new act was passed in the month of June, 1801: ADDINGTON, the successor and the friend of PITT, being then minister. This act (which is chap. 71 of the 42d year of the reign of George III.) is entitled, "An act to amend and RENDER MORE EFFECTUAL two acts passed in the twenty-sixth and thirty-second years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the reduction of the national debt." The act, which was to render those two acts *more effectual*, sets out by stating, that the said two acts had been by experience found "to be attended with *most beneficial consequences* to the *public credit* of the country;" and, having made that declaration, it sets to work, and repeals the two provisions above-mentioned; and, of course, when the year 1808 came, when the year of expectations arrived, *no dividends* ceased to be paid, and *interest* upon the whole of the debt was still paid, and is still paid to this day.

Gentlemen, it is hardly to be believed, that any men, who, like PITT and his associates and supporters, had invented and caused to be passed, the two first-mentioned acts, could propose the last-mentioned act, that is to say, the act of 1802. Not only, however, did they propose it, but the ANTI-JACOBIN writers laughed in our faces and called us fools, if not levellers and Jacobins, if we

ventured to express any doubt at all of the wisdom and justice of any of these successive measures; and, these writers stoutly denied, *that it ever was intended to take off any of the taxes in 1808*; and, of course, they maintained, that we, who felt disappointment in this respect, were fools for our pains, and, indeed, they expressed themselves thus, that we were "*nature's fools*," and not the fools of the minister.

Never, surely, were any portion of mankind treated with such barefaced contempt as the people of England were, at the time referred to, by the venal writers of newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, and reviews, who, seeing the people terrified out of their senses, by alternate alarms within and without, seemed to think that he was the best man who could show the greatest degree of scorn for their understanding and character. Had not this been their persuasion, would they have dared to tell us, that *none but fools ever expected the sinking fund to produce a repeal of taxes*, when it must still remain in the memory of every man, who was then at all conversant in political matters, that the *repeal of taxes*; the *lessening of the taxes*; the making of their *burdens less*, was the promise held forth to the people by the supporters of PITT; nay, when it is notorious, that PITT owed the establishment of his tremendous power to the opinion which the people entertained, that he had discovered, and would put in practice, the means of *reducing the load of their taxes*! This, as the great end of his schemes, was so much talked of; it is so well known, that this was so distinctly stated in the speeches of Parliament, and so many times repeated, that I am almost ashamed to trouble you with any proof of the fact; yet, considering that the point is of great importance, I will put the matter beyond all dispute by a reference to a work on the increase of the *resources* of the kingdom, published in 1799, under the name of GEORGE ROSE, who was then a secretary of the Treasury, and who is now treasurer of the Navy and a privy-counsellor, and who, in the exe-

cution of the work about to be cited, was, doubtless, assisted by PITT himself. Indeed, this must have been the case; or, at least, it must be believed, that nothing upon such a subject, and under the name of his official secretary, would be published without PITT's previous approbation. In this work, which is entitled, "A brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Manufactures of Great Britain, from 1792 to 1799." In this work the hopeful effects of the sinking funds of 1786 and 1792 are pointed out, and the writer says: "By the operation of these sinking funds, without any further intervention of Parliament, the one existing before the war will attain its *maximum* (4,000,000*l.* a year) most probably, in 1808, in no case later than February, 1811. As the *dividends* due on such parts of the old debt as shall be paid off after the sinking fund shall have attained its *maximum*, and the annuities which shall afterwards fall in, will be at the disposal of Parliament, the period of **REPEALING TAXES annually, to an amount equal thereto, cannot be delayed more than nine, ten, or eleven years.**"

Need I ask you, gentlemen, whether you have heard of any *repealing of taxes*? Whether you have *felt* your *load of taxation lightened*? Whether you pay *less* taxes than you paid when this placeman wrote his book in 1799? No: these questions I need not put to you; nor need I ask you what are your feelings towards those who fed you with hopes of a diminution of your burdens; nor need I perhaps, say one more word upon the subject of the *sinking fund*; not to have seen through which by this time would argue a much greater want of discernment than I am disposed to attribute to any part of my countrymen, and especially to you, whose discerning faculties have, as to matters of this sort, been, of late, pretty well sharpened by experience. Nevertheless, with the hope of leaving no possibility of bewildering anybody in future, with regard to the nature or effect of the *sinking fund*, I shall add some additional

remarks; but, as these remarks will open to us quite new views of the matter, and will extend to some length, I shall postpone them to my next; and I remain, in the meanwhile,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

*State Prison, Newgate,
Monday, Sept. 17, 1810.*

P.S. A pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee," has just been published by Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, who is, it seems, a member of Parliament, and who is said to have been recently made a privy-counsellor. So much of such gross ignorance, in so short a compass, I do not recollect to have met with in the course of my reading, except, perhaps, in the *Morning Post* newspaper, or in the *British Critic Review*. Such a publication would be wholly unworthy of serious notice, were it not pretty evidently the vehicle of the sentiments and views of others. For this reason, some of its prominent absurdities will be noticed, when I come to that part of my subject to which they more particularly belong. In the mean time, in order to furnish the means of judging of this writer's depth of understanding, take the following specimen from a former work of his, and compare his theory with the practice now before our eyes. "The PUBLIC DEBTS of a nation not only *attract riches from abroad*, "with a species of magnetic influence, "but they also *retain money at home*, "which *otherwise would be exported*, "and which, if sent to other countries, "might possibly be attended with pernicious consequences to the state, "whose wealth was carried out of it. "If France, for example, maintained "its wars *by borrowing money*, and "England *raised all its within the year*, "the necessary consequence would be, "that all the loose and unemployed "money of England, would *naturally be transmitted to France*, where it "would be placed out to advantage." This is quite sufficient. The next time that Sir JOHN thinks of writing upon

matters of this sort, he will do well to go, previously, and take a lesson of Mrs. DE YONGE. She will be able to tell him for a certainty, whether national debts have a tendency to *keep money at home, to prevent it from being exported, and to bring money from abroad.* She will also be able to give him a lesson upon *depreciation*, in a way which, perhaps, will make the thing comprehensible even to him.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCT. 26, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

COMINS, J., and J. Tregoning, Manchester, calico-printers.
MASON, T. M., Baker-street, Portman-sq., bookseller.

BANKRUPTS.

BARROW, J., Falsworth, Lancashire, victualler.
BOULTER, D., Quadrant, Regent-street, tobacco-nist.
BOWYER, E., Martin's-lane, Cannon-street, broker.
DAVIES, J., late of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, dealer in coals.
GARRETT, R., Shiffnall, Shropshire, grocer.
LUMSDEN, N., Swansea, Glamorganshire, and Waterford, Ireland, merchant.
LUPTON, J., and J. Hudson, Wakefield, commission wool-agents.
PARKER, J., Webber-row, victualler.
PIPER, T., Walsall, Staffordshire, grocer.
PROCTOR, J., Gould-square, Crutched-friars, wine-merchant.
REEVES, W., and G. King, Ludgate-street, jewellers.
SANDFORD, J., Manchester, shopkeeper.
SAYER, W., Toxteth-park, Lancashire, stone-mason.
SLACK, R. W., Hanley, Staffordshire, dealer in drugs.
THORN, J., Sackville-st., Piccadilly, and G. Robins, Titchborne-street, surgeons.
WESTON, J. T., Parish street, Horslydown, yarn-spinner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BIRRELL, P., Cupar, Fife, bookseller.
SHAW, J. and G., Glasgow, cabinet-makers.

STODART, L., and A. Martin, Leith, wholesale merchants.

TUESDAY, OCT. 30, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

EMDIN, R., Bristol, straw-hat-manufacturer.
SCOTT, A., Francis-street, Tottenham-court-road, cabinet-maker.
TAYLOR, T., Egham, Surrey, tallow-chandler.
UDALL, J., Upper-street, Islington, carpet-warehouseman.

BANKRUPTS.

CARTER, H., Hastings, Sussex, chemist.
GIBSON, J., Manchester, innkeeper.
GODFREY, W. T., Wolverton, Buckinghamshire, miller.
LANCASHIRE, J., Draycott-field, Derbyshire, miller.
LINDSAY, J. jun., Warrford-court, merchant.
M'LAREN, G., Manchester, rope-maker.
NAYLOR, W., Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, glass-manufacturer.
PARKER, W., Leeds, tea-dealer.
REYNOLDS, R., Manchester, cabinet-maker.
RUTTER, P., Chapel-place, Brompton, Treluck-terrace, Pimlico, Duke-st., St. James's, and Piccadilly, livery-stable-keeper.
SANDS, R. sen., Brewer's-street, St. Pancras, engraver.
SMITH, P., Bexhill, Sussex, wine-merchant.
TYLER, J., Blackman-street, Borough, linen-draper.
WILLIAMS, J., High st., Newington, linen-draper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, OCT. 29.—Although the arrivals of grain last week were small, and but a moderate supply of wheat fresh in this morning from the home counties, yet the trade was very heavy, at a reduction of 2s. per qr. from the quotations of last Monday. Fine old wheat maintained last week's prices, but the demand was very limited, being chiefly confined to necessitous buyers, in small quantities.

We had but little barley at market this morning, and but few samples of malting quality, for which higher prices were asked, but could not be obtained, and were afterwards disposed of at the prices of this day week, and the stained sorts that were in good

condition were taken off by the distillers on the same terms as last Monday.

White and grey peas were heavy sale at last week's prices.

The oat trade was dull, but not cheaper—the supply being small.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	19s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 53s.	
Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barrel	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 82s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.	
— Cork ... 82s. to 83s.	
— Limerick ... 82s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 76s. to 81s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 78s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 41s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... —s. to —s.	
— Gouda ... 10s. to 42s.	
Ham, Irish ... 55s. to 60s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Oct. 29.

This day's supply of beasts was good, but not quite so numerous as was that of this day se'nnight; of sheep (lamb having become mutton, and consequently gone out of season), calves, and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout dull; with prime small mutton at an advance; prime beef, veal, and pork, at a depression of full 2d. per stone; with the middling and inferior kinds of beef and mutton at Friday's prices.

Full two-thirds of the beasts were about equal numbers of Irish and short-horns, for the most part steers and heifers, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamp-

tonshire; three-twelfths about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welch runts, principally from our western and midland districts; and the remaining twelfth, Town's-end cows, with a few Sussex steers and heifers, Scots, Staffords, &c., from various quarters. About three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, from the South Down and Coteswold crosses; an eighth about equal numbers of Kents and Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Lincolns, and polled Norfolks; with a few horned Aberdeeners, Dorsets, Welch, &c.

Beasts, 3,295; sheep, 18,240; calves, 163; pigs, 240.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 2.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	111.	Sat.	Mon	Tues	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	84	84½	84½	84	84½	84½

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First, one of the whole country, showing the

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JOHN DEAN,

Newsman in general.

London, 2. Oct., 1832.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. IV.

New Lanark, 1. November, 1832.

HERE I am upon the most interesting spot of earth that I ever set my foot upon in the course of my long and rambling life. But, before I proceed to give an account of what I have seen on the two banks of the river CLYDE, I must go back again, as in reality I did, from DALZELL HOUSE to GLASGOW, on Monday, the 29. October, to attend at a public dinner there given to me; and at which place on the 30. and 31., I gave lectures for the benefit of two classes of the working people. I must therefore quit the CLYDE for the present, and go back to GLASGOW, where I remained from the 29. to the 31. inclusive, and where the transactions were such as not to pass without full notice in this my account of Scotland. I shall probably not have room for my notices relative to the country, the scenery, the orchards, and other things on the banks of the CLYDE, until the next number; but, at any rate, I must do full justice to the *political part* of these my CALEDONIAN adventures; this, after all, being the matter of the greatest importance: the sense, the steadiness, and the courage, of the Scotch; their adherence to what they once get firmly into their heads; these being well known to the whole world, it is of vast importance that all my readers, *and particularly my Lord GREY*, know the true state of their minds with regard to me; for though his lordship may possibly smile at that,

and draw up his nose, and turn up his upper lip, it were as well if he did not do it, and if he paid attention to the facts which I am about to put upon record, and which facts it is impossible for me to misstate, putting them here upon paper which is to be read by thousands upon thousands of witnesses.

In my last I mentioned that I lectured at HAMILTON on Saturday, the 27., went that night and slept at DALZELL HOUSE, whence I dated the close of the last number of this account; as that lecturing belongs to the part which this number is to embrace, I shall notice some particulars belonging to it, before I come back to GLASGOW, and give an account of what took place there. These particulars are very interesting, and will show my readers all over the kingdom the nature of the struggle going on in Scotland. The lecturing place was in what is called the BURNER church; that is to say, the dissenting church. Here is an established church in Scotland; an established *Presbyterian church*; the priests of which have the ancient Catholic churches (where such remain); and which priests are paid by what are called TIENDS (which is only another word for tithes or tenths); but these TIENDS are *not a tenth part of the produce*, as in England! They are an annual allowance of a certain quantity of corn from each estate. This is not rendered in kind, however; but in money, according to the market-price at the time when the payment becomes due. For instance, the priest is to be paid for so many boles of wheat, on account of such an estate, on a certain day of the year; so on throughout his parish. This mode of payment renders it a great stretch of disinterestedness to induce the priest sincerely to pray for plenty; for, the scantier the crop, the higher the price; and the higher the price, the higher is his pay. This is putting disinterestedness and piety to a very severe trial. In the great towns, there is an assessment on the rental

for the payment of the priests. The patronage of the livings is in the *principal proprietor of the parish*; so that one of these great lords has the appointing of a dozen or two of priests.

This is called the established church of Scotland. But there is the seceding church; that is to say, there is, in every considerable place, a large part of the people that have *seceded*, or *drawn off*, from this established church. They do not differ from the other in their creed, or in their mode of worship; but each congregation insists on the right of nominating its own minister, and also insists on the minister being maintained by voluntary contributions, and not by compulsory assessments, or by *Tiends*. So that here are *two churches*, one of which is pretty nearly as extensive and as firmly established as the other; and, as the seceders have generally the most able and most diligent ministers, they are daily gaining ground over the established church.

It will easily be conceived that the established church, exclusively under the patronage of the nobility, and trembling for the stability of the *Tiends* and the compulsory assessments, are not *very warm friends of any change at all*, particularly of that very great change, the absolute necessity of which is the great burden of all my lecturings. Parsons have noses as keen as that of a crow: they smell danger at a greater distance than any part of God's creation. It is said that the *Bald-Eagles*, in North America, they being in CANADA, will smell a dead horse upon the borders of the Gulf of Mexico; but, wonderful as this may appear, my belief is, that the noses of parsons are still finer than those of these *Bald-Eagles*. No wonder, then, that I have everywhere found the established churches shut against me, while the seceding churches have, wherever necessary, flung open their doors for my reception. This was the case at HAMILTON, where the fine-nosed gentry carried their hostility a little farther than merely shutting the doors of their church. They spread about the assertion that I was an *infidel*, and did everything in their power to

prevent people from attending the lecture, in which, however, they by no means succeeded; and I had a very numerous audience, considering the size of the place. Having heard of what had been going on, I began by observing, that I had written and printed a hundred volumes; that I challenged the *Kirk* to set a hundred of its priests, each to take a volume, and to find, in the whole hundred, if they could, one single sentence hostile to religion or morality. I then related to them, that the Government itself, once took a paper of my writing, had a *million* of copies printed, at a cost to the public of between three and four thousand pounds; copies of which it sent by the post to every parish in the whole kingdom, *with directions to have it read from the pulpits!* And read from the pulpits it was; and that, therefore, it was rather hard that the *Kirk* should represent me as an *infidel!* After having prefaced a little further, I proceeded with my lecture, striking my opponents in a very *tender part*, of which, however, I was not fully aware, until I afterwards learned the following particulars; namely, that the registration of votes for this borough (which has been hooked on to that of FALKIRK and another or two) showed that about a hundred and twenty pensioners resided in this little borough of HAMILTON; that a Mr. AUGUSTUS MURRAY, a son of Lord DUNMORE, and a nephew of the Duke of HAMILTON (the great lord of the country here, who has a mansion in the town, and a monstrous palace in a park just by it), is the "*Whig candidate*" for this bunch of boroughs, *against* Mr. GILLON, the present member and the radical candidate, whose friends had invited me to lecture at HAMILTON. Besides all this, this Mr. AUGUSTUS MURRAY is either the brother or the nephew of Lady AUGUSTA MURRAY, the mother of the children of the Duke of SUSSEX; the monstrous pension of which lady I have so strongly remarked upon on so many occasions. It is very curious that the party whom I met at my friend's house at HAMILTON, all went to see the very fine and noble palace recently erect-

ed by the Duke ; and some of them told me, that he wished me to go, if I chose, and have the palace and other things shown to me. It is very curious, I say, that I should take it into my head not to go, notwithstanding importunities so very pressing, that it was hardly good manners to resist them. I did resist, however, to the great astonishment, and not entirely to the satisfaction of friends whom I was naturally extremely anxious not to displease. I saw there was danger of some atrocious newspaper lie arising out of my appearance at that palace. Besides, there would have been a species of meanness, even in putting my head under the roof of a man whose power it is one of the professed objects of my labours to curtail. The circumstances which I have above related as to Mr. MURRAY, will, when the paper shall reach the eyes of my friends who were of the party on that day, convince them, I trust, that my refusal to join them on their visit to the palace was founded on good reason, and did not arise from perverseness or caprice.

From HAMILTON I went, as before related, to sleep at DALZELL HOUSE, stayed there on the Sunday, and on Monday morning, the 29. of October, went back to GLASGOW to the dinner. This dinner is a matter of great importance ; not as it concerns me, but as it shows the temper in which the people of Scotland now are. In another part of the *Register* I shall insert a report of it, as given in the *Glasgow Chronicle* of the 31. of October. Every one will know how impossible it is to be accurate, in a report made under such circumstances and to such an extent. The report, therefore, must not be taken as at all unfair, because it omitted to mention the most material part of what I stated relative to the calumnies of BURDETT and his most infamous crew of newspaper hirelings. After stating the circumstances under which I received the money from him, I proceeded thus : " The ruffian miser sees it continually put forth, as he himself first put it forth ; that I went off to America, to carry away his money and defraud him of it. The miser knows, that he

" gave it me to clear off a debt owed to
" Mr. SWAN, a paper-maker, and an
" acquaintance of his own, and that
" Mr. SWAN went and received the money,
" and not I ; the villanous miser
" knows, that I had to borrow money
" of WILLIAM CLEMENT, the proprietor
" of the *Morning Chronicle* (who then
" published the *Register*) in order to
" carry me and my family to America ;
" the miser knows that he spread the
" story, in order to prevent me from
" ever again showing my face in England ;
" the vile lady-and-child miser
" knows, that I voluntarily came back
" again to face him and his demand ;
" the wretched miser knows, that the
" Government having stripped me of
" every thing, my own friend, Mr. TIMOTHY BROWN (whom he first introduced to me), made me a bankrupt,
" and carried the bankruptcy through
" at his own expense ; the grinding
" miser knows, that Mr. BROWN wrote
" to him, ' You say that COBBETT owes
" ' you money, come then AND
" ' SWEAR TO YOUR DEBT ; ' the
" wretched miser knows, that he did not
" dare to come and swear to his debt ;
" the miser knows, that in 1824, when
" a subscription was proposed to be begun
" for the purpose of putting me
" into Parliament, and when he was
" afraid of seeing me upon the same
" boards with him, that he then wrote
" to his crony, RICHARD GURNEY, of
" NORWICH, to say that he would subscribe five hundred pounds, and that he
" authorised GURNEY to show the letter
" to my friends in Norfolk ; the ruffian
" miser knows, that, when, in 1826, a
" subscription was proposed to put me
" in for PRESTON, he wrote to Colonel
" JOHNSTONE, then member for Boston,
" telling him that he would subscribe for
" that purpose, and that he afterwards
" repeated this to Colonel JOHNSTONE
" verbally, and told the COLONEL to
" name the sum that he should subscribe ; let the execrable miser choose,
" then, between the baseness of tendering his money to put a rogue into
" Parliament, the baseness of having
" made the tender without an intention
" to fulfil it, and the baseness of hiding

“himself from taking a part in the atrocious lies published by the hirelings, while he is underhandedly assisting the hirelings to circulate those lies. The conclusion is, either his charge against me is utterly false, and he is the foulest of all calumniators; or he has been, twice, under his own hand-writing, offering his money to put a rogue into Parliament. Let the ruffian miser choose between the two.

With regard to the rest of the proceedings at the dinner, they will speak for themselves. Every one concerned in them not only makes allowances for little inaccuracies, but must feel wonder that a report at such length, and so accurate, could possibly be made out and published in so short a space of time. As to what BROUGHAM and MELBOURNE and *prosperity* ROBINSON and the EDINBURGH REVIEWERS and such-like people may think of this dinner, it is, perhaps, of very little importance; but it is quite necessary that *my Lord GREY* view it in its true light. He ought to see, and he will see, that we did not meet here for the purpose of eating and drinking; that it was a meeting held for the purpose of declaring to the whole nation what was the feeling of this great and opulent city, with regard to those principles which I am so well known to entertain, and those great measures of which I am regarded as the champion. In this light it is that *my Lord GREY* will view the thing. It was not to honour me personally, nor to honour me at all; it was to do honour to the political principles which I have so long been maintaining. It would be childishness to view this matter in any other light. Viewed in this light, every incident, however trifling in itself, becomes matter of importance. Here, then, in a city consisting of two hundred thousand people, distinguished at once for everything that is elegant, and everything that is opulent: literary institutions, arts and sciences, navigation, commerce, manufactures, and all in the highest perfection; the emporium of Scotland, surrounded in every direction by towns and villages, all ani-

mated with the same spirit; and here, in this great city, under the name of a convivial meeting, it is sent forth to the world, that the political principles of COBBETT are the predominant political principles of Scotland! This is the light in which every man of sense will view it. The low and filthy wretches at MANCHESTER have actually been sending down pamphlets from their mountebank to Glasgow, and writing pressing letters to their friends at that city, to circulate the pamphlets about, “in order to show up COBBETT!” The proceedings at this dinner constitute the answer to the despicable reptiles, whom, if I live but a few years longer, I will hunt off the face of this earth: I will make them, and the tallow-man privy-counsellor, know what it is to employ a mountebank-player to do that which they were too great cowards to do themselves. I shall be back with them pretty quickly now; and I will make them feel the consequences of sending pamphlets to GLASGOW. So much for the dinner at GLASGOW. I wished very much to get off for England immediately after that dinner was over; but the working people had been excluded from the lectures by the prices necessary to keep the theatre from being a scene of confusion. They very much wished that I would lecture to them upon terms different from those on which admission had been given at the theatre. There were two bodies of them, the *Trades* and the *Manufacturers*. I, at once, very gladly offered to preach to them for nothing; and it was fixed that I should do it to the *Trades* in the theatre, on the 30. of October, and to the *Manufacturers* in a church, on the 31. of October; and this I did. The delegates of the *Trades* delivered to me, upon the stage, an address; to which I, upon the spot, gave an answer, which I had written before. These two papers I here insert, deeming them to be of sufficient importance to justify this application of the space that they will occupy. The address was prefaced by a very handsome and eloquent speech from the delegate who handed it to me. I do not know what BROUGHAM and his gang of

reviewers may think of this matter; but I know that if I were a minister, every bone in my body would rattle at the bare thought of attempting to carry on a system held in detestation by millions of men, of whom these delegates are a fair specimen.

MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

RESPECTED SIR,—We, the undersigned delegates from various shops, factories, and districts, in behalf of a great portion of the operatives of Glasgow, are desirous of expressing our heartfelt gratification at meeting with a person whose voluminous political writings, the produce of half a century, have done so much towards keeping the public mind in wholesome agitation, enabling us to form a just estimate of the men and measures which have so long misdirected the magnificent resources of a mighty nation.

We rejoice to behold speedily approaching the inevitable doom of those enormous impositions, in the exposure of which you have been such a valuable instrument. And we are proud to think that a man, originally a labourer for his daily bread, should be thus fated to rise on the ruin of the aristocratic caste by the mere force of his own industry and talent, proving that mind, when vigorously exerted and directed aright, is all-powerful in overcoming the fallacious systems imposed upon the many by the greedy and ambitious few.

Notwithstanding the epithets which you have so unsparingly bestowed on persons whose conduct you could not approve, and however much you may have wounded the national pride of Scotland by so liberally slandering her name and people, the operatives of Glasgow regard these ebullitions as the effects of a strong dislike to the iniquitous measures and false theories of political economy associated with the parties you addressed, and that you must have drawn the character of Scotland and Scotchmen from the cringing *booming* place-and-pension hunters who, in bye-past parliaments, presumed to represent our much-abused country; and we sincerely hope that you are now happily undeceived.

We also sincerely trust that a place for you in the ensuing Parliament will be secured, whereby you will be the more effectually ena-

bled to apply those gigantic powers which you have hitherto displayed in your writings; and you will, by a consistent, steady, and undeviating perseverance, prove that neither wealth nor place, but the reduction of that astonishingly iniquitous Government which has so long degraded us, is the great object of your life—that you will ever bear in mind the ruinous condition of the working classes, the justice and necessity of extending to them the elective franchise; and that you will loudly call for immediate amelioration, by the increasing of our means of comfort, and removing every obstacle to the free exercise of our industry.

The operatives of Glasgow are the more immediately interested in the removal of the stamp duties on newspapers, having one of their own, the cheapness and wide circulation of which they deem of the highest importance; and also a law to limit the time of working in public factories, and in every other department where children are employed. They consider it equally necessary to afford workmen opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge, and they therefore press these matters upon your attention as they would upon the attention of all those who assume the functions of legislation.

That you may long enjoy sound bodily health, and unimpaired mental vigour, for the great struggle in which you are about to be engaged, is the sincere wish of,

Respected Sir,

your friends and admirers,
 James M'Donald, Chairman
 John Tait, Secretary
 John Stewart, from the Weavers
 James Nish, from the Cotton-Spinners
 Henry Dunn ditto
 Robert Campbell, from the Shoemakers
 John Ballintine, from the Brass-Founders
 Daniel Dewchrae, from the Bakers.
 Robert Grindlay ditto
 Charles Mathieson, from the Painters
 Charles Kelly, Bridgeton District
 James Simpson, from North Quarter Union
 James Houston, from the Brewers
 Donald M'Intyre ditto
 Alexander M'Kay, from the Bricklayers
 John Henderson, South West Union
 William Muir, Tenter
 Hugh Kirkland, Dresser
 John Henderson, West-street Factory

Hugh M'Kenzie, Pres. of Green-st. District
 Robert Stewart, Daygate Toll District
 Alex. M'Culloch, from the Letter-Founders
 Petér M'Grigor
 Thomas Steel
 Robert Gilfill
 James Brown
 Matthew Thorup
 Charles Rattray, from the Calico-Printers
 Stephen Fenner, Carver and Gilder
 Neil M'Visor, Spinner

} Various trades

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,—It has been the boast of the present Prime Minister, that “*he would stand by his order*.” it is my boast, that I have always most firmly stood by mine, which is that, as you truly observe, of those who labour for their daily bread. The other order, not being able to endure the thoughts of acknowledging the superior talents and wisdom of our order, and not being able to corrupt me, have been, for, now, pretty nearly thirty years, endeavouring to cast me, by some means or other, into the shade, if not to effect my destruction; and (most curious to behold!) they have gone on, sometimes adopting measures, sometimes rejecting measures, seemingly for the sole purpose of opposing my principles and of falsifying my predictions; till, at last, they have made it a question, whether their order shall, or shall not, continue to exist; while I have gone on increasing in influence, and while my order is as firmly established as the foundations of the earth itself.

Be assured, gentlemen, that this journey to Scotland was not at all necessary to convince me of the intelligence and virtues of Scotchmen, against whom, in general, I never had a prejudice in my life, and, therefore, had none to be removed. In speaking of the perverse and renegado *pretended philosophers*, who, like similar reptiles in the distant provinces of the Roman Empire, have gone to the seat of government to sell their own country and help to enslave ours, I have been obliged to designate them by naming the part of the

kingdom from which they came; but I have invariably said, at the same time, that I imputed not their disposition to the people of Scotland, whose oppressions, whenever I shall have the power, I deem it my duty to remove to the utmost of that power; and, in some measure, my journey to Scotland, by the great knowledge that it has enabled me to acquire, will assist me in the performance of that duty.

With regard to an extension of the suffrage, the abolition of stamp-duties, the rescuing of children from the hardships to which the wants of their parents induce them to expose them; with regard to all these, I not only heartily concur with you in opinion; but am already bound, by a most solemn pledge, to the people of Oldham, to do my utmost in accordance with that opinion.

Gentlemen, be pleased to receive, and to communicate to the working people of Glasgow, with every mark of my respect and regard, my sincere thanks for this address, compared to which, a patent of nobility from the King would be regarded by me as some dirty, toad-eating ballad, put in competition with the Bible.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,
 and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Glasgow, 30. Oct. 1839.

The next evening I gave a lecture to the manufacturers at the Tolcross church in the eastern district. Upon this occasion also an address was delivered to me, before the audience, previous to the beginning of the lecture. This address was also preceded by a very clever speech, from the gentlemen who presented it; for gentlemen these are, if we be to judge from their understandings and their talents. The address was as follows. After which came the lecture to a very numerous audience.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

SIR,—The inhabitants of the east district of the barony parish of Glasgow, and other villages adjacent, having themselves, according

to their different circumstances and abilities, long and arduously struggled in the cause of radical reform; and who, through many years of protracted suffering and deeply-felt degradations, have, from the strength and acumen of your many writings, which they have been in the practice of consulting with a studious avidity, been led to look up to you as the mighty champion, the undaunted and unshaken advocate of that great and glorious cause. And, Sir, with feelings deepened by an interest and pleasure which they want words to express, they congratulate themselves on the event of your visit to Scotland, your progress to, and stay in, the important city of Glasgow; but in a particular manner in your appearance here this evening, to give a satisfaction of heart, and a triumph to the recollection of an anxious and intelligent community.

And now, Sir, as they hold that through your agency, by the strength of that mighty weapon which you have long wielded, and do still so indefatigably wield, the enemy has been made to bow his head, that one step has been gained on the road to national emancipation, they do hope, nay are assured, that in life your labours of love shall not cease until the whole is accomplished. That the sphere of your usefulness may be extended by soon having a seat in the legislature of our country; and that you may live and enjoy the blessing of health until your soul being satisfied with the success of your work, your spirit may rejoice together with the spirits of an emancipated people, when they shall raise the song of triumph over the broken chains of oppression and the grave of tyranny, is the fervent and sincere prayer of, Sir, your ardent friends and admirers,

The radical reformers of the east district of the barony parish of Glasgow, &c.

(Signed in their name and behalf by)

John Kinniburgh, Chairman
George Allan
John Donaldson
William Paterson
William Thomson
Robert Craig
David M'Connell
William Gray
James Brash
James Brough
James Crichton

James Waterston

John Hannah

John Kinniburgh, jun.

East district of Glasgow, Oct. 31., 1832.

To describe the enthusiasm of these worthy fellows is quite impossible; men, boys, women, girls, children six or seven years old, all squeezed about me, stretching out their hands begging to touch mine. The men, who conducted the business, scolded them and wanted to keep them off; but I said, "Let them alone, let them do what they like: they won't take any piece of me away." Upon these occasions it always occurs to me to think how quietly the base POTTERS and SHUTTLEWORTH and haughty BAXTER and the tallowman privy-counsellor and the brewer and old bawling BURDETT; how quietly and uninterruptedly they would get along in the same place! They got me into the vestry: one brought a Bible, which his wife had desired him to bring to me, that I might write my name in it, on the blank leaf, that she might have it to show to her grand-children: another brought one of my own grammars for the same purpose; another brought another book. I was quite astonished myself to find that my name and all about me were so well known amongst these people. One blessed me for the *Protestant Reformation*, another for "*my Advice to Young Men*." "Ah! poor deluded creatures! Poor enthusiastic creatures!" BROUGHAM and his EDINBURGH *Reviewers* will exclaim. Oh, no! my bucks! That won't do; for this is the country of "*antalluct*." If, indeed, it had been in SUSSEX or KENT, or HAMPSHIRE, or WILTSHIRE, where I had been saying that fire was a good thing, then, indeed, you might have said that it was chopsticks applauding a brother-chopstick; but this was in the country of "*antalluct*." Therefore, no shuffling, if you please. I knew very well, that I had the *Scotchies* on my side as well as the *chopsticks*; but I had not the proof to produce without coming here: I was sure that it was so; but I

wanted the means of making others sure of it, too; and I have now done the job: I have now blowed up MALTHUS and the whole crew; I have been into the accursed "*boothies*:" I have sent my account of them over the world; I have brought it back to be read in Scotland, while I am here and publicly exhibiting myself with that description having been read by the people of Scotland. I have shown; I have proved, the doctrines of MALTHUS and the EDINBURGH crew to be damnable doctrines: I have proved to the chopsticks of England, that they ought to perish to the last man to maintain the poor-law of *Elizabeth* unimpaired: I have now produced practical proof of the object and tendencies of STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS: in short, I have blowed the hellish conspiracy against justice and humanity into the air. I am thinking of *whether* the "*feelosofers*" will now go to find out that *happiness and independence* which arise from an absence of poor-laws! What do they think of *Ireland*? I really should not wonder to see Dr. BLACK turn to *Ireland now*, and to be followed by BROUGHAM and all his puffing tribe. Ah! Doctor! come and join me before I get out of Scotland, and you shall hear some of the execrations which your countrymen pour out upon the *Malthusian* "*feelosofers*." They do hate you all from the bottom of their souls. Come and tell them that you are a *Malthusian*. Let the "*all jaw and no judgment*;" let him come and tell the people in the eastern district of GLASGOW, that he is "*prepared to defend, to their full extent, all the principles and propositions*" of the pensioned parson MALTHUS; let him come and say that to the people of the eastern district of GLASGOW: let the jawing fellow do it on a wet day; then let him see how long it will take for the waters of the CLYDE to wash from him the dirt with which, in five minutes, he would be covered.

Scotland; the *happy state of Scotland arising from the absence of poor-laws*; Scotland being thus snatched from them, and their being hardly base enough to refer to the happy

state of Ireland, I should not wonder if they were to go to AUSTRIA, or, in case of failure there, to POLAND or RUSSIA; or, which would cut the thing short, at once to the infernal regions themselves. The base and lazy villains must endeavour to keep their doctrine up; by preaching this doctrine they get placed and pensioned and provided for by the detestable oligarchy of England: the scrawling ruffians must keep up the doctrine; or, awful to think of! they must.....go to work! The vulgar minded, the lazy, the unfeeling villains, who seem as if they could drink hot blood, rather than suffer sweat to come through their skins, must keep up this doctrine; must continue to feed the landed tyrants with the hope of being able to reduce English labourers to lodge in "*boothies*," and to feed upon oats, barley, and peas; they must keep this hope alive; they must continue to make the land-fellows in England hope that they shall be able to sweep the people off the land, or to make them live upon the food of horses and of hogs; the ruffian slaves must keep this hope alive, or they themselves must rake kennels, empty privies, or crack stones.

On Tuesday evening, after having been at the lecture before mentioned, I went to see the Royal Exchange by candle light. When I was there before there was an immense crowd in every part of the building, so that I could have no fair view of it. I wished to be able to notice it in a rather particular manner; because their "*exchanges*" are the subject of boast with LEEDS, MANCHESTER, LIVERPOOL, BRISTOL, and other great commercial places. I have never viewed any of them in a particular manner, having no very good opinion of the politics of the persons generally assembled in them. Here the case is different: every thing that I have met with here (laying aside the constant kindness and politeness with which I myself have been treated) has had a tendency to create in my mind a great respect for the persons that usually assemble in this place; and from that feeling I am now induced to give a

hasty account of it, thinking that it may be entertaining to my readers, if not *useful* besides, in enabling them, from this specimen, to judge of the style and manner, as well as of the magnitude and opulence of this city of GLASGOW, which, observe, has, by the gracious goodness of the pro-consuls of Scotland, *two* TRINITY-HOUSE pensioners, while NEWBIGGIN (consisting of a hundred and twenty-five souls) has *eighty-five* of those pensioners!

This edifice is placed between two of the principal streets of the city, *Queen-street*, and *Buchanan-street*, with its front to the former, looking eastward, having a noble *Corinthian* portico, which faces and is seen from the whole length of INGRAM-STREET; another very fine street, terminated to the west by this grand portico of the Exchange. The portico is formed of two rows of pillars, eight advanced in front, and four farther back on the flanks. Above, and immediately behind the portico, rises a cupola or lantern, built of the same fine white stone as the Exchange building is. This cupola or lantern is also of the *Corinthian* order of architecture, and is supported by about a dozen columns, with a vane surmounting the whole. Here is a place intended for a clock, which, being to be lighted by gas, is to show the time at night as well as by day. Round the other three sides of the Exchange are numerous columns of the same order, of course; and at the western end of it, separated by a broad and finely-paved street (there being the same on each side of the Exchange) stands the Royal Bank of Scotland, which is also built with the same fine stone, having a portico with six columns of the *Ionic* order, and capacious enough to hold ten thousand bales of paper-money; while on all sides you see splendid shops and places of business; all, in their several degrees, bearing the outward and visible signs of great solidity and opulence within.

As to the inside of the Exchange, after passing under the lofty portico, you pass through a grand entrance-hall into an oval-shaped saloon, having a cupola above for the purpose of light. You

then enter into the GREAT ROOM, or, as they call it, the NEWS-ROOM, which is about a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and thirty feet in length, I suppose, and about sixty or seventy feet broad. The floor above is supported by several lofty pillars, most judiciously arranged, in two rows, running the whole length of the room, each pillar consisting of *one single stone*. Thus there is a grand *promenade* in the middle of the room; while the two sides, each of which has three large and elegant fire-places are fitted up with highly-finished mahogany tables, for the subscribers, merchants, and strangers, to read newspapers, magazines, and other periodical publications. They say that here are a hundred newspapers taken in; and, amongst the rest, I cast my eye, without seeming to know it, upon a little octavo weekly publication, in the fate of which I felt somewhat interested, but which, in an account of a building so magnificent as this, the reader will consider as too unimportant to be named. This splendid room is lighted by several brilliant gas-chandeliers, pendent in a row from the middle of the ceiling, which is arched, and very beautiful as to its decorations. The height of the middle of this arch from the floor may be thirty or forty feet.

Very much to the credit, and strongly bespeaking the character of the directors and proprietors of this establishment, and, indeed, bespeaking the character of the city itself, this NEWS-ROOM, which is opened about seven in the morning, and is not closed till ten at night, is quite free for the admission of all strangers gratuitously, without even an introduction by a subscriber, as is the case in all the news-rooms which I have seen in England. The subscribers are about fourteen or fifteen hundred in number, who pay, I am told, not forty shillings a year a piece, which, one would suppose impossible to be sufficient to remunerate those who erected the building and who sustain the establishment. The construction of the building reflects the highest credit on the architect, who is a Mr. HAMILTON, somewhat famous, however, in his other

undertakings of a similar sort, both private and public. The principal projector and promoter was Mr. DAVID BELL, who is said to have devoted that attention to it, a share of which, doubtless (and a largish share) he will devote to a very different object when he shall have exchanged his present state of "single blessedness" for a state of vastly greater blessedness, because that will be *double!*

A gentleman who appeared to be a West India merchant, told me, that the grand room upstairs was devoted entirely to the exhibiting of samples of all the sugar imported into the *Clyde*; there being, however, a variety of other rooms for other mercantile purposes. This affair, which, Royal Bank and altogether, is said to have cost not more than fifty thousand pounds, would, if it had been an undertaking conducted under the auspices of the jobbers of the city of London, have cost half a million of money. Those vagabond jobbers, who make me pay church-rates to two churches without letting me have a church to go to, would have spent more than fifty thousand pounds in eating and drinking success to the undertaking; and would have voted themselves, and their wives, another hundred thousand to pay the expenses of "*summer excursions*," in order to produce a renovation of their faculties, impaired by the excess of their guttling and guzzling, undergone in projecting and executing the job; in short, they would have made a loan, and plunged the city deeper in debt than it is now; and that is quite deep enough. The city debt and the "national debt" will both go together; their destruction will overwhelm and extinguish a set of vermin as vile as any that ever were destroyed by water or by fire.

Below the grand floor of the Exchange, are, a coffee-house, private rooms, a larger most beautifully and abundantly furnished, all kept in the neatest and nicest manner. After coming from the lecture, as I mentioned before, I went down into these apartments with some friends, where we were furnished with tea, and other things, according to our fancy; amongst which were oysters,

which are very abundant both here and at EDINBURGH, small and white, and as good as I ever tasted in London. A friend asked me, upon this occasion, whether "I did not think that this" would be a good place for the col-
"lective, who might come down and
"gorge and guzzle here below, while
"the law-making was going on above,
"instead of coming rattling down stairs
"to give their votes at the risk of their
"drunken necks?" I answered, that those beastly and infamous scenes were "*by-gone*;" for that, if a reformed Parliament were base enough, and insolent enough, to attempt to pass laws, and say "Aye" and "No," while picking their teeth, and belching out brandy and water; if a reformed Parliament were to consist of men base and insolent enough to sit and make laws in the midst of a cook-shop and a taphouse, I trusted that the people would know what was due to themselves, and that they would soon convince the *reformed* Parliament that it stood in need of further reforming.

Thus I quit this very elegant building; and, for the present, GLASGOW itself; for, though I am to go back to it again for one night, it will only be to give a FAREWELL LECTURE, and then set off into Ayrshire, on my way to England. I am, here, at the famous NEW LANARK, which is near the celebrated "FALLS OF THE CLYDE." I saw a book once of views of the CLYDE. Nothing upon paper can give any one an idea of the reality in this case. But, to give anything like a true account of what I have now seen; to do anything approaching to justice to the waters, the woods, the verdant hills, the numerous and most beautiful orchards of apples and pears and plums, that I have seen on the banks of this river, and on those of the CAULDER and AVON, which empty themselves into it; and of the *glens* (as they are called) which lead from the hills down to these rivers; to do anything approaching towards justice to all these, will demand time, one moment of which I have not now at my command, having to lecture at the borough of LANARK to-night, and having

to set off for GLASGOW early in the morning. *should preach peace and good will to men!*

WM. COBBETT.

New Mills, 5. November, 1832.

I GOT here yesterday, lectured here last night, am to go to KILMARNOCK tomorrow, to DUMFRIES next day, and the day after to CARLISLE. I shall have to say a great deal about this place, very near to which is Loudon castle; and of course, the Marquis of HASTINGS is here the chief lord of the country. I have no time to say anything at all as to this place; but I will just say, that I wish BROUGHAM and the "*feelosofers*" had seen me come in yesterday, and had heard me make the church ring last night with a description of the conduct and future intentions of the Whigs, and had heard me urge the necessity of introducing the English poor-law into Scotland. That is all at present.

GLASGOW POLITICAL UNION.

Glasgow, 26. October, 1832.

TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR,—I have much pleasure in announcing to you, that at a very crowded meeting of the Glasgow Political Union, held last night in the Mechanic's Institution Hall; you were, by the unanimous votes of the union, elected an honorary member of the council.

This honour, of course, can only be considered valuable, as showing the estimation in which your services in the cause of reform, are held by the members of the Glasgow Political Union; and in this point of view it is an honour not unworthy the acceptance of the author of the *Register*, the ablest political writer of the age.

I was also instructed to convey to you the unanimous request of the Union, that you will be pleased not only to continue, but to increase your exertions in *writing down* the monstrous and bloody tithe war now raging in Ireland, at the instigation of ministers, who

A little longer, and this horrid system must give way before the united execrations of the three kingdoms; and the aiders and abettors of its continuance, shrink from the merited contempt of their countrymen.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
A. HEDDERWICK,
Secretary.

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER.

Glasgow, 31. October, 1832.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 26. instant, announcing to me my election as a member of the Council of the Political Union of Glasgow. While I see with great pleasure the determination of the unions to remain firmly together, until the *reform* shall have been accomplished (justly deeming the Reform Bill as being, without the reform, worth nothing at all), I cannot but feel very proud that one of the most distinguished of those unions has thought me worthy of this mark of its favour.

Be pleased, sir, while you present my most profound thanks to the members of the Union, to accept of the same for yourself; and

I remain their and your very much
obliged and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

To Mr. A. Hedderwick, Secretary,
Political Union, Glasgow.

DEAD BODY BILL!

(From the Leeds Patriot of 27. October, 1832.)

TO THE RATE-PAYERS OF LEEDS, BUT
ESPECIALLY TO THE FRIENDLESS
POOR.

WE are getting on—getting famously on in Leeds, in the march of intellect, whiggery, and inhumanity.

Our readers will do us the justice to acknowledge, that we fought the battle inch by inch against the accursed Anatomy Bill which was passed the last

session of Parliament, and which is a disgrace to the age in which we live. Yet the little *Whig* administration at the Workhouse Board, declare, that the "Imperial Parliament for this act are deserving the acknowledgments of the whole community." Well may the *Junta* at the workhouse call it the "Imperial Parliament,"—for the old English Parliament—the Parliament of our ancestors—unmixed with Scotch "*antalluct*" and Irish "*intensity*"—would have perished,—yes, our good Saxon ancestors would have perished ere such a law should have disgraced the Statute Book. But read, ye poor men and women of Leeds; read, every tradesman who in the fluctuations of trade may become poor; read also, ye men PROFESSING Christianity. We say READ for yourselves the following placard, which by the kind and humane exertions of two individuals (God bless them!) is stuck up inside the workhouse of Leeds; but has been hitherto most carefully withheld from the public out of doors:—

At a special meeting, held on Monday, October 15, 1832, to take into consideration the request of several medical gentlemen, *to have the bodies of paupers given up to them, who die in the workhouse unclaimed, according to a recent Act of Parliament;*

Resolved,—1st. That the practice of exhuming bodies for dissection, and post-mortem examination, has in the opinion of this Board, been long a national disgrace to this country.

2nd. That the imperial Parliament having made a certain provision by the above-mentioned Act of Parliament for the abolition of so obnoxious a practice, *is deserving of the warmest acknowledgments of the whole community.*

3rd. That so far as in this Board lies, every facility shall be afforded for carrying into effect, the provisions of the Act of Parliament, upon this subject.

4th. That in all cases of persons dying in this house who have no relatives, or whose bodies after death may not be claimed by their relatives, and not having requested not to be subjected to

such examination, shall be at the disposal of a committee to be now appointed, for the purpose of dissection or post-mortem examination.

5th. That the committee shall consist of five persons, who shall have power to permit, alternately, the Leeds School of Anatomy, and the other association of medical gentlemen, who applied to this Board through the medium of Mr. Baker, to have possession of such bodies for dissection, agreeably to the provision of the Act of Parliament, in this case made and provided.

6th. That after such dissection or post-mortem examination, the above committee shall be informed by the surgeons, in order to the latter seeing the provisions of the act of Parliament upon this subject being carried into effect.

Resolved,—That the resolutions passed at a special meeting on Monday evening last, be printed and placed in every Ward within the house, it being highly essential that the friendless poor should be made acquainted with their condition, owing to the new act of Parliament, so that they may be informed how to prevent their bodies being given to the schools of anatomy for dissection and post-mortem examination.

Wednesday, Oct. 17th. 1832.

One day in the last week a poor woman was exceedingly ill, and one of the surgeons, we are informed, was making *anxious enquiries*, whether she would be claimed by her relatives; but whether she had any to perform the last sad duty of humanity; or, whether she was consigned to "THE CARE OF THE COMMITTEE" we know not. Pretty information this to reach the ears of the sick patients. Pretty knowledge for any poor creatures to possess who may have seen better days, and perchance outlived all their relatives—pretty consignment this to the dissecting knife—to the former lot of the murderer—merely because THEY ARE POOR—whilst the rich PAUPER OF THE STATE, and even the self-murderer are left untouched by this iniquitous law!

TO THE POTTERS, SHUTTLE- WORTH, BAXTER, AND THEIR MOUNTEBANK!

(From the *Fife Herald*, of the 25. Oct., 1832.)

MR. COBBETT.

IN last week's paper we gave a few notices of Mr. Cobbett, and an abstract of his four lectures in the Edinburgh Theatre. His concluding lecture to the working classes, took place on Saturday in the Waterloo Rooms, and was preceded by a highly flattering address, numerous signed, presented by Mr. B. Dunn, to which Mr. Cobbett made a characteristic reply. From his next stage, Dunfermline, we were led to believe that he meant to proceed northwards as far as Aberdeen; but we perceive that he diverged to Falkirk, on his route to Glasgow, where his first lecture was given on Wednesday the 17th, to a crowded and all-approving audience. Of Mr. Cobbett's leading political theories, some of them sound and others sophistical, in so far as we have not formerly descanted on them, we may speak at another time. We will only observe for the present, that his powers in enforcing and illustrating any subject, however dry and unattractive, are gigantic and unrivalled; and that he who has not perused his works on general subjects has yet in store one of the highest intellectual treats we can well imagine. His writings most deserving of attention, are his *Cottage Economy—Advice to Young Persons—the Year's Residence in America—the Letters to Emigrants—the Rural Rides—Treatise on Indian Corn—The Woodlands*—besides which Mr. Cobbett has in the course of his life published some scores of volumes of *Registers—an English Grammar—two French Grammars—A Gazetteer of England and Wales—a Treatise on Gardening—another on the Currency—A History of the Reformation—and a volume of Sermons*. He is now engaged with a *Dictionary of the French language*. The egotism which seasons every thing he has written, is quite unique; and as it has led him to bring before the world

all the prominent incidents and every-day habits of his life, we scruple not to give publicity to a few private traits of him, picked up by a gentleman in Edinburgh, and imparted to a correspondent here.

"I would certainly very much enjoy a half hour's chat with Mr. Cobbett, but after hearing him lecture for a couple of hours on two several nights, the mere ritual of joining hands seemed worth neither his trouble nor mine. If I had put myself the least in the way, I might have got a *congé d'entrer* from his respectable host. But after hearing how a certain professor fared, I am inclined to hold that it is well I kept aloof. The professor who lived hard by accorded his presence at the breakfast table, trusting no doubt to the getting a long *tête-à-tête* with the orator, it being Sunday, and the professor very likely having no other alternative for the forenoon but the kirk. But whatever it may be to professors, Sunday, as it was ordered, was no holiday to Mr. Cobbett. His host, from some of the symptoms the evening before, thought himself called on to get up at 5, to see if his guest wanted light or a fire, but he was behind hand; his guest had been up by 4, had lighted the fire for himself, and was busy writing. He continued to do so until he joined the breakfast table, whereat he remained 4 minutes, leaving the savant to philosophise with Madame and her young folks. The amanuensis came at 9, and together they kept at it the whole day. He came other 4 minutes to the dinner table, and ate a very spare slice of mutton, without tasting anything else, or anything in the shape of drink. At tea he remained 6 minutes, from the incidental circumstance that the news of the proroguing of Parliament to the 11th of December was then brought in, and which was treated of at some length, as giving a more determinable shape to his future motions in Scotland. He resumed and continued his labours throughout the evening. Those about him say he was quite teeming with ideas, and you may, therefore, in the next number, expect something to il-

illustrate the Athenians beyond what has ever been done to or said of them even by the Great Departed.

"Mr. Cobbett went off in a post-chaise to Dunfermline on Monday, at 12, and upon my observing to one of his allies, that it was a strange place to go to, where little money could be expected, for they had not a place of meeting that would hold above a hundred or two, unless he got some of the churches, he made me this reply—'Do you know we are beginning to think that the imputation of sordidness made against Cobbett is not warranted. We (the committee) think he is very little actuated by money considerations, and that he has gone to Dunfermline chiefly because the unionists there had sent to him, saying his coming would do great good. Here he did not seem to bestow a single thought on the money part of the concern. He never asked about the receipts of the night, or in any way evinced the least feeling on the subject. He left all to his committee, who made but one settlement, and one payment to him, viz. on the Saturday forenoon, being 140*l.*, which he put into his pocket, without troubling himself to ascertain the amount; nay, if he had had money in view, he had only to say the word, and Saturday would have been a paying day too. The trades were quite prepared for that condition, and he might have thereby added 30*l.* or 40*l.* to his gains. But he at once said he was to lecture gratis, and that was enough.' Among those who approached the great journalist here, the first impression of him was akin to that given by Fearon—quite *Sir Oracle*—but farther intercommuning has made that impression give way to a more pleasant one; they now speak of the takingness of his manner, his straight-forward bluntness, want of pretension, and that companionable kind of quality, termed by the French, *bonhomie*. He took great delight in the children of the family in which he was an inmate.

"The Tories evidently made a set at him, and their motive seems to be twofold. Their present canvass will be nothing the worse of all the popularity they

can bring to it; and then Cobbett is even apt to let a back stroke at the Whigs, to which the backstrokes of *Don Quixote* were as nothing. The Whigs again, although they detest him worse than the arch-enemy, must be passive in respect of the said article of popularity. They pursued that sneaking policy so natural to them—to hint a fault and hesitate dislike. Of course, the Tories have throughout the lectures derived some advantage from their tactics. I was told by an eye-witness, that the smashing he gave the Whigs at the Trades Lecture was terrible. Had it happened earlier, in place of telling for the Tories, it might have got not a few votes for Mr. Aytoun. The Tories, cunning rogues, want him back again. Several of them were to-day expressing a strong hope that he would take Edinburgh on his way south. You would perceive that Pat. Robertson had been introduced. A public dinner is to be given him in Glasgow on the 29th, being his late friend Major Cartwright's birthday."

DESOLATING SYSTEM.

AT the dinner at PAISLEY, a gentleman sang a song in the broad Scotch dialect, which made us all laugh exceedingly. It was in the sarcastic strain of most of the poems of BURNS; and its object was to describe the *miserable change* which has been produced upon the common people by the desolating system of government under which we have lived for many years past. I asked him for a copy of the song, which he gave me, together with a letter in explanation of it. I here insert them both; and the reader, if he have been living in the country in England, will see how exactly the curse in one country has kept pace with the curse in the other country, arising out of the detestable system of borough-monger government.

THE TOOM MEAL POCK.

Sung by Mr. John McNaught, at the Public
Dinner given to William Cobbett, Esq.,
by his friends in Paisley, Oct. 26. 1832.

Preserve us a', what shall we do, in sic un-
heard of times;

We sure are dreeing penance now, for dark
unballowed crimes.

Sedition darena now appear, in reality or joke,
For ilka chiel maun mourn wi' me, a hingan
toom meal pock.

How happy pass'd my former days, wi' heart-
some joy and glee,

With smiling plenty in the cup, and mirth in
every e'e.

Nae wants I had, but were supplied, my heart
wi' joy did knock,

When in the neuk I smiling saw, a gaucy
weel filled pock.

When lasses braw gaed out at e'en, for sport
and pastime free,

I seemed like ane in Paradise, the moments
quick did flee:

Like Venuses they a' did shine, weel pow-
ther'd was their locks,

'Twas easy done, when at their hames wi' the
shaking o' their pocks.

Speak na ae word about reform, nor petition
Parliament,

A wiser scheme is this I ween, I'm sure ye'll
gi'e consent,

Seu' up a chiel or twa like me, as a sample
o' the flock,

Whase sallow cheeks will be sure proof o' a
hingan toom meal pock.

But should a sight sae ghastly like, wi' naught
but banes an' skin,

Ha'e nae impression on you folk, but tell you
stau' behin',

O what a contrast will ye show, to the glow'-
ring Lon'on folk,

When in St. James' ye tak your stan, wi' a
hingan toom meal pock.

Then glow'r and stare, and raise your arms,
before you hills of beef,

Tell them frae Scotland ye ha'e come, for
Scotia's relief—

Tell them ye are the vera best, wal'd frae the
fattest flock,

Then raise your arms, and O display, your
hingan toom meal pock.

Tell them we're wearied o' the chain, that ties
the States together—

That Scotland wishes just to tak gude night
wi' ane another—

That we canna bide, we canna thole, this hard
unwieldy yoke,

For want and wark but ill agrees, wi' a hingan
toom meal pock.

LETTER TO MR. COBBETT.

DEAR SIR,—I have, agreeably to promise,
sent you a few copies of the "Toom Meal
Pock." But it is, perhaps, necessary that I
should explain the origin of this song. Within
these twenty years, when a young man and a
young woman came to the resolution of join-
ing their interests in a matrimonial union,
and were *plenishing* (as we call it here) a
house with furniture, a meal-barrel, which
would contain a load of oatmeal (32 pecks,
each 16 lbs.), was indispensably necessary.
The boroughmongers, however, contrived to
render this a totally useless article of domestic
economy, for the goodwives now put their foul
clothes in them; for as the effects of the taxes
became more and more visible, and pressed
heavily on their industry, the barrels became
unnecessary, and hence the young bride has
now only to furnish a pock, or bag, which
will contain from one to three pecks. Since
I was married, in 1806, any respectable trades-
man or weaver could have gone to a fair at
Martinmas, and have purchased a fat cow
for the winter supply of the family, to be paid
at Candlemas; all that the grazier required,
if he did not know the purchaser, was his
address, and some person to say that he knew
him for an honest man. Tradesmen used to
lay in their winter supply of potatoes, their
cheese, and their butter; but now all these
articles have to be got daily, in small quan-
tities, from the grocers, or hucksters.

At our late Jubilee meeting, one of the
speakers observed, "That he did not like to
see *his* ham, his cheese, his butter, and his
meal, in the grocer's." By which he meant
(for he is a strictly honest man), that before
the terrible effects of the taxing system came
home to his and other tradesmen's firesides,
that he used to have all these things in abun-
dance in his own house.

That the measures consequent on the pass-
ing of the Reform Bills will have the effect of
bringing back to tradesmen's families a de-
gree of comfort to which they have long been
straungers, is the earnest prayer of,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged friend,

JOHN McNAUGHT,

Secretary to the Trades.

No. 9, Orchard-street, Paisley,
Oct. 29th, 1832.

How exactly has this been the case
in England! A labouring man used to
have his *barrel of beer*; he used to have

his *grist* of half a sack of flour; he always had his *fat hog* or two; and now he has to send to the chandler's shop for the loaf and for the dribble of tea. He used to go to the market or the fair *to lay in a stock*. He has now got a barrack in his neighbourhood; and the *Sergeant WILDE* Ministry, in order to make up for the loss of his food, drink, and clothing, is giving him additional security by raising additional soldiers; while the profound *BROUGHAM* has got *STURGES BOURNE* and a poor-law commission at work, to see if they cannot find something or another to diminish the poor-rates! I wonder what *STURGES* will find out to go *beyond his two bills*; to go beyond his *HIRED OVERSEERS*, to whom the hard-hearted villains give high salaries in proportion as the hired villains can make low poor-rates. I know what I will find out: *I will find out the name of every parish where there is a hired overseer*. I know that I will have a list of those parishes printed. I know that I will ransack the families of the principal proprietors in those parishes, and *expose to the working people of those parishes how they have got their money!* They will tell me that the *law* authorises them to hire overseers; and I tell them, that the *law* authorises me to print a little statement of facts and send it into their parishes. They may laugh at this: let me have a few years of life, and I will make them laugh on the other side of their mouths. The putting of this *STURGES BOURNE* upon the poor-law commission, at an expense of twelve hundred a year to him alone, to be paid out of the labour of the people; this act alone is quite sufficient to give us the true character of the *Sergeant WILDE* Ministry: it is quite clear what their intentions are: it is quite clear that they mean to reduce the English to "*brose*" and the Scotch to potatoes. We will see how that will be; we will see whether *BROUGHAM*'s poor-law commission is to swallow up as much annually as the whole of the poor-rates of the county of Westmoreland: we will see whether we cannot find something for that bright

youth, Lord Howick, to do, other than to lay out our money to get the working people out of England, *while the Irish are brought over here to help 'to get in the harvest!* When this bright statesman talks to us about *surplus population*, and about checking the increase of the people, we will ask him to tell us whether other men have not *a right to have thirteen children a piece as well as his father*; and, if he tells us, that they may have them, but have no right to come to the public to maintain them, we will ask him whether there be *none of his father's children* who are maintained by the public! Ah! Whigs! Whigs! You had better resolve at once to repeal *STURGES BOURNE*'s bills! Better do this, and set the poor-law commission to raking the kennel: then you may *have peace with me*: otherwise you certainly never will!

DINNER TO MR. COBBETT.

*From the Glasgow Chronicle of the
31. October. 1832.*

On Monday at 4 o'clock, being the sixteenth anniversary of the great meeting at Thrushgrove, about 130 gentlemen sat down to dinner in the Black Bull Hall, in honour of Mr. Cobbett. The chair was occupied by Archibald J. Hamilton, of Dalzell, Esq., supported on the right by Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Bell; and on the left by Mr. Turner of Thrushgrove and Mr. Douglas of Barloch. J. B. Gray, Esq., officiated as Croupier, supported by Mr. Prentice and Mr. Wm. Lang.

On the removal of the cloth,

The CHAIRMAN stated, that this was the second public dinner he had ever presided at, he trusted to their good feeling "to make some allowance for his inexperience. He then gave "the King;" which was drunk with great applause. The next toast was "the People, the source of all political power;" which was received with enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN then spoke nearly as follows:—I rise to propose the health of the most extraordinary man of any age, or of any country—the most volu-

minous, and at the same time the most clear, concise, entertaining, and instructive writer that has ever lived. (Cheers.) Compared with our guest, what are your novel and romance writers put them all together? (Cheers.) I however am not perhaps fitted to judge, as I scarcely ever read novels or romances; but I know this, that I never commenced any thing written by Mr. Cobbett that I found that I could stop until I got to the end of it. (Great applause.) He has written upwards of 100 volumes, every page of which contains something worthy of being read and heard. (Cheers.) Those who do not know Mr. Cobbett's history, may naturally suppose that he was educated at Cambridge or at Oxford, after having gone through the previous routine of "chasing and taking ducks and hens" at Eton (a laugh); but it was not so—our guest was educated, as I have read in his own writings, upon a sand-hill, up and down which he ran, and amused himself as a boy, thus laying the foundation of that robust health which has assisted so materially in making him the man he now is, and in enabling him to visit Scotland. (Cheers.) I shall mention an anecdote to show the power of his writings: a few days ago I had a visit from a friend, who is an officer in the household of his present Majesty, and, as you may suppose, he is no radical; but, on the contrary, skilled in the soft language of courts. He told me that it was lately asked of the Dean of Carlisle, one of the most accomplished scholars in the English church, what he considered to be the finest specimen of the English language in print, and the Dean at once replied that a late essay by Mr. Cobbett, upon what subject I forget, was to his mind the finest thing in the whole language, and what he would first show to a foreigner. (Great applause.) Here we have an authority who must be an impartial one, and we all have a right to form our opinions as well as the Dean, although they may not be, perhaps, of the same importance. (Cheers.) One, and it is an every-day charge against Mr. Cobbett, is, that he has not always been of the same politics, and that he has not

always supported the same set of men. "Man," says Mr. Jennings, in his *Family Cyclopædia*, "is a progressive being," and there is no truer axiom than this one; why then should Mr. Cobbett form an exception to it? When he found out that any opinion he had formed was an erroneous one, he instantly sought for and adopted a better; when he saw that any one set of men whom he supported were not true to what he considered to be their country's cause, he, as every honest man would, abandoned them. (Cheers.) And are these to be termed his crimes? No. I for one will make bold to call them virtues. (Cheers.) Another of Mr. Cobbett's alleged crimes is, that he is an admirer of Thomas Paine. He is, but not of Thomas Paine the theologian, but of that Thomas Paine who wrote the "Rights of Man," that well-known and triumphant refutation of the pensioned and apostate Burke, the man who held that the climax of political wisdom had been attained in the year 1688, and that the people of England had no right whatever, a hundred years afterwards, to alter one tittle of the system that their ancestors had established. I will not insult your understandings, my friends, by dwelling upon anything that was either written or said by such a man as Burke, and I have only now named him to show you why Mr. Cobbett was an admirer of Paine; for he never was an admirer of his religious opinions. On the contrary, I have no doubt, he will now agree with me when I say that I entirely dissent from Paine, and that I deprecate the bitter and scurrilous attacks he made upon the Great Author of the mildest and best of all religions. (Great applause.) I was, some years ago, at Holkham, the seat of that truest and oldest of our patriots, Mr. Coke, when my friend Sir John Sinclair, in alluding to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, said, that "it was generally supposed that men of large stature seldom possess correspondingly large minds, but in this instance," said Sir John, "we behold an illustrious Duke, combining gigantic stature with a gigantic mind."

So little truth is there, indeed, in the old axiom of "large head, little wit," that the very reverse of it is now admitted to be the fact. For it is not a little curious that nearly all the leading men in this empire, and at all sides too, are men of large stature. (A laugh.) Look at those giants of royal reform and conservation, the Dukes of Sussex and Cumberland. (A laugh.) Look at their Graces of Buckingham and Newcastle—(laughter)—look at their Lordships of Camperdown and Nugent—look at Sir John Sinclair and Mr. Coke, the giants of agriculture—look at those fathers of Scottish reform, Sir John Maxwell and Sir James Gibson Craig—(laughter)—look at Mr. O'Connell, the giant of Ireland—look at Mr. John Douglas—(cheers)—I say look at my friend Mr. Douglas—(renewed cheering)—look at Mr. Douglas of Barloch, the giant of Scotch law reform—(loud cheers)—look at Mr. Samuel Hunter, that colossus of editors—(cheers)—look at Mr. Lawrence Hill, the Scottish colossus of roads—(cheers and laughter)—and now, my friends, though last, not least, look at our guest, Mr. Cobbett, the giant of the people of Britain, the colossus of the English language. (Immense cheering.) I beg leave to propose his health, with long life and prosperity to him. The toast was then drunk, amidst the most deafening and long-continued applause.

MR. COBBETT, in rising to return thanks, was received with three rounds of applause. After thanking them for the great honour they had now done him, which he did most deeply and sincerely, he would trouble them with a few facts relative to himself—not for the sake of his own reputation, but as matters now stood for theirs. He disregarded the quarter of a century of calumny which had been heaped upon him (cheers); he had often been advised to prosecute the villains who had spoken falsely of him; but he said he had in his hands a pen, and the liberty of the press, and he would continue to wield it. (Cheers.) If in the end he did not thus triumph, his character was not worth preserving, and he could do

the country no good. (Cheers.) All the fraud, meanness, and malignity, which could be invented or executed, had been put in action to induce Scotsmen to give him a bad reception, in fact to look on him as some savage beast (hear, hear); but he was not blind to what was going on. He had scarce left London, when the calumnies began in the South, which were answered with interest from the North. (A laugh.) The calumniators reciprocated, and cited each others' falsehoods as evidence of their truth. (Cheers.) The papers in the South quoted the *Scotsman* as truth, and thus he was, before ever he had crossed the Tweed, rendered over the kingdom as black as the hirelings could render him. Now, however, instead of crying out to throw him (Mr. C.) into a ditch, or on Scotsmen to pay off the debt they owed him, they were beginning to calumniate his entertainers; and anticipating every dinner at which he had the high honour of being present, they reprobated the very thought of it—said they were fools, and destitute of sense or principle, who would attend it, because he was present. (Cries of "Hear.") He was now on the point of quitting Scotland, and he had gone to all the places he had been in without saying a word in his defence. He left himself to the good sense of the people. He would, however, for their satisfaction, not for that of his calumniators, at a dinner given at least in part from respect to him, give a statement of facts, to show the world, or part of the world, the grounds on which he had been accused. The first charge was a general one; that of inconsistency. During his time many great matters had agitated the country; had he been inconsistent in them? For twenty-six years he had steadily advocated the cause of Parliamentary Reform. (Cheers.) That's at least pretty fair. For twenty-nine years he had been predicting the evil consequences of funding, of borrowing, and of paper-money—had he ever changed on these points? On the former he had been taught by Major Cartwright, and on the latter by Paine; his teachers had never been answered; and being younger he had lived to pro-

duce effects which they did not live to accomplish. (Cheers.) The third charge was that he censured men whom he once praised. Had they not, perhaps, praised a servant at one time, who was afterwards hanged? The apostles at one time believed Judas a saint, but did they always do so? If they did not take into account the circumstances and the age of the person, how could any man change his opinion on any subject? What would they say of Paul, not to be profane on the subject, who from being the greatest persecutor became the greatest apostle? Inconsistency was when they saw a man like Arthur Young, who one year wrote a book in favour of the French revolution, and next year, for a bribe of 500*l.*, wrote a book against it. That was inconsistency. If a man could not change his opinion; if he was once in an error, however gross, he must continue in it till the end of his life! Another fault was, that he had often censured Paine, and often praised him. That was the fact. He had never applauded Paine, but he had an exception as to his theological opinions. (Cheers.) So scrupulous was he in this respect that he defied them to quote one of 100 instances where he had not made the exception. (Great cheering.) It suited the hirelings, however, to say the contrary—to say that he had at one time praised his whole works, and at another censured the whole. Another point was relative to Thomas Muir. They quoted a passage to show that at one time he had expressed his happiness at the punishment inflicted on him. They did not say that this was done thirty-seven or thirty-eight years ago—they did not say that it was three or four years after he had left the army, and when he knew no more of politics than the bottle before him—they did not say that he was a young man lately from France, resident in America, which country was divided into two factions, one favourable to Britain, and one to France—they did not say that he had no means of knowing what were the principles of the French Revolution; and it was natural for him to take the part of his own country against whatever other it might

be. There was a struggle by the one party to get the treaty completed, and by the other against it; and men's passions could not be accounted for in such a state of strife. At that time his power in the political world began. Mr. Liston, now Sir Robert Liston, was ordered, from home, to offer him any pecuniary assistance, so powerfully did he write; and, if he would not take it for himself, to apply it for his family; but he then, as he had always done, rejected it;—he had always rejected every offer. (Cheers.) This was not merely a statement of his own, Mr. Liston had declared it in a court of justice. He had the accounts regarding Muir just as the New England papers gave them;—he looked on him and his coadjutors as enemies of his country and friends of France; and every one in favour of the French he spoke against, no matter who they were. (Cheers.) But the libellers forgot to tell how many times he had expressed his regret, and how he had ten-fold retracted what he had then unjustly said, not knowing what he did. (Great applause.) He had often said that Scotland should never rest till justice had been done to Muir—till Dundas's pillar had been replaced by a monument to Muir. (Cheers.) It was again said he was fond of money; very fond indeed, when he might have rolled in it in 1803; again when the Whigs came into power in 1806, and again in 1817: at all these times he might have had as much as he could ask in a reasonable way; not perhaps a bole of guineas, but he was sure it might have been a bushel. (A laugh.) The Government considered what was best—whether to expend millions on hirelings to write him down, or to give him 100,000*l.* to keep him silent. All these offers have been published, with the times and circumstances, but they were invariably refused. (Loud cheers.) He should not ask them, however, to ascribe this so much to disinterestedness as to foresight; he saw the flowery path, but he saw thorns at the end of it; he saw that the system would go to pieces, and bring disgrace on all who had been connected with it. He had

spoken to his wife of it many times. (Cheers.) Five or six years ago, a gentleman came to Kensington, and said to Mrs. C., See what Huskisson is now, and Cobbett might have been equal to him; God only knows what he might have been. (Cheers.) When he was told this, he said, Nancy, what might we have been? We might have had, so far as I know, a coronet, and a coach and four, and you and I might have been lolling in a coach, you in diamonds, and I drowned in money (a laugh); but loaded with the contempt of the people. I might have been Mr. Huskisson, and you Mrs. Huskisson, But she did not like this. She bristled up, and said she would have no name but her own name. Mr. Cobbett then alluded to what the libellers might have said of him if they had been honest: his introduction of a million and a half of new trees into the country; of several new sorts of apples, some of which he had seen at Hamilton; of his introduction of the straw plait, by which 2,000 persons were now employed in the Orkneys, and several hundreds in Manchester; in all of which he lost much, but never sought to gain, as he did only his duty to his country. (Cheers.) The last calumny he would notice, was a charge of fraud on a worthy kind-hearted baronet, Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Cobbett then went at some length into a history of the matter as it really stood. It was said he had borrowed 2,000*l.* from Sir Francis, and fled to get rid of the money.—They forgot that he came voluntarily back. Mr. C. said he had been clean swept out when he was imprisoned in 1810; and in 1817 had he not fled he might have rotted in a jail; besides, his bond of 3,000*l.* and two securities in 1,000*l.* each, to keep the peace for 7 years, did not expire till 1819, and had he been convicted of a libel, his friends would have lost and he would have been punished. When the 7 years expired, he returned. When he had to fly in 1817, his friend Mr. Bosville said, if Burdett would give 1,000*l.* he would also give 1,000*l.* to relieve him (Mr. C.) Mr. Bosville gave him the 1,000*l.*; and Sir F. gave a cheque for a 1,000*l.* not to

him, but to a paper-maker to whom he (Mr. C.) was indebted. When he returned, there was no claim made by Sir F. for the money; but when it was found that he had become a debtor, he, although the money was a gift, sent Sir Francis a bond which made him legally a debtor. When afterwards it was necessary that he should become a bankrupt, his friend Mr. Timothy Brown, who managed the matter, wrote to Sir Francis to prove the debt, if Cobbett owed him any thing, but he neither answered the letter nor proved his debt. A certificate of discharge was then got; but Sir Francis seems a person over whom bankruptcy has no effect, for he allows the slander to be circulated and kept up. Mr. Cobbett then referred to different occasions on which Sir Francis had promised to support him in obtaining a seat, but without fulfilling his promises. Mr. C. congratulated himself on the great effect the proceedings of the evening would have all over the country (cheers), and particularly in Lancashire, in Oldham, and Manchester. (Cheers.) They would not listen to charges which were not proved, and that it was impossible to do. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then alluded to the meeting of which this was the sixteenth anniversary, and after eulogising Mr. Turner's exertions on that occasion, proposed "Mr. Turner, and the Thrushgrove Meeting of 1816, which gave "new life and energy to the cause of "reform."

Mr. TURNER returned thanks. They had no longer to contend for parliamentary reform; but he hoped they would manfully discharge their duties, by getting true, fit, and proper persons to represent them in Parliament. (Cheers.) This occasion was to him a recompence for his sufferings.

The CROUPIER said that they had already heard that the Thrushgrove meeting had given a tone to the people of Scotland, and had produced the most beneficial effects. He would now propose the health of Mr. Lang, a gentleman who had taken a large share of the proceedings of that day (cheers); who had stood manfully forward, and

denounced the boroughmongering faction that domineered over the country, and particularly over the people of Glasgow (cheers); who had reprobated the misapplication of the public funds, and pointed out parliamentary reform as the means of destroying the faction, and obtaining a full, fair, and free representation of the people. (Cheers.) The part this gentleman took on that day was not forgotten, was not forgiven. (Cheers.) His Majesty's Ministers treasured up their wrath, to be poured out on his devoted head. In 1820, there was what they called a treasonable rebellion of the people, it was not so; it was a treasonable rebellion of his Majesty's Ministers against the liberties and rights of the people. (Great applause.) They had hired spies and informers prowling through the country, they placarded the streets with seditious bills, which they afterwards founded on as proofs of treason (cheers); and did every thing they could to bring this country under an absolute despotism. (Great cheering.) In these times, Mr. Lang's offences were, among those of some others, brought into mind. On a Sunday morning, when attending the couch of a sick child, he was torn from his wife and family, taken to the police-office, kept there till 12 o'clock at night, and then, amid the darkness of the night, and surrounded by dragoons, carried to Bridewell. There all access was denied to his wife or family, or legal advisers. Mr. Turner was kept separate from him, and even the food with which the kind attentions of his family supplied him was examined and disinfected of treason. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Gray) was one of those who urged forward Mr. Lang's examination; but six days elapsed and he and his advisers were kept in total ignorance of the charge against him. All this time he lay amid thieves and prostitutes and villains, the scum of the city. (Hear, hear.) At last they were told he might be liberated on bail. This Mr. Lang scorned; but his friends considered it better that he should come out, and they accordingly gave bail. He (Mr. G.) put his name to his bail-bond because he was con-

vinced of his innocence, because he was horrified at his oppression, because he knew that he would appear and answer any charge that might be made against him (cheers); and because he knew that though his Majesty's Ministers had been the jurymen, and though spies had been the witnesses, he would have a triumphant acquittal. (Cheers.) When Mr. Turner presented his petition to the House of Commons through Lord Archibald Hamilton, and when redress was refused, the Lord Advocate said they had good grounds for his arrest, and in the next breath said they liberated him because there was no evidence against him. (Cheers.) Their wrongs were, however, now likely to be redressed. He hoped the representatives would do their duty; and next to the great measures necessary for the country, he hoped the members would take a retrospect of the wrongs of the past, and give that redress which the infamous calumnies and the degrading wrongs they suffered so loudly demanded. (Cheers.) Till then they should feel with them, and for that reason he hoped they would join in drinking with applause, "Mr. William Lang, one of the principal supporters of the Thrushgrove Meeting, and one of the principal sufferers of the Government persecution in 1820."

Mr. LANG replied, and described the proceedings relative to the Thrushgrove Meeting, his own apprehension, and the treatment he received while a prisoner.

The CHAIRMAN gave the health of a lady, who, if her husband had been a scoundrel, might have been a Duchess of Botley or somewhere else—"Mrs. Cobbett." (Great applause.)

Mr. COBBETT—"She was born in Kent, and her mother was born at Stirling. (Cheers.) Her father was born at Berwick (cheers); and she will be much gratified at receiving her title from you." (Cheers.)

Mr. LANG gave "the memory of Major Cartwright," perhaps the greatest advocate of parliamentary reform that ever lived. (Cheers.) The toast was drunk in silence.

Mr. COBBETT said Major Cartwright made him a parliamentary reformer.

When he came home in 1806, caring nothing about parliamentary reform, he met with Major Cartwright, and hearing he was a reformer he soon followed him.

The CHAIRMAN gave "Lord Grey, and his Majesty's other reforming Ministers," which was drunk with immense applause.

Mr. COBBETT said he had perfect confidence in Earl Grey, but he was so much hampered by some of his colleagues that he was very much afraid he could not carry his whole intention into effect.

The CROUPIER gave "the health of the Chairman." They had all witnessed the gentlemanly, independent, and creditable manner in which he had discharged his duties. He was a staunch friend of the working classes, and when the people of Manchester were sabred and massacred he had subscribed for their relief. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks, and shortly alluded to his having, in 1819, refused to join the Yeomanry, and to his late canvass in Renfrewshire.

"The Duke of Hamilton, and a speedy day of reckoning for the Manchester yeomanry and magistrates." In introducing the toast, the Chairman alluded to the Banquet at Edinburgh, at which the Duke of Hamilton had put the party in mind that there were such beings as the people. The toast being drunk with great applause.

Mr. COBBETT reminded the meeting that there was one other person concerned in the Manchester massacre Lord Sidmouth. (Cheers.) An honest Parliament would have called him to account before now; but an honest Parliament will yet do it. (Cheers.)

Mr. COBBETT said, he had been much honoured in being permitted to give the health of a gentleman who stood in close relationship with them. They wanted men to assist in doing what he had hinted at. They must have honesty, sincerity, an aptitude to labour, knowledge of business, and particularly of law. It was asked what could lawyers do? Three fourths of the Congress of America, the wisest and the best-ma-

naged assembly in the world, were lawyers. They wanted honest and independent men, and if they were so; and lawyers too, so much the better. (Cheers.) He perhaps took too much liberty, (cheers,) but he could not have been in Glasgow so long without forming an opinion. He had no personal interest—he was as free from that as any one in the world—but he wished to see people in Parliament able and willing to do what the people wanted done. (Cheers.) On this ground he gave his opinion, which he would express in the best possible way, by giving "Mr. Douglas of Barloch." (Great applause.)

Mr. DOUGLAS rose amidst vehement applause, and said that he should be insensible indeed if he were not touched by the manner in which he had been here and elsewhere, on so many occasions, so cordially received by such numerous, respectable, and intelligent bodies of his fellow-citizens. He could not give adequate expression to the emotions which swelled his heart—and struggled for utterance. His distress was increased by his name being coupled, with so much unmerited encomium, by one of the ablest political writers of the age, who exercised such an influence over public opinion in this country, that he might be truly said to be a fourth estate while the people were unrepresented, and to have a seat in every cabinet in Europe. (Great cheering.) He could not help feeling some pride in the recollection, that in that very Hall, a quarter of a century ago, he had been the humble instrument of rallying his friends of reform on the anniversary of Mr. Fox, and concurring in the establishment of our earliest independent press, and driving the enemies of reform to vend their libels forty miles off. Those friends of reform were at first few but undismayed—they held together when Edinburgh disused a similar meeting—and they kept up their meeting here till they dined the enemies of Reform off the field. (Cheers.) Mr. Cobbett had done wisely when he said he had declined to redress the injuries done to him by the hired press of the boroughmongers, which cost the people

so much to slander the advocates of reform, by resorting to the melancholy remedy of the libel law—and had relied for his vindication on the press itself, for no man could wield that engine with more powerful effect. Like another mighty engine which by fine scientific arrangement was itself the governor and regulator of its own motion—the press was the best corrector of its own injuries and misuse. In the hands of such a clear and powerful political writer, the press resembled that brilliant gas lustre—shedding a light which rivalled that of the day over that large assembly—and holding in reserve the explosive force of the volcano. (Great cheering.) But great as was the effect of his writings, his political progress through the country, in spite of the unworthy arts of the open enemies or false-hearted friends of real reform—his most graphic discourses, full of weighty matter, and most effectively conveyed, had created a sensation, of which the true measure was the terror it excited, and vain attempts to disguise real dread by an affected laugh. The all-important topic which moved every thinking man—the use to be made of the newly-acquired power of electing men able and honest enough to give the people the practical benefit of reform by diminution of the intolerable burdens, and recovering the abridged liberties of the people, had been so admirably discussed by Mr. Cobbett, that it was both superfluous and hazardous to venture on such a subject. But for him who aspired to serve his fellow-citizens as a corrector of grievances, if they should so choose (great cheering), he deemed it his duty on every opportunity to repeat what he had always done, that he would accept no vote, nor give his own vote, in any of the three counties where he was a freeholder, except under the express condition that most particular pledges should be given to redress those specified grievances which all reformers had denounced, and ought to redress. (Great cheering.) A long life of consistent support of reform, was indeed indispensable as a qualification; but so far from being any reason for re-

fusing to give specific pledges to redress specific grievances, it was the very reason why such a man should set the example of the only criterion by which sham reformers could be detected and prevented from imposing on the electors by vague pledges of what they called general principles. We had quite enough of general principles on all occasions. What we now required was, before we elected a man to make laws for seven years, the most precious years in our history, clearly to settle before his election to what precise practical reforms he would apply his general principles. (Cheers.) It would be ridiculous enough to trust a doctor who offered to cure diseases by incantation, or reading a prescription to the patient, where the use of the knife or the cautery was necessary to cure the patient. (Cheers and laughter.) The anti-reformers who wanted the public robbers, who had just been thrown out of the people's house, to re-enter that house, unsearched, in the disguise of the people's livery, raised a cry that the legislators must be unfettered, and free to deliberate; and that it was an insult to a well-known man to ask from him specific pledges for certain particular practical reforms. Why, such a man was merely pledging himself to do what he had always said should be done, and his setting the example, afforded the means of testing doubtful characters, who tried to delude the electors by fair general professions of reducing expense, reforming the church, the law, the monopolies, as far as was consistent with the present structure of society, and the dignity and other rigmarole, which could be construed afterwards in any way, and meant just nothing. (Cheers.) Some pretended that it was enough to pledge a candidate to triennial Parliaments. But were the practical benefits of reform to be deferred for even three years, in the mean time what ills may come! (Cheers.) In three years Poland was divided by three despots—Holland was overrun by the same combination, and her republican chief-magistrate transmuted into a king, by a Prussian invading army. In three years Ireland

was in rebellion, and her separate legislature brought up with bribes and transplanted to England. The tranquillity of Ireland, and diminution of the army, the reduction of the public burdens, the redress of great pressing and crushing grievances, must be immediately attended to, and the next three years, as they are well or ill employed by the people's representatives, may work for mighty weal or woe to the people. (Cheers.) But say the anti-reformers, and those silly people who are too apt to take their cue from their cunning enemies, We don't object to two or three pledges, if you will only lump your grievances into a few general heads, by a sort of abstract classification or description—but why read us over a head-roll of 36 grievances as if we who are so much wiser than you were to go through a catechism like school-boys. Now, as the boroughmongers who usurped the seats that ought to have been filled by the representatives of the people, had in the course of a century of misrule filled up a whole library of large volumes with statutes which all proceeded upon the idea that the laws were made, was a strong leaning to the benefit of the oligarchy, who named the legislators, it was their fault the number of grievances was so great, and 36 was only a sample of the most pressing and flagrant, on the necessity of immediately redressing which there was not any doubt among well-informed men, or indeed the people at large. (Cheering.) This naturally suggested that a most essential qualification for undertaking this task of revising and correcting such a mass of vicious legislation, was a habit of framing and construing Acts of Parliament. (Great cheering.) He did not presume to intrude anything that merely concerned his own case; but in vindication of a profession to which he deemed it a great honour to belong, against an objection made to that profession, in a London paper, evidently of Glasgow manufacture; for all the authentic intelligence of Glasgow elections, somehow, was known for the first time in journals the farthest removed from Glasgow. Writers or

lawyers are very useful, says that paper; but that class has not, hitherto, furnished many legislators. That was just what the reformers said: that the boroughmongers filled the seats in the people's House with persons quite unfit to be legislators. Now, however, that the people are emancipated, they will prefer a representative who has studied the law—whose mind is imbued with the maxims of equity and justice, and who has occasionally turned that knowledge and talent to the protection of the oppressed, and the resistance of encroachment on popular right. What, indeed, without a familiar acquaintance with the law as a science, and in its minute details, could enable any country squire, young lordling, rum or cotton merchant, or apothecary—to grapple with the voluminous code of bad legislation during the usurpation of the people's seats in their own House. A lawyer might as soon dare to cut for the stone, as a doctor seize the knife with which the rotten parts are to be dis severed from the sound parts of the body politic. (Cheers.) What reader of English history is ignorant of the names of lawyers who have achieved the conquests of liberty—of Coke, Prynne, Maynard, Somers, Pratt, Dunning, Grattan, Romilly, not to speak of the living. The provincial bar of France prepared codes, and consolidated the representative government of France. The provincial bar of America forms half of a representation, which may read the parent state useful lessons in legislation. The honestest representatives that Edinburgh can furnish, will need support from the provincial bar of Scotland in bringing law cheaply to the doors of the people, for Parliamentary reform has thrown a new and powerful obstacle in the way of a law reform, that must lessen the gains of the law monopoly of the able and numerous law constituency of Edinburgh. The allusion to Edinburgh reminded him of one exception that every one must admit to the rule of pledging. No member of the Government could be asked to pledge, if his past political life and character were such as to give the

people assurance that he would do all the good in office that he could, for he might feel bound in honour to retire on some punctilios of honour, when it might be better that he should remain in office for the interest of the public. Some who wished to evade pledges, pretended that they would resign whenever they found that they could not act according to the wishes of their constituents. This, if examined, is a downright deception. For where but at an election could the opinion of a majority of constituents be correctly ascertained? The cunning, unpledged impostor knows that the lord-lieutenants are, with a few exceptions, all of the anti-reform school, and will refuse to call county meetings for any such purpose. And what chance is there that the provosts and conveners of rotten burghs will call town meetings to displace their favourite representative? (Loud cheering.) Those who offer as a substitute for pledges, a candidate's engagement to resign whenever he differs in opinion from the electors, forget that they furnish the strongest argument for the permanent existence of political unions, as the only convenient means of ascertaining, from time to time, the opinions of the constituency on the conduct of their representatives. How much more rational was it for the electors to come to a distinct understanding as to the line of conduct of a candidate, before trusting him with the awfully-important function of redressing their well-known grievances by particular specification! If under such disadvantages such a meeting should be held, it is well known that their opinions may be set at defiance by the sitting member, if he pleases to say he has the most respectable part of the constituency with him. (Cheers.) No one doubted the perfect honesty of Lord Grey, and some of the reforming Ministers; but every one knew that he had the rump of Castlereagh's Ministry with him in the cabinet: and the same majority of a borough-bred peerage against him, which, at the Duke of Wellington's nod turned the wrong end of the Reform Bill foremost, on Lyndhurst's motion.

What solid reform in the church or state, army, navy, colonies, debt, or taxation, durst Lord Grey attempt, at the certain risk of taking money from the adverse peerage and its connexions? It was necessary for the effectual support of Lord Grey, that the people should strictly pledge their representatives to insist on immediate and extensive practical reforms, to enable him to speak with authority to the court and courtier peerage, and that without redress of grievances the supply would not be granted. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. COBBETT could not refrain from saying, that there were many pecuniary and other delinquents to bring to justice, and how could this be done in form of law without lawyers? It was a great object in the South to get Mr. Eagle in Parliament, and if he failed in Norwich, he would have a place in Lancashire, just because he was a lawyer, and a learned lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed, "Mr. James Wallace, and the other gentlemen who promoted the meeting in the Green of Glasgow, on the 12. May, which materially aided in giving the death-blow to the Wellington Administration."

Mr. WALLACE replied, and gave "Sir John Maxwell and the independent electors of Paisley."

Mr. GRANT, after alluding to the refusal of the Trades'-hall by the Deacon Convener, gave "Mr. M'Vicar, the independent collector of the Trades'-house."

Mr. M'VICAR replied, and expressed his willingness to have secured for them the hall, had he not been counteracted.

Mr. PRENTICE said, he was sure the toast with which he had been intrusted would be drunk with much pleasure and interest. It was of the greatest importance to the country that the electors of Oldham should do their duty by returning Mr. Cobbett to Parliament. (Cheers.) The Reform Bill would very ill fulfil its purpose, if it failed to ensure the return of the man who, above all others, was instrumental in bringing it about. (Cheers.) There were few people who had paid so much attention to the

writings of Mr. Cobbett as he had done. He had read the *Register* ever since he left school. He well remembered the impression made upon him by the perusal of the number of the *Register* which he first took up. Though Mr. Cobbett was then supporting Pitt, and he was warmly devoted to the politics of Fox, yet such was his admiration of the literary power displayed in the *Register*, that he could not help exclaiming, "Of what inestimable value would that man be if he were on our side!" (Cheers.) He read a number or two, and it was with inexpressible pleasure that he found him begin to praise Fox, and to oppose Pitt.—To this Mr. Cobbett was naturally led from his support of Wyndham. After supporting Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Fox, the progress was next to matter of course in an honest reasoner, to Sir Francis Burdett and Major Cartwright. In this there was an evident advance from error to truth; yet the Edinburgh Reviewers charged him with inconsistency. They should have hailed his conversion to the popular cause, with the same exultation as the Missionaries exhibited over a convert to Christianity. (Cheers.) He then gave "The Independent Electors of Oldham, and may they do their duty by returning Mr. Cobbett to Parliament." (Great applause.)

Mr. COBBETT, in reply, stated his election for that place to be secure. He had pledged himself, if returned, to bring to justice those who figured in the Manchester Massacre (cheers); but he never could have presumed to do this if he had not been half a lawyer. Without this his *Register* would have been barren indeed. Mr. Cobbett said he would either impeach Lord Sidmouth, or move an address to have him removed from all offices under the crown. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN proposed the health of the Croupier, who, although not the Colossus of Law Reform, was an honest, honourable, independent, and intelligent lawyer (cheers); and when he reaches the same standing, he may rival the Colossus himself. (Cheers.)

Mr. GRAY returned thanks. They

must set down the honour, intelligence, and independence to the lessons of his tutor, Mr. Douglas, by whom he was educated in law, and from whom he derived those lessons, which he had followed during his short life. (Cheers.) It was impossible to attempt to rival the Colossus, but if he only touched his shoulder it would afford him the highest gratification and delight. (Cheers.)

Mr. BELL stated that according to the arrangement of the toasts for the evening, he had been requested to propose one which he would do with much pleasure, as he had no doubt it would be received and drunk with cordial satisfaction by so numerous and respectable an audience. The toast was "Mr. Hume, and may there be no public pay without equivalent public duty." (Cheers.) Before saying anything of Mr. Hume, he would in the first instance consider the latter part of the toast, and the paying of the public servants of the state—and on this part of the subject he considered that it was very questionable if even a very rich individual was justified in greatly overpaying his servants, or in keeping in idleness such as he had no use whatever for; the same remarks would equally apply to a nation with a large revenue, even although no debt was owing, the interest of which had to come out of the pockets of the people. If such were the case in instances like these, it clearly followed that if individuals in private life, in embarrassed circumstances, continued a heavy and unwarranted expenditure, it could only lead to and end in ruin; the same remark would apply to this country, drowned as it was in debt, and pillaged by extravagance. (Immense applause.) Mr. Hume was eminently entitled to the acknowledgments of this meeting for the attention paid by him to financial economy in the various departments of the state; he was also entitled to our especial regard as a countryman of whom Scotland had reason to be proud (cheers); but it was particularly as a parliamentary reformer (and if not a parliamentary reformer, Mr. Hume was nothing) that this meeting delighted to

do him honour. (Loud cheers.) About two years ago, Mr. Hume was in the same situation that our guest, Mr. Cobbett, was now; then it was resolved to give Mr. Hume a public dinner, but after a week or ten days had elapsed, and only about half as many gentlemen as now present had agreed to dine, and two-thirds of the stewards having resolved that a toast relating to parliamentary reform should not be given in any shape at the dinner—these stewards resigned, new ones were publicly elected in their place, and the dining party became a bumper. (Applause.) From Mr. Cobbett's dinner party there have been no seceders—no resignations of stewards—on the contrary, all has been conducted and carried on in the spirit of true reform. Had the toast of Parliamentary reform been omitted at Mr. Hume's dinner, or had no dinner taken place as was attempted—an address having been got up in its stead by the seceding party—how Mr. Hume would have been taunted in London! nay, more, it would have furnished the enemies of reform, not only in the Commons' House of Parliament, but in the Lords, with such arguments, and from such a city as Glasgow, against reform, that reform might now have not been the law of the land. (Cheers.) Mr. Bell concluded by giving "Mr. Hume, and may there be no public pay without equivalent public duty;" which was drunk with all the honours, amidst great applause.

The CHAIRMAN gave "The Liberty of the Press," to which Mr. Laug replied.

Mr. SUTHERDEN gave "Lord Ebrington, and the glorious majorities who supported him in the House of Commons."

Mr. BELL rose to propose the health of the venerable father of their esteemed chairman, "General Hamilton, of Dalzell." (Applause.) It was truly said that three score and ten years sum up the measure of human existence, but, alas! how many thousands were called away before they had reached that time. When he stated that the venerable General was upwards of four score and

ten, he was certain that the meeting would drink his health with feelings of respect and esteem. (Applause.) The General, he believed, was the oldest officer now living, who had served his country; and throughout the many years Lord Archibald Hamilton had stood and served for Lanarkshire, General Hamilton had uniformly supported him, after his lamented death had supported the reform candidates for the county. (Great applause.) "General Hamilton, of Dalzell," was then drunk with all the honours.

The CHAIRMAN replied, and gave "Success to Don Pedro."

The CHAIRMAN gave "The independent candidates for Lanarkshire, Dumbartonshire, Renfrewshire, and Linlithgowshire, with specific declarations in favour of reform."

Mr. MARJORIBANKS, as an elector belonging to Linlithgowshire, returned thanks.

The CHAIRMAN gave Mr. Bell's health. They were all aware of what he had done for Glasgow (cheers); and they now knew him as an individual who had shown many kind attentions to Mr. Cobbett. (Cheers.)

Mr. BELL returned thanks to the meeting. He was well aware that the compliment had been paid to him as the host of their distinguished guest, Mr. Cobbett. Exclusive of that gentleman's political writings, every literary man could not but acknowledge his great merits as an author. (Cheers.) Besides many highly-useful publications, it was well known that he was the author not only of an English Grammar, but what was more astonishing, of a French one; and what was still more wonderful, both of them pronounced and acknowledged by both nations as the best extant. (Applause.) How many thousands had made themselves proficient in the English language, who, but for "Cobbett's Grammar," would never have known what grammar was; and how many had studied at schools and at colleges who acknowledged, that till they read "Cobbett's," they never knew what grammar was, or the reason of it. (Cheers.) Mr. Cobbett had been called by many

a mercenary man, but what had he not been called? He would relate to the meeting a circumstance that occurred in 1817, immediately after Mr. Cobbett fled to America to avoid a dungeon, if not losing his head on the scaffold. He would not call upon them to listen to hearsay evidence, but would refer them to the file of the *London Courier* of 1817. Immediately after Mr. Cobbett had sailed for America, that paper stated, in substance, now that Cobbett has left this country for ever, now that he is politically dead, "Cobbett is not dead yet for all that, said Mr. Bell," (a laugh) they considered it but justice to state what they knew of his disinterestedness. In the course of his writings, he had voluntarily written in favour of some particular interest, and that at the time, or some time after, Mr. Cobbett was requested to accept remuneration by way of a present, and not as a fee for future services, but for what he had, of his own accord done. The remuneration offered, Mr. Cobbett had declined to accept, and further, that which was offered to him must, to their knowledge, have been very considerable. Such an instance of public virtue was the reverse of mercenary, and could he said of few, if of any, individuals. (Applause.)

Mr. WM. LANG gave "The independent Electors of Manchester who have promised their support to Mr. Cobbett."

Mr. COBBETT returned thanks. The constituency being large, the committee had not, when he came through, had time to canvass the whole; but his belief was, that he should be returned for Manchester as well as Oldham, or no one would be returned at all. (Cheers.)

The CROUPIER said they would all recollect the intellectual feast they had in the Theatre Royal from Mr. Cobbett. He hoped they would also recollect that on these occasions they were indebted to certain gentlemen, stanch reformers, and liberal and enlightened friends of the public for preparing, at these feasts, for the accommodation of the public, and securing their comfort. He therefore gave, amid great applause, "Messrs. Carse, Moir, and Gardner, the gentle-

men who made such admirable arrangements for Mr. Cobbett's Lectures in the Theatre."

Mr. GARDNER returned thanks. He, and the two gentlemen who had acted with him, anticipated the great anxiety which would be felt to see and hear Mr. Cobbett; and being aware that comfort was necessary to a just appreciation even of an intellectual feast, they entered with pleasure on the duty which had been assigned to them; and were now happy to find that their exertions had given satisfaction.

Mr. CARSE gave "The Cause of Civil and Religious Liberty all over the world."

Mr. TURNER gave, "Mr. Wallace of Kelly, our late Chairman."

The CHAIRMAN, in giving Burgh Reform, alluded to the exertions of Lord Archibald Hamilton on the subject, and stated that he had twice, through the *Glasgow Chronicle*, proposed the erection of a rude monument to that patriot, on Dechmont Hill, where it would be seen from all the surrounding counties. If any man belonging to Scotland deserved a monument, it was Lord Archd. Hamilton. (Cheers.) He would therefore give, "Burgh Reform, and the speedy erection of a Monument to Lord Archibald Hamilton." (Cheers.)

Mr. COBBETT said he well remembered Lord Archibald Hamilton's meritorious efforts for reform; but they had now got rid of the ruffians who opposed him. (Cheers.)

Mr. DOUGLAS had been requested to propose a toast which must be very grateful to all who were in earnest for Burgh Reform on proper principles. It was the memory of Lord Archibald Hamilton; who had ably, honestly, and constantly laboured to expose and correct the gross corruption of the rotten boroughs of Scotland. (Cheers.) He had on all occasions resisted every attempt against the liberties of mankind at home and abroad. He deprecated the return to the lost standard, without collateral measures, from which so many indescribable evils had sprung. Although connected with the landed aristocracy, yet with the full concurrence of the every-way distin-

guished head of his family, and of the Scottish peerage, he opposed the Corn Bill, and on all occasions wisely considered the poor man's cause. (Immense cheering.) The people of Clydesdale, and especially of Glasgow, owed him a still undischarged debt of gratitude, of which, if they seconded the views which he had after Lord Archibald's death suggested, they would acknowledge by some simple and inexpensive, but strikingly conspicuous pillar or pyramid, on a prominent summit everhanging the vale of the Clyde. He had originated in that very hall, and got a committee for the erection of the monument, devoted to the great poet Burns, at Ayr; and he would now give the friends of burgh reform an opportunity of rescuing themselves from the imputation of neglect of the memory of a noble champion of that cause, so intimately connected with themselves. (Great applause.) The memory of Lord Archibald Hamilton being honoured by the company standing in solemn silence

Mr. HAMILTON, of Dalzell, agreed in the proposal to appoint a committee, and would give the same sum as Mr. Douglas. (Cheers.)

Mr. BELL would also give a similar sum. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. B. GRAY was then appointed secretary, and several names were put down as a committee with power to add to their number. On the suggestion of the chairman, the Hon. the Lord Provost was put on the committee.

Mr. SUTHERDEN gave "Mr. O'Connell, and peace and prosperity to Ireland." (Cheers.)

Mr. FENNER, after a few remarks on the subject of war, gave "May the impressment of seamen speedily give place to a constitutional mode of manning the navy."

Mr. COBBETT said he felt the greatest pleasure in being permitted to give the next toast, which followed in a very close manner the one which had now been given—the toast was "Earl Dundonald and the British Navy." (Cheers.) Lord Cochrane was the only man who in Parliament had even proposed to abolish the system of impressment.

(Cheers.) In 1817 he had often spoken with him on the subject, and his Lordship said if impressment were not speedily abolished, America would completely outstrip our navy. (Cheers.) He had no hope that the time would ever arrive when the cessation of war would enable them to put an end to the system. It was equally difficult to say why there were different languages or different nations as to explain the cause of war; but if there were no wars, valour would be unknown. There was no likelihood of a termination to war. Providence would require to take out of the bosom of Englishmen, and completely change their feelings, before that could be removed which led them to wish Britain the mistress of the world. (Cheers.) Lord Cochrane had proposed to get rid of the system of impressment by paying British seamen as the American seamen were paid—and by dividing the prize-money in the same way, by which every man in the American navy, under the rank of an officer, had ten times as much as in the naval service of Britain. (Immense cheering.) Lord Cochrane had at one time, with 250 men, an engagement with an American with 60; and he declared that if the 60 had been put into the opposite scale to his 250, the former would have outweighed them, from their superior condition and muscular strength. In America it was no uncommon thing for respectable farmers to go for a time into the navy, because it was a benefit to them. There was another thing—promotion there is certain—here it was always hard; now it is impossible for a man before the mast ever to reach the station of a commissioned officer. Lord Cochrane told them they had now got a naval school, from which the officers were to be drawn, rendering promotion impossible, while the best admirals in the service had been raised from before the mast. (Loud cheers.) He regretted that his lordship was not in the House of Lords to promote the good of the country. All that was requisite to render our navy complete was to adopt his views, and follow out his practice; and

yet the villains thought it was for the interest of the country to trump up a false accusation against him. (Cheers.) They would thus see that he had been acquainted with Scotsmen before; and he could not have known Lord Cochrane without valuing the country to which he belonged. (Cheers.) He therefore gave "Earl Dundonald and the British navy." The toast was received with immense applause.

Mr. M'KENZIE proposed "The memory of Thomas Muir." In the course of his remarks, he alluded to the satisfactory explanation, relative to this individual which had been made by Mr. Cobbett; and related several anecdotes relative to Muir. He stated, that Justice Clerk M'Queen had, before the trial, predicted the result in the house of a Mr. Rochhead, stating that Muir would be transported, and that he ought to be publicly whipped. A lady remarked, that the people were not likely to submit to this; on which he said, if they did interfere, their blood ought to be spilled. And when the trial came, he put on the jury this same Rochhead, in whose house he had prejudged the case. (Shame.) He was prepared to prove that of the fifteen jurymen, nine were persons holding office under the crown. (Hear.) When Mr. John Brock, one of the oldest reformers in Glasgow, was examined as a witness, Judge M'Queen asked him in the most dictatorial and surly manner, what his trade was, and having stated that he was a manufacturer, M'Queen in addressing the jury, asked what right had Glasgow manufacturers or weavers to interfere with reform? (Oh! oh.) He would just add, that those who had been witnesses for the crown, had been immediately after put on the pension list, where their families were to this day. (Hear.) The toast was then drunk in silence.

The following toasts were given from the chair.

A speedy and complete reform of the abuses in the established church.

The Lord Advocate, and the independence of the Scottish bar.

The French nation, and may it soon

reap the good fruits of the glorious three days of July.

The Poles, the bravest of the brave; and may they soon break their tyrants' chains.

The speedy abolition of slavery.

The abolition of all monopolies in trade, commerce, and law.

The Belgians.

Mr. TURNER proposed the health of Mr. M'Grigor, and the Kelvinhaugh band, which had kindly attended at the dinner. (Great applause.)

The company broke up at half-past ten, highly gratified with the evening's proceedings. The dinner did great credit to Mr. Fleck.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOV. 2, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BARTON, E., Tilmanstone, Kent, corn-salesman.

BULL, C., Bath.

MOSS, J., Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road, boot and shoe-maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

JORDON, W., Worcester, corn-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, C., Tottenham-ct.-rd., china-dealer.

CLARKE, J., Greenwich, tavern-keeper.

DICKENSON, J. jun., Westgate, Northumberland, dealer.

FURBANK, J., Cambridge, grocer.

GIBBS, T., Bishopsgate-street, ship-owner.

KORFF, J., Kintley, Suffolk, ship-builder.

MAIN, W. H., Water-lane, Blackfriars, painter.

MASON, T. M., Baker-st., Portman-square, bookseller.

STAPLEDON, H., St. Leonard's, near Hastings, Sussex, fishmonger.

WHITE, C., Nassau-st., Middlesex Hospital, builder.

WILSON, C. B., Red Lion-square, scrivener.

TUESDAY, NOV. 6, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

PITT, J. and C., Worcester, goldsmiths

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

REIFFENSTEIN, J. C., Langport-place, Camberwell, and Quebec, Lower Canada, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ATTENBURROW, C., Coateck, Nottinghamshire, surgeon.
BLUCK, C., Clapham-road-place, boarding-house-keeper.
BULL, C., Bath, tavern-keeper.
BUTT, T., Hedge-row, Islington, boot-maker.
COATES, J., and G. Haworth, Ingleton, Yorkshire, cotton-spinners.
EMETT, J., Stapleton, Gloucestershire, corn-factor.
HAINES, J., Waterloo-road, shoe-manuf.
INGRAM, T. and T. H., Lower Thames-st., fishfactors.
KORFF, J., Kirtley, Suffolk, ship-builder.
LEE, C., Ashby-de la-Zouch, Leicestershire, mercer.
PIERSON, E., Somerfield-court, Kent, hop-dryer.
PRATT, J., King-street, St. James's, iron-monger.
PULLEN, D., Duke-street, Westminster, bill-broker.
RUSSELL, V., Brighton, and Regent-street, dealer.
STANTON, J., Northampton, mercer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MILNE and Co., Dundee, fleshers.
M'DONALD, Son, and Co., Glasgow, Turkey-red dyers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 5.—The supply of wheat being small this morning, and consisting chiefly of land-carriage samples from Kent and Essex, an advance of 1s. per qr. was obtained for that of fine quality, and the general runs sold on full as good terms as on this day se'night, which were mostly purchased for shipping to Yorkshire. Free foreign wheat supported the terms of last Monday, but the demand being very limited, there was no briskness in sales.

Although we had but little barley at market this morning, there was no improvement in prices, as the maltsters refrained from purchasing, in expectation of larger supplies in the course of the week.

Beans may be noted rather cheaper, having a pretty large show of samples from Kent, most of which were unsold at the close of the market.

White peas did not go off so freely as last week, and only the finest samples realized the quotation of last Monday. Having a large arrival of oats from Ireland caused a heaviness in the sale of that sort, but fine fresh English met a ready sale, without any alteration in prices.

Wheat	56s. to 58s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.

Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	42s. to 44s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	19s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 53s.	
Pork, India, new, ... 130s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per bark.	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 84s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.	
— Cork ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Limerick ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Waterford ... 78s. to 82s.	
— Dublin ... 76s. to 80s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 84s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... 44s. to 48s.	
— Gouda ... 40s. to 42s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 66s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 5.

This day's supply of beasts was great, we believe the greatest by several hundreds of the present year, but in great part of middling and inferior quality; that of sheep (lamb having gone out of season), calves, and porkers, rather limited. Prime beef, and prime small veal and pork, sold with some degree of briskness, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; but with mutton, middling and inferior beef and veal, as also large pork, the trade was very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

Full three-fifths of the beasts were about equal numbers of short-horns and Irish, principally steers and heifers, for the most part from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Huntingdonshire; the remaining two-fifths about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welch runts, chiefly from the western and midland districts; with a few Scots, Town's-end cows, Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c., from various quarters.

Nearly, or quite, three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, from the South Downs, or Hereford crosses; the remainder about equal numbers of South Downs, Kents, Kentish half-breeds, old Leicesters, and old Lincolns, with a few horned Dorsets, Welch, Aberdeeners, &c.

Beasts, 3,375; sheep, 19,010; calves, 153; pigs, 230.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 9.

The supplies this week are short. The market full as dear as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri. 84½	Sat. 84½	Mon. 84	Tues. 84	Wed. 83½	Thur. 84
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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. V.

New-Mills, Sunday, 4. November, 1832.

At the close of the last number, I informed my readers that I had arrived in this little and most beautifully-situated manufacturing town, which is an ancient borough of the county of Ayr, and of which I shall have to say a good deal by-and-by, after I have gone back, in order to do something like justice to the banks of the CLYDE, and after I have pursued my route from GLASGOW to this place.

The CLYDE, the frith, harbours, and commerce of which I have spoken of sufficiently, takes its rise in the lofty hills which divide the counties of PERKES and DUMFRIES from the county of LANARK. Like other great rivers, it has tributary streams falling into it; but it becomes a great river soon after it has tumbled over the celebrated falls of LANARK. No man living has ever beheld, in my opinion, a river, the banks of which presented a greater number and a greater variety of views, or more beautiful views, than those which are presented to the eye on the banks of the CLYDE. Some persons delight most in level pastures on the banks of rivers; some in woods of trees of various hues; some in hills rising up here and there nearer to, or more distant from, the banks, some of the hills clothed with woods and others with verdure; others (delighting more in utility than in show) seek on the sides of rivers for an in-

termixture of corn-fields, pastures, and orchards. Others (having a taste for the wilder works of nature) want to see deep banks, some of them three or four hundred feet high, with woods clinging to their sides down to the water's edge; while there are others (caring nothing about sterility so that they have the romantic) that are not satisfied unless they see the waters come foaming and tumbling down rocks thirty or forty feet high, with perpendicular sides, as if cleft by a convulsion of nature, and these side rocks crowned at the top with every variety of trees, over the tips of which you, from the opposite bank, see the verdant land covered with cattle and with sheep, or the arable land with corn or with turnips, the finest that the eyes of man ever beheld. Such are some of the various tastes of various persons: let them all come to the banks of the CLYDE, and each will find that which will gratify, as far as this matter goes, every wish of his heart.

I do not by any means exaggerate in any one particular. In Scotland or out of Scotland, justice to my subject as well as to my readers would bid me say this; but I am not sure that I should say it if I were not sure that I shall be out of Scotland before it can possibly be read. To be sure, the kind treatment that I received from every soul that I came near, gentle or simple, on the banks of this river, was extremely well calculated to make everything appear to me "*coulour de rose*;" and, if I had been forty years younger, it might well have apologized (considering who were some of the persons from whom I received it) for a very considerable degree of exaggeration; but any description that I can give is very far short of the reality. I have always taken great delight in viewing the earth in almost all its shapes, and in contemplating its various productions. Born in a very beautiful valley, lying in the midst of the wildest heaths in the world, but which heaths are continually presenting

to the eye of the traveller little beautiful spots, I contracted the habit, when a child, of comparing one of these beauties with another, and the habit has stuck to me throughout my whole life. In Nova Scotia and in the United States of America, how often have I stood to admire the water-falls in the rocky creeks, with lotty banks, trees growing out of the interstices in the rocks! How often have I wished that every soul in England were there to see the same! These creeks, as they call them, are cross rivers, falling into the great river; some of them mere little streams; others, such as we should call rivers; just thus is it with the tributary streams of the CLYDE, with this difference, that, in America, the surrounding country consists of endless woods; whereas, on the banks of these Scotch creeks you see the green hills or the corn-fields over the tips of the trees that cover the lofty banks. These creeks have all their falls upon a smaller scale. The CLYDE itself has three grand falls; the first in going up the river, a little nearer GLASGOW than the borough of LANARK; the second about three miles farther up; the third about a mile above that; and beyond that the river, comparatively insignificant in size, winds gently through a moory tract of land lying at the foot of the mountains. The first of these falls brings the water down sixty feet from the bed above; the second about eighty feet; the third not so much. The middle falls are just above the manufacturing village of New LANARK; the vast and various machinery of which is put in motion by the waters, taken in a most curious manner out of the river, and applied to these purposes. This NEW LANARK, of which we have heard so much as connected with the name of Mr. OWEN, stands upon a little flat, which nature has made on one bank of the river, on which the manufacturing buildings stand, and also dwelling-houses for the work-people. This village is about a mile and a half from the town of LANARK. At one end of it is a beautiful park, which, together with its mansion, are occupied by Messrs. WALKERS, who are the ma-

nagers of this manufacturing concern on account of a company called the "New LANARK Company." This house and park were the residence of the Lord Justice Clerk, Mr. QUEEN, who was made Lord BRACKSFIELD (the name of this seat), after his famous works with regard to MUIR, PALMER, GERRALD, and MARGAROT, those parliamentary reformers who were transported by the sentence of this man. In this house, which looks down into the CLYDE, at about two hundred yards distance, and is in every respect as beautiful a spot as can well be imagined, I was lodged in the very same room which contained the present imperial slaughterer of the Poles, and the present Lord CHANCELLOR, who, in his way, is full as great a man as the other, and entitled to full as much admiration. In going from the town of LANARK, down to the new village, you come to a spot, as you descend the hill, where you have a full view of the great falls of the CLYDE, with the accompanying rocks and woods which form the banks of the river. At the same time you see the green hills, and the cattle and sheep feeding on them, at the summits of the banks on each side, and over the tops of the trees. The fine buildings of the factories are just under you; and this, all taken together, is by far the most beautiful sight that my eyes ever beheld.

We went up to the very edge of the falls, stood upon the tips of the rocks and looked down upon the smoking water. In the crevices near the tops of the rocks, the jackdaws have discovered inaccessible places for depositing their nests; and here I saw such multitudes of that bird, such as I had never seen before. There were thousands upon thousands of them skimming about over a sort of bay, formed by the twirling water after it comes down the falls. I could see that their mouths were open, but the noise of the water prevented me from hearing their chattering, for which I was very sorry, as the same noise necessarily prevented them from hearing an invitation which I gave them, to come up and take possession of Lord HOLLAND's new church, in

"ADDISON ROAD," near "*Cato Cottage*" and "*Homer Villa*," in the sensible parish of KENSINGTON. On the side of the rising hill, on one side of these falls, is the seat of Lady MARY ROSS, sister of the Duke of LINCOLN, who has very kindly had paths made in her woods, for the convenience of persons coming to see the falls. On the other side are the remains of an old castle (rising up amongst the trees) called COREHOUSE CASTLE, near to which is the seat of a Mr. CRANSTOWN, a Lord of Session, who has now the title of Lord COREHOUSE.

After having been to the falls, we came back through the manufacturing village. All is here arranged with great skill; and everything that you behold, dwelling places of the people (about fourteen hundred in number); their dresses; their *skins*; all bespoke cleanliness and well being; all savoured of the Quaker. I have never been into any manufacturing place without reluctance, and I positively refused to go into any of them here, alleging, that I had no understanding of the matter, that the wondrous things that are performed in these places, only serve, when I behold them, to withdraw my mind from things which I do understand. Mr. BELL prevailed upon me, during my first visit to the CLYDE, to stop at a manufacturing village, belonging to the Messrs. MONTEITH, at a place called BLANTYRE. Here the water-wheels were wonderful to behold; but they afforded nothing interesting to me, who thought a great deal more about the condition of the people, which appeared to be very good here, also, than I did about the cause of the movement, or about the mechanical effects of the machines. Being at NEW LANARK, however, I was rather curious to know whether there were any reality in what we had heard about the effects of the Owen "*feelosofy*." I had always understood that he had been the author of his own great fortune, and the founder of this village; but I found, that the establishment had been founded by a Mr. DALE, who had had two or three daughters with great fortunes; that Mr. OWEN had got one of these

daughters, and one of these fortunes; that Mrs. OWEN had been dead for some years; that the concern had long been in other hands; that the only part of it which was ever of his invention, was a large building, in which the "*feelosofical*" working people were intended to eat and drink in common; that they never did this; that there had been a place at some distance from LANARK, fixed upon for the execution of the "OWEN PLAN;" that a large space had been surrounded with a high stone wall for the purpose; that the scheme had been abandoned; and that the wall had been taken down, and sold as *old stones*! The building, in NEW LANARK, which OWEN had erected for the "*feelosofers*" to carry on their community of eating and of drinking, is used as a *school-room*; and here I saw boys in one place, and girls in another place, under masters appointed for the purpose, carrying on what is called "education." There was one boy pointing with a stick to something stuck up upon the wall, and then all the rest of the boys began bawling out what that was. In one large room they were all *singing out something* at the word of command, just like the tribe of little things in *Bolt-court*, who there stun the whole neighbourhood with singing "*God save the King*," "*the Apostles' creed*," and the "*Pence table*," and the fellow, who leads the lazy life in the teaching of whom, ought to be sent to raking the kennel, or filling a dung cart. In another great apartment of this house, there were eighteen boys and eighteen girls, the boys dressed in Highland dresses, without shoes on, naked from three inches above the knee, down to the foot, a tartan plaid close round the body, in their shirt sleeves, their shirt collars open, each having a girl by the arm, duly proportioned in point of size, the girls without caps, and without shoes and stockings; and there were these eighteen couples, marching, arm in arm, in regular files, with a lock-step, slow march, to the sound of a fiddle, which a fellow, big enough to carry a quarter of wheat, or to dig ten rods of ground in a day, was

playing in the corner of the room, with an immense music book lying open before him. There was another man who was commanding officer of the marching couples, who, after having given us a march in quick step as well as slow step, were disposed of in dancing order, a business that they seemed to perform with great regularity and elegance; and, it was quite impossible to see the half-naked lads of twelve or thirteen, putting their arms round the waists of the thinly-clad girls of the same age, without clearly perceiving the manifest tendency of this mode of education, to prevent "*premature marriages*," and to "*check population*."

It is difficult to determine, whether, when people are huddled together in this unnatural state, this sort of soldier-like discipline may or may not be necessary to effect the purposes of schooling; but I should think it a very strange thing, if a man, calculated to produce effect by his learning, could ever come to perfection from a beginning like this. It is altogether a thing that I abhor. I do not say that it may not be useful when people are thus unnaturally congregated; and, above all things, I am not disposed to bestow censure on the *motives* of the parties promoting this mode of education; for the sacrifices which they make, in order to give success to their schemes, clearly prove that their motives are benevolent; but I am not the less convinced that it is a melancholy thing to behold; that it is the reverse of *domestic life*; that it reverses the order of nature; that it makes minds a fiction; and, which is amongst the greatest of its evils, it fashions the rising generation to habits of *implicit submission*, which is only another term for civil and political slavery. However, the consolation is, that it is impossible that it ever should become anything like general in any nation. The order of the world demands that nine-tenths of the people should be employed on, and in the affairs of, the *land*; being so employed, they must be scattered about widely: and there must be *homes* and domestic life for the far greater part of the rising

generation. When men contract a fondness for anything which has a great deal of novelty and of strangeness in it; when they brood over a contemplation of some wonderful discovery which they think they have made; when they suffer it long to absorb all the powers of their minds; when they have been in this state for any considerable length of time, they really become *mad*, as far as relates to the matter which has thus absorbed all their mental faculties; and they think themselves more wise than all the rest of mankind, in exact proportion to the degree of their madness. It is unfortunate enough when follies of this sort lead only to disappointment and ridicule; but the parties become objects of real compassion, when the eccentric folly produces dissipation of fortune and the ruin of families.

From this account of the "*OWEN-PLAN*," I come to something a great deal more pleasant, the numerous and plentiful and beautiful orchards on the banks of the CLYDE, on its two great tributary rivers, the CAULDER and the AVEN, and on the banks of the numerous *glens*, which terminate when they arrive at one or the other of these rivers. Now, I have seen the orchards over the greater part of Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire. I have seen the orchards in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and in that "*garden of America*," Long Island; and I have never seen finer orchards than on the banks above mentioned; and I have never seen, at one time, a more beautiful show and variety of apples, than I saw on the table of Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL-HOUSE, on the 29. of October. The apples, pears, and plums, were gathered in; but there were the trees, and the leaves still upon them; and more clear, more thriving trees I never saw; and I believe that some of them surpassed, in point of size, any that I had ever seen in my life. At the exquisitely beautiful place of Mr. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, called MAULDSLEE CASTLE, which is situated in a beautiful flat, washed on one side by the CLYDE, and having a semi-circular wood run-

ning round the back of it at a convenient distance ; at this place I saw, standing out in the park as ornamental trees, apple-trees, which I thought extended their lateral branches to twenty feet in every direction from the trunk of the tree, which, observe, is a circumference of a hundred and twenty feet, forming a shade quite sufficient for fifty oxen to lie down in. These trees were straight in the trunks, and their top shoots perfectly vigorous and clean. I *may* have seen larger trees in Herefordshire and Long Island ; but I do not think that I ever did see any so fine, taking trunk, branches, and cleanness, altogether. But these fine orchards are *general*, all the way up the CLYDE, from very near GLASGOW to the falls of that river. Mr. PRENTICE, the editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, has the good sense to have a pretty considerable farm, at six or seven miles from GLASGOW. About three English acres of his land form a garden and orchard, the trees of which are about six years old, very fine, quite free from canker, bearing very fine fruit. The cherry-trees are very fine also ; the plum-trees are fine ; and an orchard is not a mere matter of ornament or of pleasure here, but of prodigious profit ; under the apple and pear-trees are gooseberry or currant-bushes, very well managed in general ; and these orchards very frequently yield *more than a hundred pounds sterling in one year from an English acre of land* ! This year, it is very curious, that the crop of apples and pears has been extraordinarily small, while it has been so extraordinarily large in all the apple counties of England. Like other things, the fruit here has fallen in price since the time of the PANIC, in spite of the "*cherished one-pound notes*," as Sir JOHN SINCLAIR calls them. Money has not grown up "*like grass under the cow's mouth*," as Mr. ATTWOOD says it ought ; and therefore the pecuniary produce of orchards, like that of fields and manufactories, has been greatly diminished. But these orchards are always a source of very considerable income. I think that my friend Mr. M'GAVIN, of HAMILTON, told me that his orchard, which is less

than an English acre, has yielded him eighty pounds a year, clear money ; and it is no uncommon thing for the proprietor of ten or a dozen acres, to sell the fruit by auction upon the trees, for something approaching a hundred pounds an acre. In our apple counties no man thinks of any thing but fruit to make *cider* and *perry* : here, the whole is table fruit ; and, as I said before, I have never seen so great a variety of fine apples in England, at one time, as I saw upon the table of Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL-HOUSE. This orcharding is a real *business* ; it is conducted in a very excellent manner ; a cultivation of the land generally takes place amongst the trees ; the trees are kept in a very nice state ; I saw scarcely any canker ; no cotton-blight ; and in very few orchards did I see any moss, though I did see it in some.

Amongst other pleasing things belonging to these orchards, Mr. STEWART (the proprietor of some very fine orchards) has some American trees, sent to him by me, which are just beginning to bear, and he gave me a very fine apple which had been gathered from one of them this year. "Cast your bread upon the waters," says the precept. "and have patience to wait to see it 'return.'" I sent from England to Long Island, to Mr. JESSE PLATT, to send me some *cuttings* of apple-trees ; they came to me at KENSINGTON ; Mr. M'GAVIN, at HAMILTON (four hundred miles from KENSINGTON), got some of the cuttings after they came from Long Island ; he put some of them upon some of the branches of his trees : and he showed me a bough which had proceeded from this cutting, from which he gathered forty pounds weight of fine apples last year ! What a deal have I done in my life-time to produce real and solid good to my country ! and how different has been the tendency of my pursuits to that of the pursuits of the noisy, canting, jawing, popularity-hunting, newspaper-puffing fellow, BROUGHAM, who, or whose partisans, cannot point to one single *good thing*, that he has ever accomplished !

Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL, took me

and Mr. BELL to LANARK, as I have before mentioned, on the 1st of November; on our return to GLASGOW on the 2nd, he was kind enough, in pursuance of previous invitation, to take us to Sir HENRY STEWART's, at ALLANTON. I had met Sir HENRY STEWART at DALZELL-HOUSE, on the previous Sunday; and he had done me the honour to present me (in my character of brother tree-planter) with a copy of his book on the removing and planting of trees. This book is not to be read in a hurry, being full of principles and of science; but before I got to ALLANTON, in spite of *dinnering* and other hubbubing, I contrived to find time to read some part of the book. Sir HENRY STEWART lives in a very ancient family mansion, in the midst of his own moderately-sized estate. He found the spot around the house destitute of trees, and, therefore, destitute of beauty; and he has actually, by his own mechanical operations, made it as pretty a landscape as can possibly be imagined. A run of water, or rather a soak, that came down a sort of swamp, he has turned into a very beautiful lake; and, as to trees, he has brought them, *of all sizes*, from the size of your leg to the size of your body and a great deal bigger, and placed them about upon the ground just where he pleased. Landscape has been his study, and anything in greater perfection than this, as far, at any rate, as relates to trees, it is impossible to conceive. The trees are not only of the proper sorts, but in their proper places; not only present the greatest possible variety that nature has given them, as to kind, height, and form; but *every tree is in a state of vigorous growth*, having an appearance of having grown from a seed upon the spot; shoots at the tops of them two or three feet long; and not leaving the smallest room to suppose that they had ever been removed at all. How many country mansions are there in England that stand in need of the hand of Sir HENRY STEWART! He showed me trees as big round as my body, which he had caused to be taken up and carried a mile, or thereabouts, and to be planted where I saw them, at

an expense of about fifteen shillings a-piece. To know how he has done all this, you must read his book, it being impossible for me to give anything like an adequate description of the operation.

From Sir HENRY STEWART's, which lies a few miles distant from the CLYDE, we came back to DALZELL-HOUSE, on our way to GLASGOW, passing through the estate of Sir JAMES STEWART, at COURTNESS; and here I saw some of the prettiest *hedges* that I had ever seen in my life. They are composed of a mixture of beech and of whitethorn, with a great predominance of the former. They are about seven feet high from the ground to the top; the base about seven feet wide, and nicely clipped on both sides up to a ridge. The fields, in one part that we went through, were fine pasture; on the side there was a dairy of beautiful Ayrshire cows, and over the other hedge a little drove of West Highland cattle, feeding into fat beef. These hedges are very common all over Lanarkshire. Sometimes they are clipped into the shape of a *wall*, lower or higher, according to the fancy of the owner, and always in good taste. On our way we were shown the seat of Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, and then, passing through the grounds, and close by the house, of Lord BELHAVEN, we came to Mr. HAMILTON's, at DALZELL, which is, after all the endless variety of pretty country seats on the CLYDE and on the CAULDER, the AVEN, and on all the GLENS which are tributary to these large waters, the place at which, if I were to be compelled to reside in Scotland, I would choose to reside. In point of beauty, Mr. DOUGLAS's, at MAULDSLIE, does, perhaps, exceed all the rest. A Mr. LOCKHART has a most beautiful place, fine woods, trees of great height and girth, where I was shown a Spanish chestnut-tree, twenty-four feet round; another Mr. LOCKHART has a beautiful seat on the CLYDE. In short, it is all such a mass of pretty places, and all with stone-built mansions, of the most solid structure, and in the best possible taste; that one is at a loss to say which one would like

best ; but, if I were compelled to choose, I would choose Mr. HAMILTON's, of DALZELL. The most amiable manners of the parties within might have some sway with me in this decision, but the place itself was just to my taste ; the house a very ancient structure, with plenty of room ; from the windows of one end you look into a deep *glen*, where the waters come tumbling over rocks, and wash, in the time of high water, the walls of the ancient castle ; the trees in this glen, ashes, beeches, oaks, elms, as tall, and nearly as straight, as the tulip-trees in the glens in America, with all sorts of native underwood, not forgetting an abundance of yews ; the bridges across this glen ; the walks winding about on each side of it ; the orchards, and the fruit trees mixed amongst forest trees, seen from the windows of the other parts of the house ; the fine low lands and meadows (at the end of the pleasant walks through the orchards), down upon the banks of the CLYDE, where it runs as smooth as if there were not a rock in the country, and where it is lined with beeches and sycamores and ashes, as large and as lofty as I ever saw : then, on the other side of the house, at the end of half-a-mile of gentle up-hill, through some very fine plantations of larches and of oaks, a farm-house and farm-yard, and pastures with dairy cows feeding, and Highland cattle fattening : all these put together, made me think this the place, of all the places in Scotland, that I should like to live at. There is nothing to be called a view from the house itself ; but, on a part of the estate, where this bank of the CLYDE becomes steep and lofty again, there is a view of the CLYDE, and of the grand palace and park of the Duke of HAMILTON ; there is a view here, to behold which all strangers are taken to see. I did not think it equal to the view at LANARK ; but it is very fine, very grand, and is the boast of the CLYDE.

Well, then, should I not like to *live* here better than amidst the really barren heaths and sands of Surrey, with only here and there a little dip of ground on

which it is worth while to bestow labour ? Oh ! That is quite another matter. To *live* here is a proposition not to be decided on without consulting the heart as well as the eye. That philosophy was quite sound which said that "our last best country ever was at home ;" and mind, where you do not find ~~this~~ feeling implanted in the breast, nature has not done her work well. Where there is not this feeling, there will be but a very feeble love of country ; for we go on, first, from our own families and neighbours and parish to our own counties ; then to our own country at large ; and, observe as long as you will, you will find that he who is not more attached to the spot on which he was born than to any other spot of his country, will very easily bring himself to like any other country as well as his own. Hence it is that we always find the patriot-passion most strongly implanted in the hearts of the common people ; and if it had not been more strongly implanted in those hearts than in those of the renegado pretended *higher* orders and *feelosofers*, who have gone from Scotland to England, Scotland would, at this day, have been wholly abandoned, instead of presenting, as it does, such a mass of public-spirited men, resolved upon a restoration of their rights.

It is curious, that, the substratum of the land here is just that sort of *red stone* which is everywhere the substratum in Devonshire, Somersetshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, which are the counties of orchards. Sometimes here is white stone beneath ; but, generally speaking, it is *red* ; and the top soil is very frequently red also ; and here is iron stone frequently found near the top of the ground ; and coals are everywhere at no great distance, precisely as it is in the vicinity of Ross in Herefordshire ; and the rocky glens here, precisely resemble those of the forest of DEAN, and on the banks of the WYE. I believe that this vein of red ground and stone runs the whole length of the island, for I have traced it from Devonshire to COVENTRY, with my own eyes. I find

it here upon the CLYDE; and, I dare say, it winds about till it comes out somewhere or other at the north end of the island. Wherever apples will grow well, HOPS will generally grow. In a *Register*, written last summer, I observed, that, if it were not for this grinding and taxing system of Government, people would grow their own hops all over the kingdom; that God had given them to us, to grow up spontaneously; that I had seen them growing in the hedges from the Isle of Wight to Lancashire, and that I made no doubt, that they were to be found in the Highlands of Scotland. During the time that I was on the CLYDE, Mr. HAMILTON took me to see the "*wild cattle*" of the Duke of HAMILTON, which are kept, *like deer*, on a part of his estate on the banks of the AVEN; which cattle, when of full size, are about the size of the Devonshire cattle: they are all over white, except the ears and the nose, which are black; they are wild, just like deer, fed in the winter as deer are fed, caught as deer are caught, or shot as deer are shot. They form a sort of heirloom of the family; and are kept, as if they were such, in the exclusive possession of the family. In our way to see these cattle, we stopped at the house of Lady RUTVEN, which is situated within thirty or forty yards of the top of one of the banks of the AVEN. These banks are two or three hundred feet high, set with trees as thickly as possible, beeches, birches, and ashes, all growing beautifully up out of the interstices of the rocks, upon a bed of which the river comes rattling over below. On the side of the bank on which Lady RUTVEN's house stands, a beautiful garden has been made by moulding the bank into the form of steps resembling stairs. A little distance above this garden the river takes a wind; a little distance below the garden, you see the river passing under two bridges at some distance from each other, over which two roads pass, both of which, I believe, are turnpikes: so that this is one of the prettiest spots that man ever set his eyes on; and, as if Providence had designed that nothing

should be wanting, there were, within the house, some very polite and obliging ladies, one of whom, was, I was told, Miss Stirling a cousin of Mrs. HALSEY, or HOLSEY, of HENLEY-PARK, in the county of Surrey; and a portrait of which Miss Stirling I, if I were forty years younger, should certainly attempt to draw, however impossible it might be for me to come up to the original. In this garden we found *some hops growing*, a branch of which I gathered and dried, and have now very carefully packed up to take to London, along with a variety of apples, which I intend to exhibit at *Bolt-court*, to the astonishment, I dare say, of nine tenths even of the Scotchmen that are living in London, of whom I never yet met one who seemed to know anything at all about his own country, and who did not seem to assent to the sententious and dogmatical lies of old Dr. JOHNSON, who, from the remissness of Scotchmen themselves, has been suffered to misrepresent their country, and to propagate mischievous error concerning it, from one end to the other of the world. Mr. HAMILTON told me, with regard to *hops*, that their growing upon the banks of the CLYDE, was by no means a new discovery; for that, his father had a whole piece of ground in *hops* sixty years ago; that this piece of ground is now an orchard, and is called the "*hop-garden orchard*."

There are, besides coal-mines, innumerable iron works on the banks of the CLYDE as you approach towards Glasgow. We went over the bridge, called BOTHWELL-BRIDGE, where the famous battle was fought between CROMWELL and the covenanters; or as HUDIBRAS would have called it, between the land-saints and the water-saints. CROMWELL must have been in reality, what BURKE calls an "*architect of ruin*;" for, everywhere, in Scotland as well as England, when they show you a disfigured and partly-demolished edifice, they ascribe the mischief to CROMWELL. Like the devil, old NOLL, as the cavaliers used to call him, seems to have been *everywhere* and in all places at one and the same time. The Scotch of the present

day, as well as the Irish, seem to think, that he was the devil for the time being. But, the Scotch sent forth a worse devil than CROMWELL, of whom they do not seem yet to entertain a just degree of abhorrence; namely, that surprisingly wicked old vagabond, BURNETT, who was born here, near one of these beautiful banks of the CLYDE, and after whom they name one of their plums, of which they grow a great abundance. This crafty fellow did more mischief by his quiet scheme, than CROMWELL ever did by his bayonets, bullets, and cannon.

While I acknowledge, with great gratitude, the politeness, the kindness, the unaffected hospitality, with which I was everywhere received, by persons of fortune and of fashion in Scotland, and particularly on the banks of the CLYDE, I am not stupid beast enough to ascribe their conduct towards me to any merit that they thought me to possess. It is possible, indeed, that, in some of the instances my manners (so different from what the atrocious villains of the press had taught them to expect) might have excited feelings of rather a friendly character; but I ascribe their treatment of me to their natural good disposition and their polite education; and their manifest desire to see me, I ascribe solely to that *curiosity* which must naturally have been excited in their minds, to see a man whose name the accursed newspapers, hired and bribed by the accursed corruption, had made to reach the ears of every human being in the kingdom; and in which man, this band of incomparable villains, hired and paid by this incomparable feeder of villany, had made all the world believe that there was something more than mortal. While, therefore, I shall always be proud of the attention shown me by gentlemen so respectable and by ladies so amiable, I would have it understood that I am not coxcomb enough to ascribe it to any other than the true cause.

Before I quit the CLYDE, to which the reader will say I cling, as Adam is said to have clung to Paradise, there is something which I have to mention, of which I am still more proud than of the

things just treated of; something that rouses the politician again, drives away the waterfalls and the trees and the orchards, and which would, were it not a shame, make me forget even the Scotch ladies amongst the rest! I mentioned before that Mr. HAMILTON took me and Mr. BELL to LANARK, on the 1. of November, and that I was to lecture in the town of LANARK in the evening of that day; to do which I had received an invitation from my readers in that town, to which invitation I had given my answer that I would do it. As we were going to LANARK from Mr. DOUGLAS's at MAULDSLIE CASTLE, we saw, out in the middle of a field, near a cottage, a blue flag flying at the top of a long pole. When we got near enough to see what was upon it, we saw that there was a GRIDIRON painted in colours of gold, with these words over it: "COBBETT TRIUMPHANT;" and on the other side, "PERSEVERANCE, PUBLIC VIRTUE, JUSTICE TO THE WORKING PEOPLE." And, which added prodigiously to the interest of the thing, this flag had been made for the purpose of a reform jubilee, at LANARK, and had been carried at that jubilee long before my coming to Scotland! Now, I will not bid the grovelling, the envious, the mercenary, the bribed, the base, the bloody villains of the London press to look at this; but I will bid Lord Grey to look at it, as something very well worthy of his attention. I will beg him not to try to make up a laugh, as he did, in the Court of King's Bench, while four thousand people were muttering out "shame, shame," at my description of the shearing of the heads of two girls in Sussex by one of STURGES BOURNE's hired overseers; I will beg him not to try to muster up a laugh at the history and description of this flag; but, seriously to consider, what will finally be the consequences, if he and the *sergeant WILDE Ministry* persevere in obstinately pursuing the conduct of their predecessors, in turning a deaf ear to everything proposed by me! Let him seriously consider this; let him consider whether the question between Whig and Tory,

be not now a mere trifle, compared with the question, *whether my principles shall prevail, or whether they shall not*: whether, in other words, the *MANCHESTER propositions are to be adopted or rejected*. But, to do justice to these good people of the TOWN of LANARK, I must insert the ADDRESS, which was read to me by the chairman of the committee before I began my lecture, in the presence of the audience assembled in the church, and which address was as follows: delivered to me in writing, after it had been read:

"TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

"SIR,—We, your readers in Lanark and its vicinity, take the liberty to express ourselves highly gratified by your visit to this place. We have long considered you the most enlightened political writer of the present day; the most honest exposé of the heartless insolence and specious cheater of public men. You have associated yourself with our best feelings as haters of corruption, with our highest aspirations as lovers of our country, and above all with our most anxious hopes connected with the labouring people. With esteem never interrupted, we have accompanied you through many years of intellectual labour and excitement, and with pleasure indescribable we are now beginning to taste the result; a result rendered greatly more important to your fame, because of the unjust and disgraceful persecution, to which you have been subjected, and the immeasurable magnitude of the THING's power. Sir, we are deeply grateful to you for your exertions in the good cause; we are proud that there is at least one fearless, one independent man in England. We rejoice that your character and merits are now becoming rightly understood and duly appreciated; that your triumph over baseness and misrepresentation will speedily be complete, and that consequently your power of putting to rights the affairs of this great country will be increased a thousand fold. (Signed in their behalf)

"JAMES HARPER."

BROUGHAM and DICK POTTER, and such-like people, will exclaim, "P.h! what's that? Those poor souls at LANARK are quite in a state of seclusion from the world." Very true, BROUGHAM and DICK; but how the devil did they come to hear of me in this their state of seclusion? These two, one a sort of simply spiteful simpleton; and the other a sort of giddy-headed gormandizer of praise, that feeds on newspaper-puffs, as a magpie is said to delight most in sucking rotten eggs; this couple will come to a sort of puzzle upon reading these strange proceedings in Scotland. In England, indeed, amongst the stack-burners and thrashing-machine breakers, they will think it natural enough that I should have partizans; but in the country of "*antalluct*," they will think the devil is got into the people. "I will send them down some of my friend the mountebank's pamphlets," says DICK. "No," says BROUGHAM, "send them down some of my *Penny Magazines*."

Let these fools alone, my Lord GREY, and think a little for yourself about it. Look well at this little ADDRESS from these people at LANARK; and ask yourself what, except their own sincere conviction, could have made them act and speak thus? Ask yourself what power I could have, to have influenced them to do this? What means I, whom they had never seen before, and were, in all probability never to see again, could have had to induce them to do this deliberate act, which cost them some pains, and which, in fact, cost them some little money? No! You will not reason: you have present power in your hands. You will curl up your lip and draw up your nostrils, just as they did when NOAH was actually stepping into the ark.

Before I quit LANARKSHIRE, it is right for me to observe, which I do with great pleasure, that the working people are treated much better here than in the Lothians; that the farms are smaller, the occupations numerous, the proprietorships not a few; that the farm-servants are frequently in the farm-houses, and that the "*bootie*"-system

is by no means so prevalent. Though, mind, small farms have been here moulded into large ones within the last thirty or forty years; cottages have been swept away in very great numbers; the people have been huddled together in great masses; and that every one of these masses has to exist under the continual scowl of a barrack. As to *agriculture*, LANARKSHIRE is a very fine county altogether; it has a due mixture of orchards, woods, corn-fields and pastures. Its cows are generally of the Ayrshire breed; its neat-cattle, the West-Highlanders, and Highland sheep. Near to GLASGOW and PAISLEY, butter and milk are the chief products of the soil. The county is famous for its *breed of horses*; and they are indeed, very fine horses, whether for riding or for draught. These horses, as is the custom all over Scotland, go single, in a cart, and draw a ton weight very well, on a good road. They are not *heavy*, and yet they are stout. They are very much prized all over Scotland; and many of them are taken into England. Now, bidding adieu to LANARKSHIRE for the present, and returning to my departure from GLASGOW, on my way home, which departure I mentioned in my last *Register*, I must here publicly bid farewell to Mr. HAMILTON, of DALZELL, which I do with every sentiment of gratitude for his great kindness to me, and with the most fervent prayers, that, at an age not less than that of his venerable father, he may terminate a life, the happiness of which may meet with as little interruption as any that ever was experienced by any human being.

On Saturday, the 3. of November, I set off from GLASGOW towards England, in a post-chaise, accompanied by my friends Mr. BELL and Mr. TURNER, who took their leave of me at an inn on the road, about fourteen miles from GLASGOW, where I changed horses. In quitting GLASGOW we almost immediately entered Renfrewshire, and passed across it into Ayrshire. A chain of hills intervenes and divides the two counties. For several miles from GLASGOW the land is exceedingly good, natur-

ally, besides the *goodness* which it derives from its nearness to so populous a city, and from its nearness also to PAISLEY, which we leave a little to our right. After this flat and fine land, we go over about seven or eight miles of high country, not under the plough, except here and there; having some bits of heath and furze here and there and some moory parts very full of rushes. This is not, however, by any means, a *barren* country. There is grass to the tops of the hills; and, these hills, even to their tops, have numerous *herds of cows* feeding upon them. Sometimes so few as ten in a herd; but, very frequently as many as *fifty*. KINGSWELL, the little place where we changed horses, is in Ayrshire, so famous for its beautiful breed of milking cows, and for the making of the cheese, which is so highly prized all over Scotland, and all along the English border, under the name of DUNLOP-CHEESE. DUNLOP being a little village, about six miles to the right of KINGSWELL, and being in the middle of these extensive hills, which are *pastures* resembling our *downs* in the west of England; but on a bed of rock instead of a bed of *chalk*; none of which latter, by-the-by, is to be seen, I believe, to the north of DUNSTABLE, in Bedfordshire. To see herds of cows instead of flocks of sheep, was a novel sight to me; but this was quite enough to convince me, even before I had made any inquiry at all relative to the *dairies* or the *chrese*, that this is not barren land. From KINGSWELL we soon began to descend into a country of fields and woods; and, coming down a hill, towards a river, by the side of a park set with stately trees, we saw a flag flying from a staff on the top of a fine castle, to signify, as I supposed (after the manner of Duke SMITHSON), that the castle contained at that moment the precious deposit, consisting of its Lord. We were yet a mile and a half from NEW-MILNS, that public-spirited manufacturing village, a deputation from which had come on foot, twenty-four miles, to GLASGOW, to present that address to me which

was published in the *Register*, dated from GLASGOW, and published in London on the 27. of October. The chaise was yet a mile and a half from the village, when the *boys* (always the advanced guard) began to meet us in groups. As we advanced, the groups grew more and more numerous, and the parties composing them continued to increase in size, the *sexes* also becoming duplicate at the same time. Arrived at the very first house in the village, the committee, accompanied with three flags, and a tremendously large *gridiron* on a pole, made for the purpose, met us, with a request that I would be so kind as to get out of the chaise, and walk in the procession to the inn; a request with which I instantly complied, and on we went preceded by a drum and fife. It was a general holiday in the village, every soul of which seemed to be present, from the oldest person down to the baby in arms. Arrived at the inn, I found the magistrates of the *BURGH*, who are called bailiffs, assembled, with a great number of burgesses, to present me with the freedom of the *BURGH*, which they did in due form, delivering to me the necessary document, and I going through the usual solemnities; the chief bailiff stating, as the grounds of this mark of their respect and attachment, that the people of the *BURGH* owed their political knowledge to me; that the nation owed the reform, in their opinion, to me more than to any other man, and more than to all other men put together; and that they had more reliance upon my future exertions than upon those of all other men, to make the reform productive of good to the people. Upon receiving the document into my hand, I said, "Gentlemen, I am a free-man of a city, to obtain my freedom of which (which I was compelled to do to be enabled to carry on my business in it) I had to pay fifty pounds, and I would sell it now for the price of a pot of beer, if it were not necessary to protect me against the persecution of those who carry on the government of that city, the rulers of which are amongst the lowest of mankind,

"who tax me at their pleasure, who now make me pay a new-church-rate and an old-church-rate, and give me no church to go to; who tax me for the purpose of depriving my fellow-citizens of PORTSMOUTH Ward of their rights; who expend the resources of the city in guttings and guzzlings enormous, and who daily add to these oppressions the unspeakable insult of taking away my money, for the purpose of purchasing gold boxes and jewel-set swords, to be given to men whom I class amongst the ruiners of my country. For these sufferings (to which I hope the reform of the Parliament will put an end) this mark of approbation from you is great compensation, especially as I deem it a pledge on your part, that you will do your utmost in supporting me, and men like me, in our efforts to obtain redress for those manifold and sore grievances, of which those that I have just mentioned form a part."

I now found that the castle which I had seen with the flag flying upon it, was LORDS-CASTLE, the seat of the Marquis of HASTINGS; and I further found, that this Marquis had expressed his desire that I might not be permitted to lecture in the great church of the place, which led me to observe on divers things connected with this Marquis's relationship to the public affairs, with regard to which I might have been silent, if I had not heard this. How wise these people are! What pains they take to get themselves beloved, and to have their unsightly parts kept from people's eyes! Will they *never see*? Puppies and kittens see at nine days old, though born blind. There was some excuse for impudent AYLESFORD, when he and his brutal tenants signed and published a protest against the innkeeper at MERRIDEN, because he suffered me to be in his inn, though I was very ill from a horrible cold, and required rest for a day or two: there was, on the score of prudence, some excuse for impudent AYLESFORD, the THING being then unshaken; but now, when there is bank reform and church reform, as well as parliamentary reform, all in agitation! Well,

let them go on ; let them be blind to the last ; let them do nothing that shall make one feel regret, whatever may take place.

It was my intention, agreeably to the notification that had been given, just to harangue the people of this excellent village, in the middle of the day ; and then, to push on, and lecture at KILMARNOCK (seven miles distant) in the evening. I found, however, that the disappointment would be so great, that I could not depart ; and, therefore, I resolved to stay here until Monday, and to go to KILMARNOCK (to which I have just sent a messenger) to-morrow evening ; and to stay here and write the *Register* to-day, which, I knew would be extremely gratifying to these kind and good and sensible people.

Wednesday, Carlisle, 7. Nov., 1832.

In the above part of the *Register*, which was written at NEW MILNS, I had not time to say anything upon a subject which the greater part of my readers will deem to be of very great interest ; namely, the Ayrshire *cows* and *dairies* ; and I will, now, speak of that matter, when I get to that part of my journey where I quit this very nice and very valuable county of Ayr. From NEW-MILNS, after lecturing there to a church crammed full of people on the Saturday night ; after writing there on the Sunday (which these people excused on the score of *absolute necessity*) ; after breakfasting with the clergyman of the burgher church, on the Monday morning ; after looking at some beautiful cows, and spending as much time as I could, in talking with the clever men of the village ; after enjoying the surprise of seeing a man who was born upon the *same spot with myself*, and who had strayed from the sand hills of Surrey, and had been here for fifty years, till he had lost every semblance of the Surrey dialect ; after passing forty-eight hours, as delightfully, as I ever did any forty-eight in my life, I set off in a post-chaise, which had come from KILMARNOCK to fetch me. The country to KILMARNOCK, a very fine farming country, and on every side

dairies of cows. On our approach to KILMARNOCK, which is a manufacturing town, containing from twenty to thirty thousand souls, and a very beautiful, solid, and opulent place, we were met with three banners flying, and, soon afterwards, a band of music ; and in this order were conducted to the *Turf-inn*. I had to come on to DUMFRIES (sixty miles) the next day, and to lecture there at night ; so that I had not a moment to take a look round this fine town of KILMARNOCK. After lecturing in a church, I got to bed as soon as I could ; breakfasted the next morning at the house of Mr. HUGH CRAIG, who had met me at my approach to the town, and took me in his open chaise, behind the flags and the music ; after thus breakfasting, and being delighted with the hospitality ; with the manners, and with everything belonging to Mrs. CRAIG, the heartiness of whose welcome was a thing to admire, but not to be described ; after this, very sorry not to be able to stay another day, in this nice town, in which I had been treated with such signal distinction, in which a band of music had preceded me, to and from the place of lecturing, and, supposing me, of course, to be fond of music, had remained until a late hour to play tunes at the inn ; and in which the people seemed to vie with each other in their eagerness to get at me to shake me by the hand ; extremely sorry not to be able to stay another day in this pretty town, and with a firm promise made to myself to come and make due acknowledgment for its kindness, when I come to Scotland again ; after all this, ruminating what HUMS and sweetly-simpering DICK POTTER might, in their wise heads, think of the matter, we set off in a post-chaise to MAUCHLINE, fourteen miles on the DUMFRIES road, there to see the native place of ROBERT BURNS, and to see also, the most ingenious, the most interesting *manufacture of snuff-boxes*, made of the wood of the sycamore, and painted and finished, in all the various shapes and colours that that manufacture exhibits to the eye. Mr. SMITH, the proprietor, most obligingly conducted us through the several departments. Some of the

work-people were hewing out the wood, which, from that rough state, we saw passing on from hand to hand, till it became an elegant piece of furniture for the pocket. Some were making drawings upon paper; others making the paintings upon the boxes; and all was so clean and so neat, and every person appearing to be so well off.

At this little town, we waited the arrival of the stage-coach, which took us on at a great rate from MACCHLINE to CUMNOCK, soon after which we got into DUMFRIESHIRE. But, now, let me stop and do justice to this county of Ayr, which will always be a great favourite with me. There are some high and mountainous lands in it; but, I saw not one acre of real *barren* land. Some moors; but these not large, and yielding peat so good as to be better than inferior coal. On the banks of its rivers there are excellent orchards; indeed, there are orchards, here and there, all along the road. The country is well set with farm-houses; and hardly any of the farms very large; but, the great glory of this county is its cows and its dairies. These cows are so renowned that you find them, here and there, all over the South of Scotland; and, I am told, that they are scattered about Cumberland and Westmoreland too. In my *Register*, dated from PAISLEY, I think, I spoke of having seen some of these cows, when I went to take a look at the SHAWNS-WATER, at GREENOCK. But, Mr. THOM (not "THORN," as my printers have chosen to print it), who went with me to see the SHAWNS water-works, and who appeared to have great understanding in such matters, told me, that those which I so admired, were "ugly mongrels;" and this I have really found to be the case; for, when I came to see them at NEW-MILNS, I was almost ashamed to remember that I had admired the others. It is a most perfectly shaped DURHAM-COW on a reduced scale; and, much more abundant in milk in proportion to the size, and perfectly hardy at the same time. The colour is very handsome; being, generally, a deep-red ground, with white, distributed in somewhat the form of a

branch of a tree. The white colour is prevalent sometimes, and sometimes the animal is pretty nearly quite red all over. Many of these cows will give twenty of our quarts of milk at a time; and the milk is much richer than that of any other cows, except the ALDEN-NEY; and they are not known in the North. It is the habit here to *let*, or *set*, the cows. That is to say, a farmer gives up the produce of so many cows to another person, who is, of course, a sort of labourer. The farmer finds the house, the sheds, the food of the cows, and every thing necessary for the carrying on of the business; and the renter agrees to give him so many stones of cheese, to be delivered at certain stated periods, and to be of a certain quality, for the use of every cow. A farmer, who thus sets his cows, told me, that, this year, he had set his cows for *sixteen stones* of cheese each for the year; but, observe, that, in spite of JOSEPH HUME and his "*feelosofers*," who have caused the people to expend more than a million of money by their vile and silly Scotch job, to make uniform *Imperial* weights and measures; in spite of this foolish and something worse "*Imperial*" weight-and-measure job, which was to make us all regulate our lives and conversations by a standard, founded on the "beating of a pendulum, in a heat of sixty degrees, according to FAHRENHEIT's thermometer;" in spite of all this most hoggling manner of extracting money from our pockets, to put it into those of "*feelosofical*" jobbers; in spite of all this, the *stone in Ayrshire* consists of sixteen pounds; and each pound consists of twenty-two ounces and a half, in spite of JOSEPH, and his jobbing "*feelosofy*," which is a matter for the serious consideration of JOSEPH's envious co-operator, DICK POTTER; and may become an interesting theme, or exercise, for the pupils in their reformed Mechanics' Institute. This being the case, the Ayrshire sixteen stones amount to three hundred and sixty London pounds of cheese; and this the farmer now sells at nine shillings and fourpence a stone, hard money; for,

the one-pound "*nots*" do not enhance his price one single farthing, and cannot, as long as the Old Lady is compelled to pay in gold. Thus, then, the farmer receives seven pounds nine and fourpence for each cow. If the cow do not yield so much, the renter is compelled to give the stipulated quantity and quality of cheese. Whatever she may yield more he has for his profit, besides having the whey for his pigs; and, observe, it is but a smallish cow, and is not fed upon rich pasture, generally; and the food, as allowed by the farmer, is very little besides oat-straw, all the winter long. If they have anything better, it must arise from the care and exertion of the renter; he must cut the straw into chaff, and boil it, or do something or another to make it better than raw straw. Yet he makes a living out of this, and generally saves money.

I was so delighted with these cows, that I was resolved that my country should not be wholly without them; and, therefore, a very kind friend at NEW-MILNS is to send me up a bull and ten cows, three of them three years old last spring, seven of them two years old last spring; all of them to calve by the month of May next, and the bull two years old last spring. If they come safe and sound, as I dare say they will, they will be worth a Kentish, a Sussex, or Surrey farmer's going fifty miles to see, in the month of June or July next. I have directed them to be caused to rest a week in the neighbourhood of MANCHESTER, and if BARON TOM POTTER have a mind to make it up with me, he will give them a run for a week in the park at PIPKIN-PLACE. The drover has a written direction to take them to some field "near PIPKIN-PLACE, in the parish of PENDLETON;" and I recommend to the electors of WIGAN, when they shall hear of the arrival of this seedling dairy, to go and candidly and frankly make an estimate of the "*antalluct*" of this young Scotch bull; to question him with regard to the principles now proper to be acted upon by a member of Parliament; to ask for an explanation of his ideas relative to the measures necessary for the relief and deliverance

of a nation; to ask him what he thinks of the *Whig-war*, of the "*church reform*," of the "expansion of the currency;" and ask him to show how it is possible for the working man to be benefited by "the improved system of banking," now carried on at the sign of the Three Golden Balls. Then I advise them to put exactly the same questions to DICK POTTER. If the bull talk less nonsense than DICK; discover the possession of less brains than DICK discover; then the electors of WIGAN, if no third candidate offer, will, in duty to their country, their neighbours, and their children, be bound, by every thing sacred amongst men, to reject DICK, and to elect the bull; and upon my soul (and I should not be afraid to take my oath to the fact) I believe that the bull would talk the less nonsense of the two. Oh! I would go a thousand miles to see the looks of these Scotchies, especially at NEW-MILNS, while DICK, or TOM, or SHUTTLEWORTH, or BAXTER, was making a speech to them. To see their looks at them, and to hear them exclaim, "*Eh gude Gude!*" Ah, DICK! I would find other guessmen than JOSEPH HUME; if you were to come to Scotland yourself, instead of sending your dirty pamphlets to GLASGOW; and let JOSEPH HUME take care, or he will get properly chastised for posting down to MANCHESTER to keep you in countenance. I can tell him, that his countrymen look at him with a very suspicious eye; and, that this last movement of his, intended to prop you up in your slanders against me, will only tend to swell into certainty that which before was only suspicion.

I leave AYRSHIRE behind me, with a great deal of satisfaction at having seen it. It is a nice country; not rich, but good and solid; and it is well studded over with comfortable farm-houses, and the accursed "*boothies*" do not offend the sight. It wants, particularly in the manufacturing towns, what all Scotland wants; namely, the English poor-laws, and all the laws of England; but this is a large subject, and of vital importance. There are many matters of interesting moment to be discussed and

settled; but here I, at any rate, mean to make my stand; I mean, let what else will be done or left undone, to fight to the last inch with all the legal means in my power, to cause STURGES BOURNE'S Bills to be repealed, and to establish, beyond all question, the RIGHT of every man and woman, to be upon, to remain upon, and to have a sufficient living out of the land of the country in which they were born. I mean, and I am resolved to make this the first point of all, if I be intrusted with the representation of any part of the people; and I would pledge my life, that BROUGHAM and his *Poor-law* Commission, will shrink into nothingness at the approach of the discussion of the subject.

We reached DUMFRIES about five o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 6. and I lectured at the Theatre at half-after seven; and, considering that the people have been frightened half to death about the cholera morbus (of which disease great numbers have actually died here), the attendance was wonderfully good. POOR BURNS, the poet, died in this town, an *excise-man*, after having written so well against that species of taxation, and that particular sort of office. Oh! *Sobriety!* how manifold are thy blessings! how great thy enjoyments! how complete thy protection which thou givest to talent; and how feeble is talent unless it has that protection! I was very happy to hear that his widow, who still lives in this town, is amply provided for; and my intention was to go to her, to tell her my name, and to say, that I came to offer her my respects as a mark of my admiration of the talents of her late husband, one single page of whose writings is worth more than a whole cart load that has been written by WALTER SCOTT.

I was prevented from putting this intention into execution by the necessity under which I was of being at ANNAN, to breakfast at ten o'clock, and to *lecture there at twelve*; after which I had seventeen miles to come to *this city*, in which I am to *lecture to-night at half-past seven!* One would need lead a

sober life to be engaged in "*carryings-on*" like this! But I must make haste along now, for the fellows "*up at Lun-nun*" have got into a war to keep *our pensioner* upon his throne; and most likely, contrary to the wishes of their "*allurs*" and to the wishes of *our pensioner's* subjects also. Faith! I must get along; but it is now six o'clock and I must go and shave and dress for the play.

Carlisle, 8. Nov, 1832.

I had not time, last night, to speak of the country from AYRSHIRE, across DUMFRIESSHIRE, to DUMFRIES, from DUMFRIES to ANNAN, and from ANNAN to the river that divides Scotland from England. I have not time to do it now: I must, therefore, leave what I have further to say of Scotland until the next *Register*, which will, *possibly*, be written in *Bo't-court*. It is hard to say, much less to swear, what one will do in such case; but my project is, to go hence on Saturday morning, lecture at PENRITH on Saturday night, go on Sunday and sleep amongst the "*pigs-tyes of APPLEBY*" (which are to send no more members to Parliament), taking a look at BROUGHAM-HALL in my way, having painted its owner in his true colours at PENRITH; on Monday to lecture at DARLINGTON, on Tuesday at STOCKTON, on Wednesday at BRADFORD, passing through sensible LEEDS, and leaving it to choose between the nominee of the Duke of NEWCASTLE and the nominee of BROUGHAM, the placeman-son of ZACHARY MACAULAY, ZACHARY himself being in our pay. Leaving *sensible LEEDS* to this its alternative, and quitting BRADFORD on Thursday morning; lecture, if they like, at ROCHDALE, on Thursday night; go to OLDHAM on Friday; to MANCHESTER on Saturday, the 17.; to BRUMMAGEM on Sunday, the 18.; and to *London on Monday, the 19.* There to behold DENMAN on the bench, with a big wig hanging down his shoulders; *Sergeant WILDE*, "our right and entirely beloved THOMAS WILDE," a "right honourable privy-counsellor," one of that body which Lord-COXE calls, "*honour-*

able, noble, venerable, and reverend." There to behold CHARLEY PEARSON I have not yet heard what; but surely, CHARLEY is not to be overlooked! Oh, how I sigh for the sight; how I do long to know what CHARLEY is to be! If there had been a *setting-in*, as the women call it, of peers, in the month of May last, CHARLEY, people about *Fleet-street* said, was to have been one of the batch; and, at any rate, the thing will never be complete till CHARLEY be in it some way or another. Here I must break off, having, by these enchanting thoughts, been led along till I have almost written the eyes out of my head; and I must not do that quite; for I may possibly be charged with the duty of reading cart-loads of papers; for loan-maker BARRING said, that the great towns would send "*pushing men, who would read every paper that was laid before the House.*" WM. CORBETT.

I must not omit to notice a letter which I received from BARRHEAD, to which I was obliged to return an answer, saying that I could not go, as I had fixed, immoveably, on the line of march which I had to pursue. The letter is of no consequence now; but I publish it, as a mark of my respect for the gentlemen from whom it came; and I hereby assure them that, if I return to Scotland next year, which it is my present intention to do, I will go and thank them in person for the honour which they have done me.

"*Barrhead, 30. Oct., 1832.*"

"SIR,—At a public meeting of the inhabitants of this village, held on Friday evening last, it was proposed by some of your admirers, and unanimously agreed to, that you should be invited to lecture here at your earliest convenience. A committee was then formed to correspond with you, and learn at what time and upon what terms you could come.

"We think we may get the burgher church here for your lecture, which we can secure after hearing from you. The lecture would require to

"be in the evening, to suit the inhabitants, as they are nearly all connected with public works.

"I am, sir,
"for the committee,
"yours, truly,
"JAMES LAMBERT."

WHIG-WAR.

RECEIVING my information on this subject, merely from word of mouth, never having read a word in a *London newspaper* since I left London, and not being able to rely upon those devils, even if I had read them, I cannot speak much in detail about the grounds and objects of this WHIG-WAR, undertaken for God knows what purpose, and upon God knows what grounds; but, addressing myself now to a very worthy friend in Derbyshire, and a very clever man, I say to him: Who, my friend, *who is right now?* When the French revolution of 1830 had taken place, I said: "The desirable thing is, that the French should at once march to the Rhine, and take complete possession of BELGIUM; for until they do that, liberty will never be safe against the despots; and, indeed, this revolution of the French will not be attended with any great benefit. And as to us, we ought to wish it by all means, as it will put an end to all that interference of ours in German affairs, which was begun by the base Whigs, and which has, at last, by the enormous debt and taxes which it has occasioned, produced all the ruin, misery, and feebleness which we now experience. If the French do not take possession of Belgium at once, we shall, somehow or other, get hooked into a war, to uphold its ridiculous independence; and, therefore, I am for the French marching into Belgium at once; and then the despots are muzzled." You, my Derbyshire friend, said that this was "*mischievous writing.*" Do you not now think that it was wise writing? Do you not now see, that, if my advice had been acted on, *there would have been none*

of the slaughterings in Poland; and none of LOUIS-PHILIPPE's pretty tricks carried on in France? Do you not see, that we should not have been hooked into this pretty little war, for the purpose of sticking up our pensioner as a king over the Belgians, who, doubtless, love him as sincerely as they do every thing that is *Austrian*! I have no time to say anything more of the subject at present. But, certain I am, that this war, if it be not speedily put an end to, will put an end to the THING; and that, too, in a manner not the most smooth in all the world. That man must be blind, indeed, who does not see, that all the despots are supporting the Dutchman, and that LOUIS-PHILIPPE is on the sameside in his heart. These fellows must have been deaf as well as blind, if they did not hear our profound political "*feelosofical*" Lord Chancellor say, a little while ago, that he *rejoiced* that we were bound to keep the peace in a bond of "eight hundred millions." Whatever else *they* may be, whatever sort of offspring some of them may have, they are not, at any rate, such fools as to have for Ministers men who are sometimes *half-drunk*, and sometimes half-mad; and, therefore, those Ministers must have heard and paid attention to these words, this solemn and sober declaration on the part of our wise, our grave, our honourable, our noble, our reverend, our venerable Lord Chancellor; and, bearing that declaration in mind, what other motive do they want for setting us and our pensioner at defiance? If I were BROUGHAM, or DENMAN, or WILDE, I would send them some of the "*Useful Knowledge*" publications, and particularly the Government "*Penny Magazine*." I request my publisher in London to send off a copy of the last number of this proof of the wisdom of our Government, to each of the despots. If that do not dispose them to yield to us, and to let our pensioner sit quietly upon his throne, I am sure I do not know what can do it. In the fall of 1829, I think it was; or, perhaps, it was about the middle of the year 1830, when MACAULAY and JEFFREY were trying

to get BROUGHAM into the Ministry along with PEEL, and to exclude Lord GREY. At that time, I said, both in *Register* and "*Twopenny Trash*," "Let him come in for God's sake; for he is the very man to bring this THING to an end. Here he is: we have him; and, as old BURDETT most profoundly observed, in one of his shuffling, bombastical letters, here "*to have is to have*" in reality. We have him; the THING has him; and to pieces the thing goes (if it have him a little longer), as surely (and much about after the same manner), as a ship goes to pieces when slam upon the rocks, with the waves dashing against her ribs. I am writing this at DARLINGTON, on Tuesday morning, the 13. of November. On Sunday I rode round that ancient and sublime mansion, for ages called the "*Bird's-Nest*," but now called "BROUGHAM-HALL," in the county of Westmoreland. Upon beholding it, and thinking of the "*Seigneur*," and of all the circumstances connected with his "*feelosofical*" project, I could not help saying to my companions; "Don't laugh at the contemptible thing; don't laugh at the miserable spot, or rather speck of earth, nor at that *turret* there, just now stuck up upon one side of an old and common farm-house; don't laugh, for God's sake; for that lump of stones, small and contemptible as it is, and surrounded with land of not a quarter part of the value of my garden at KENSINGTON; don't laugh; for, remember, that I now tell you, that that contemptible spot will become famous in history as having been stuck into the title of a man who was destined by Providence "to pull the THING to pieces."—More of the WHIG-WAR when I go to the WEN.

JACK WALTER.

I HEAR that JACK is prosecuting people for libels on his character! Naughty rogues; to represent JACK as unworthy to be a member for the county of BEAKS, and that, too, in spite of the jesting patriot, HARRY MARSH, who, filled by JACK's meat, and inspired by his wine,

is ready to swear that the "bloody old *Times*" was always a strenuous advocate of Parliamentary reform.

LORD BACON says, "that a professed jester will never stick at telling a lie;" and, certainly, so great, so impudent, so shameful a lie as this, scarcely ever came from the lips of mortal man before; and this, if the Whigs will let us have time before the election, I will go down into Berkshire and prove to the face of this jester, if he dare to come and meet me; I will prove to the jester's face, and to JACK's face, too, that this infamous and bloody newspaper, which had before justified the massacre of the Protestants at NISMES, and which had called aloud (upon the restoration of the BOURBONS), for the blood of the republicans of France; I will prove to the face of this jester, and the face of JACK, if they dare to meet me, that this infamous newspaper took the lead in urging SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH and LIVERPOOL, to pass the dungeoning and gagging bills of 1817, in order to punish those who then were humbly petitioning for Parliamentary reform. I will quote the words of that newspaper, which I put upon record for a purpose like this, if the occasion should arise; and I will produce a published correspondence between JACK and STODDART, to prove that JACK was the conductor of that paper at that very time; and let the jester, crammed with JACK's turtle and venison, and drenched with his wine, come and face me before the people of his native county, whom he has thus been deceiving. Neither the beauties of Edinburgh nor of GLASGOW; nor those beauties, more congenial to my taste, on the banks of the CLYDE, made me quite forget JACK and his jester; but, approaching nearer to the scene, and finding that JACK, in his quality of justice of the peace, has applied to the judges for an information to prove that he is not unfit to be a county member of Parliament, I feel aroused on the subject; and, as I have a right to offer my advice to any part of my countrymen, my advice those of Berkshire shall have on this subject, and also the grounds of that advice.

The calumnies of this infamous paper against me I despise; but this is wholly another matter; for, is there upon the face of the whole earth a Tory for whom I would not vote in preference to this JACK WALTER?

N. B. There is a Mrs. LEWIS, who has applied to me several times, to publish her case. She has recently made application for this purpose to Miss BRUNDELL, who keeps my shop in *Bolt-court*; and this latter, with the sort of feeling which is natural to women, in such a case, has strongly pleaded the cause of Mrs. LEWIS. I have not thought proper to meddle with the matter, but I advise Mrs. LEWIS to go down into Berkshire, and there make a true and faithful representation of that, the subject of which she has so urgently requested me to take up; and here I drop this matter for the present.

DAILY PAPER.

IF I be returned a member to the Parliament, it is my determination to have under my control *a daily evening paper, to be published in London*, without which I should be fighting in muffles; I should be under the infernal batches of the base and villanous *reporters*. Rather than herd with whom, I would beg my bread from door to door, and with whom I must herd, and whom I must treat with both guttle and guzzle, or see my statements either garbled and disfigured, or wholly suppressed. Therefore, I must have a daily paper under my control; and, if I be elected, have it I will. I intended to *drop the Register* at the end of the present year; but I shall *not do that*. It is *so efficient*! People have got into the habit of taking it in in clubs and societies so nicely. Like the sun, it sheds its beams so truly all over the kingdom, that I shall not cease to publish it until STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS be repealed, and the malt-tax and hop-tax and tithes be abolished, at any rate. I mention this affair of the daily paper *now*, in order that people may be prepared for casting off the dirty *Globe*,

and the other heaps of lies and of nonsense that now load the mail-bags throughout the country.

ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

WHEN I get to London, which will be very soon after the publication of this *Register*, I shall at once set to work and publish, in a little and compact volume, my account of Scotland, adding to what has already been published, some matter that I find upon my notes, and which I had not time to introduce into the *Register*, and which, besides, I did not like to introduce as long as it was probable that the *Registers* would find me still in Scotland, lest the infamous "*reporters*" and the vagabond "*feelosofers*" should accuse me of *flattering the Scotch*, in order to insure a good reception amongst them. I am away from them now : it is possible, and even probable, and even likely (and all the world must see that it is so), that I may never see Scotland again ; and I should not be exceeded in baseness by any "*feelosofer*," or even by any "*reporter*," the pressure of whose vile carcass ever degraded the earth, if I were now to suppress any fact, honourable to the country or the people of Scotland.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Darlington (Durham), 13. Nov. 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I SHALL be at OLDHAM on Friday next, the 16. instant ; I shall sleep there that night ; shall set off for MANCHESTER the next morning ; shall sleep at Manchester that night, and shall set off for LONDON next Sunday morning. This, my friends, is a time to be stirring : we have talked long enough : it is now, not a question of TALK, but a question of DO. Since I had the pleasure to see you, and shake your honest and hard-working hands ; *fifty-seven days* have passed over my head, which head, you know, is pretty

nearly as white as the cotton which you work upon. In the course of that *fifty-seven days*, I have delivered *forty-four* lectures, and two speeches at public dinners, having thus been *upon my legs seven days*, allowing as many hours to the day as you work in the factories ; for I have been thus speaking for seven times thirteen hours. During the same *fifty-seven days*, I have written *eight Registers*, in which there have been and are, on an average, *four columns* of my writing for each of the *fifty-seven days*, not including about a hundred letters that have been sent off by post. During the same time, I have travelled *nine hundred and thirty-seven miles* ; and have slept in four different cities, and in nineteen different towns. By DEED, therefore, as well as by WORD, I am endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of WORKING in this crisis of our country. Being persuaded, that the two factions are now busily at work in London, I am *pushing on to the scene* ; and, therefore, I must move in the time and manner above described. Indeed, there remains now nothing for me to say to you upon the subject of the ensuing election. You know your duty well ; and I know my determination ; which is this, not to have anything to do in making laws for the country, if I find that the people be not RESOLVED to stand by me while I endeavour to sweep away the taxes and abolish the tithes ; and, above all things, to sweep away STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS ; and to maintain and establish the RIGHT of every man and every woman TO BE upon, and to have (they obeying the laws) a good maintenance out of, the land of their birth, let whoever may be the owners of that land. This is my determination ; and this is all that I have to say to you at present, except that I always am

your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SOUTH-DURHAM ELECTION.

THERE seems to be a hot contest going on for the Southern Division of the County of DURHAM; and *both* the *factions* are united against Mr. PEASE, who appears to mean that the Reform Bill shall not be a *dead letter*. I here insert a second address of Mr. PEASE to the electors.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN—As the crisis approaches which will terminate your present arduous struggle, I cannot refrain from reiterating my expressions of grateful feelings for the kindness and cordiality with which you have everywhere received me.

Having endeavoured to discharge my duty as a candidate for your independent suffrages, you will excuse me in making a few observations as to the line of conduct which I have thought it right to pursue, and also, upon your responsibility as electors.

My political opinions have been fully explained, my character and conduct are before you. I have not annoyed you by servile solicitations, but have rested on the assurance, that you are well qualified to judge of the fitness of those who may be proposed as your representatives in Parliament, and in the determination not to insult you, by presuming that either overpowering entreaties, or abject caresses, were required to induce you faithfully to perform your plain, though very important duties. To have attempted to prevail upon you to abuse your consciences, violate your opinions, or retract your pledges, would have been a gross outrage upon your freedom and your integrity.

Many opportunities have presented themselves, since I acceded to your flattering requisition, and these I have not disregarded of becoming still more intimately acquainted with the position which we in this division occupy; and the very depressed condition of many, who, in the industrious and praiseworthy pursuits of agriculture and commerce, are labouring under burdens of no common magnitude, and discouragements of threatening import. All this has but tended to increase my anxiety, even at the expense of much personal sacrifice, to contribute my most sincere (though at best but very humble) efforts, to discover and apply available remedies, to restore soundness and prosperity to the languishing interests of our country. I have listened to your observations with pleasure—I have derived instruction from your remarks on questions of vital importance; amongst these, the protection required to agriculture, those fixed charges upon land which weigh it down, in the shape of rates and contributions,

too numerous to mention. The currency of the realm, and in connexion with it, the present state of the Bank of England's Charter, have been prominent topics. If returned as your representative, it would be my earnest wish to reduce the burdens upon land, or rather, upon the farmer, to the greatest possible extent, and to diffuse those charges more equitably over property generally, thus, giving the rich a fellow-feeling with their poorer neighbours. And, as regards our *monetary* system, to encourage such a circulation of the currency on sound principles, as would tend to relieve and stimulate both agriculture and commerce. I am painfully sensible of the secret operation of that agency which through a change in the standard of value, or in other words, from a paper to a gold currency, has produced those fluctuations in prices, which have blighted hope, and destroyed many a fair estate. These observations will be well understood by such as are conversant with a farmer's income and outgoings—these know, that whilst produce has regularly declined in value, there has been no corresponding diminution in his expenses and burdens. I must however confess, that more intimate communication with you, and the conviction it has fixed upon me, of the mass of intelligence and talent which it is proposed that I should represent, has at times been very depressing in viewing the experience and abilities required for so truly serious a task, but the openness and candour of your sentiments—the confidence you have been pleased to express towards me, have again and again animated me with hope, that united as we are by our common interests and views, we may continue to blend our mutual sentiments and exertions, for the attainment of those great objects which are at stake. You must agree with me that the state of parties and their purposes, as developed in this election; in fact, everything which we see and hear around us, ought to increase our vigilance, and render us resolute and determined to admit of no dictation—to submit to no political fetters, however speciously they may be attempted to be imposed. We have good grounds for solicitude for the strenuous protection of that *reform* which has been so suspiciously commenced. Which of you does not see with alarm the existence of that corruption which it is destined eventually to destroy? Which of you does not behold great and powerful interest actively at work, either secretly or more openly opposed to alterations in our political transactions—to those great and judicious changes in the institutions of our country, which their very existence no less than the diffusion of greater light and knowledge, have rendered both expedient and necessary? Whilst then, we are careful to oppose sufficient obstacles to hasty innovation, let us anxiously consult the intelligence and moral temper of our country—let us diligently and patiently labour to afford every possible facility for real improvement, by peaceable and virtuous means. As the stream cannot be expected

to rise higher than its source, let us look closely to our consistency as electors, and inquire whether our conduct and principles are interwoven in that standard of integrity and justice, which we intend our representatives elsewhere to exalt and display. In contests like the present, let us avoid every practice which can have a tendency to endanger our political privileges, or to degrade our character. The assurances of support, and the number of names already enrolled on the canvass lists of the various committees, leave but little room to doubt the issue of this struggle, so far as regards myself. It is no light matter to enjoy the fullest conviction that this preference has been obtained by no unworthy means or arts. If I have been guilty of one act of meanness—if I have sacrificed or flattered away one principle—if I have fawned upon the great, or attempted to intimidate the lowly—if I have ever impugned the character of my opponents—if I have ever shrunk from the candid avowal of my sentiments—if I have ever shunned your interrogatories, or returned an insincere or evasive answer, though that answer might not be popular—if I have sought your approbation in the name, or through the imputed merits of another—if I have availed myself of the menaces of a landlord, or his agents—or of a master, either directly or indirectly—in a word, if with liberty, independence, and reform, on my lips, I have tampered with intimidation or corruption, or sought that protection and shelter under their wings, which public approbation and virtue had denied, and thus have acted so as to degrade you and your franchise to a level with that shameless political merchandise, which it has cost us so much to annihilate—you will award me my deserts; but, if on considering my conduct with that discrimination, which, from experience, I well know you will exercise—you are pleased to acknowledge that my course has been diametrically the reverse of this sketch—then, you will grant me the pleasure of avowing myself your fellow-labourer in a cause which involves our rights, our liberties, and the dearest interests of our country—in which reform, so far as it has yet proceeded, is viewed but as a means to an end—that end, under the Divine blessing, is the elevation, of the political, moral, and religious character of our race—as the best and only guarantee of our prosperity and happiness—an elevation of mind, which would bring with it adequate motives to serve the public, without regard to the love of greatness, honours, wealth, or rewards. The inscription on our banners will then be short, but it will be emphatic. In these words will our opinions be expressed—our judgment sealed—our purposes revealed,

“The truly good—the only great.”

I acknowledge a debt of gratitude, for the candid and liberal manner in which my pretensions have been treated and canvassed in the public prints, in various parts of the

united kingdom. If in the reports of my speeches, there has been an appearance of arrogance, which I never felt; or of personal allusions, which were never intended, I do sincerely regret it.

In conclusion I cannot entertain for one moment the thought that the generous preference you have shown me can fail, accompanied as it is by your extraordinary and indefatigable efforts in securing the triumph of your independence. When the day of election arrives, I shall be found at my post, till then, I repose on your attachment to those great principles which are at once both yours and mine, and your kindness towards myself as their humble though determined advocate.

I am, very sincerely and respectfully,

JOSEPH PEASE, Jun.

Southend, 11 Mo. 5th, 1832.

SPEECH OF MR. PEASE,

At Stockton, on Wednesday, Sept. 26, 1832.

(From the *Lurham Chronicle* of Sept. 28.)

MR. PEASE made a most triumphant entry into Stockton on Wednesday last. He was introduced to the electors by Mr. Bates, of Kirkclevington, and afterwards addressed the immense multitude who had assembled to greet his arrival, to the following effect:—When the people of England set up a man, who should take him down? And thus should it be done to the man whom the people delighted to honour. (Cheers.) He felt the full force of the kindness with which they had received him, because, whether he regarded it as a token of gratitude for any exertion he had made, in private or public life, to serve the interests of that district, or whether it was to be considered as a proof of their confidence, that both in private and public, he should adhere to the principles he had avowed—principles which embraced not only the happiness of the country at large, but were calculated to impart happiness to every private bosom, both as regarded the present and the future,—it could not fail to be deeply affecting to his heart. (Cheers.) After all that he could do or say, however, his cause must be left in their hands. Gratifying, however, as were the occurrences of this day, he doubted not they would cause him to be still further introduced—to be more and more maligned; because the higher a man got up, the better shot he was deemed by those who were below him. (Cheers and laughter.) Whilst he was little and low, he might be passed in the streets, and have no notice taken of him; but when the people got him on their shoulders,

he was a fair mark then. (Laughter.) The consequence had been everything he could expect or desire. (Cheers.) In every place he had gone to, he found he had been preceded by the most unfounded statements, not as to him individually, but as to his principles. Now, if he went into Parliament as their representative, there would not be one of them who could say that he had deceived or misled them; for on no occasion had he flinched, in public or in private, from declaring openly, fairly, and sincerely, what the principles were upon which he intended to act. (Cheers.) The long addresses he had circulated contained allusions to every topic upon which it could be presumed that he could be required to address them on this occasion. So far was it from being necessary to uphold his cause by resorting to unworthy means, his friends were increasing in every quarter—in all parts of the Division a support had been tendered to him—not compelled, but voluntarily tendered—of which any man alive might well be proud. (Cheers.) He believed there never was a day like this in Stockton; and triumphantly did it prove his position, that when the people chose to take up a man, none could take him down. (Cheers and laughter.) He would not be taken down there to day; and he should be much disappointed if a day which should see him taken down, with reference to this election, at any place, should ever arrive. (Cheers.) He understood that many of that worthy and estimable class, the agriculturists, were in the crowd. He did not know a farmer from another man, unless it was for his honest face—(a laugh);—but he saw so many honest faces below him, he could not tell how to distinguish which were farmers and which manufacturers; and he believed the longer they lived, the more they would find that it was not by the face, no, nor by the birth, or by the breeding, but for the inclination we should feel to support, maintain, and express sound principles, we should be judged by our fellow men. (Loud cheers.) Wherever he had enjoyed the opportunity, he had felt the greatest possible pleasure in explaining to gentlemen connected with agriculture his views upon that subject in general, and the desire he had, in reference to their situations as individuals, to promote its success and prosperity. (Cheers.) He had reason to believe, that in nine cases out of ten, if not in ten cases out of ten, he had given satisfaction. But it had been said to him, "Speak out." He had no objection to "speak out" on any point that might be put to him, and on this subject in particular. (Cheers.) He was bound to confess that agriculture was far from being in a prosperous state; and it would be the duty of their future representatives to inquire diligently into the cause of that effect. (Cheers.) It was useless to complain of a thing unless we set about remedying it—it was of no use to complain of the water being bad, if we knew the well was foul, and we took no pains to cleanse it. (A laugh.) We must

go back to first principles. Agriculture must be protected by a law controlling the admission of foreign grain into this country—otherwise he knew there was a power in foreign countries to throw upon our market such quantities of produce,—grown, too, by men who had no such imposts to bear as the English cultivator had to contend against—that the question would be, not whether a third, or a half, of the English soil should be laid waste, but whether, as was his candid opinion, the whole of it would not be thrown out of cultivation. (Cheers.) He believed he expressed these sentiments on the soundest data possible. He did not speak unadvisedly; for it would not become him, standing in the situation of a candidate for their favour, to express opinions on this, or any other subject, which he had not calmly and dispassionately weighed. (Cheers.) Now, his own local knowledge, his intercourse with foreigners, and the information he had collected from various publications, convinced him that there was a power in foreign countries to deluge this with corn, at prices at which it could not be grown by our own farmers. (Cheers.) Building, as he did, the prosperity of England upon agriculture, he could not, to please any person who held opposite sentiments, adopt a creed which was contrary to his own convictions; and as a proof of his sincerity on this question, he might state the fact, that when applied to, in another county, to give his support to a candidate who was not, as it was called, a friend to agriculture, he refused to do so on that very ground. (Cheers.) With regard to this great question, he was sorry to say, that in some points of view, it presented itself to his mind under a very discouraging aspect. They had very little reason to hope that they would obtain, from the House of Commons, a higher scale of duties than that which they at present enjoyed; but if it could be shown to him that it was necessary to alter that scale, he would be an advocate for the measure. The system of averages and of bonding might require correction; but in whatever changes he might concur, his object would be to secure to the English farmer a price something like 7s. or 8s. per bushel; for with less than that he knew there were many thousand acres of land, in this and the adjacent counties, that would not pay for farming. (Cheers.) But however anxious he or his brother candidates might be that prosperity should be found at every farmer's fire-side, it was not for him to promise that any measure should make land pay for growing corn which could not yield ten bushels per acre. (Hear, hear.) He had no objection to enter into calculations with them if they pleased. Now, supposing they divided the country into three parts. Take land that was worth 40s. per acre, and tithe free, if they could find any such (a laugh); and premise that the course of husbandry should be the regular one observed in the country—fallow, wheat, clover, and wheat again,—

Two years' rent at 40s. would be..	£4 0 0
Expenses, taking the average of 4 years—Fallow, Wheat, Clover, and Wheat.....	4 13 6
Poor's Rate, Highway Rates, County Rates, &c.....	0 3 0
Interest on 4l. 13s. 6d., 5 per cent., for interest, and 5 per cent. for wear and tear, 10 per cent. in the whole	0 9 4
	<hr/>
	9 5 10
Produce, 30 bushels per acre, at 8s.	12 0 0
	<hr/>
Gain per acre	£2 14 2

Now a man with such a farm as this might live; though he (Mr. P.) had not allowed for bad harvests or for tithes, because, for the present, he would sink that question. But suppose they came down a peg; and took land of an inferior quality, the rent of which should only be 20s. per annum. In this case the farmer was subject to the same expenses, if he did justice to the land; and it was no penny or twopenny matter; they all knew that. (Cheers and laughter.)

Rent, 2 years, at 20s.	2 0 0
Expenses, 3 items as above	5 5 10
	<hr/>
	7 5 10
Produce, 15 bushels per acre, at 8s.	6 0 0

Loss per acre £1 5 10

Or, 7s. 1d. left per acre, for rent.

Many persons might say they could manage a farm at less cost than this. But he was not to be told that a man should live upon potatoes, because he should live as he ought to live. And if a farmer said he could manage at a less cost than he (Mr. P.) had described, let him be asked whether he paid his servants 2s. 6d. per day; for a man should not have less; and whether his ploughs and farming gear were in good condition. All these things should be taken into account. But let them take land that would produce, not 30 bushels per acre, 15, or even 12, but 7, as many of them knew was too often the case. And here (as we understood him) he would observe, that however landlords might consider they obliged tenants by letting them farms, in such cases as this the obliged party was not the tenant, but the landlord, who made the best bargain by getting them off his hands. (A laugh.) Thus, taking the worst quality of land,

Two years' rent, at 10s.	1 0 0
Then the same expenses as above..	5 5 10
	<hr/>
	6 5 10
Produce, 7 bushels, at 8s	2 16 0
	<hr/>
	£3 9 10

Or, loss per acre, 1l. 4s. 11d., without any rent.

Why such land would be immensely dear without any rent at all. (Cheers.) How could he hold out any hope of relief to a man so situated? To do so, he should be a gross deceiver. (Cheers.) He might say, as many a candidate had said, "Vote for me, and I will do something for you." But many a man who had relied upon such promises had found a passage across the wide Atlantic the only means of escaping from the consequences of such a delusion. (Cheers.) If any man should come to them and say he could make such land yield a profitable return, whether it paid rent or not, he (Mr. P.) would tell them, that in his opinion, the assertion would be a downright lie. (Cheers and laughter.) He repeated that if any gentleman wished him to do so, he was willing to go still farther into details connected with this important question—for he was equally desirous to state his own views, and to hear the opinions of others. He was ready and anxious to learn all he could on this subject, and had no wish to go to Parliament with his fingers in his mouth. (Laughter.) He had endeavoured to add all he could to his stock of information since he first came before the county as a candidate; and this made him say, that while he would do every thing in his power to ensure prosperity to agriculture, he neither could nor would, for the purpose of obtaining their support, promise to do that which neither he nor any other man could ever hope to perform. (Cheers.) He could not do impossibilities; therefore, it was useless to make such professions. But he had pledged himself before, and he would do so again to-day, to look into the cause, which, as he had already observed, had produced this effect, and to do what he could to remedy the evil, but no more. (Cheers.) He wished to promote the interests of agriculture for this reason. What was the use of the manufacturer making goods, if he had no customer to buy them? And who was his best customer? Why, the farmer. (Cheers.) That was, in good times; for he feared that many of them had not been able to command many superfluities lately. (Cheers, and cries of "True.") But he would yet go to Parliament impressed with the consciousness that the interests of agriculture and of manufactures were so identified with each other as to be inseparable. He had spoken of the dependence of the manufacturer on the farmer; but where, on the other hand, would be the utility of a farmer growing more corn, or raising more cattle or sheep than he could barely consume at his own table, unless, in his turn, he had the manufacturer to purchase them? (Cheers.) Every man must know how the two interests hung together. The manufacturer would not make goods unless he had the farmer to buy them, and the latter would have no occasion to carry cultivation beyond the limits of his garden, unless he had a market for his produce with the manufacturer. (Cheers.) When, for instance, trade was bad in Lancashire, he need not tell them what effect it had on the Darlington and

Stockton markets. Breeders either would not bring their stock to market; or if they did, they had to drive them home again, and after keeping them another year, sold them, perhaps, 5s. per head higher, out of which they had to pay for the year's keep. (Cries of "True, true.") Such was always the case when the condition of the manufacturing districts were depressed; for no man would pretend to say that this could be the consequence of foreign competition. (Cheers.) They were recommended, in a hand-bill he had seen, to send to Parliament only such men as had landed estates, and who would look to the protection of the agricultural interest alone. They might adopt that advice if they admired it; but for his part he thought it would be just as reasonable to return only men who had but one eye. (Loud laughter.) They might depend upon it, that if a man had to go to Parliament to do any good, he must have both his eyes—aye, and keep them open, too, or he would make a left-handed business of it. (Much cheering and laughter.) But he was surprised that individuals from whom, considering their rank and station in life, better things might have been expected, should hold the opinions they did upon this subject. He was not going to follow their example, by crying up agriculture, or any one interest more than another. (Cheers.) But he should endeavour to show, in a few words, how certain individuals, who turned upon their heels as if they felt insulted whenever commerce was mentioned, deluded themselves in entertaining the extreme opinions which they professed to hold on this question. No man need be ashamed of speaking of his progeny; and he believed he might claim a very near relationship with the railway connected with this town. (A laugh.) Now, that very railroad—a commercial undertaking he it remembered—which had been so traduced, poor thing, that if it had not been as hard as iron—(a laugh)—it must have been knocked down long ago,—that railroad, he was prepared to demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt or contradiction, had been productive of immense benefit to the agriculture of the district through which it passed. (Hear, hear.) Yet persons were to be found who could cry "Stand agriculture—down with commerce!" Now, let them contemplate the facts. Since the formation of that railroad, 6,000 inhabitants had been added to the population of the district. (Loud cheers.) If they considered that each person, little or big, old and young, consumed, on the average, half a stone of meal per week, this would increase the consumption of the district 52,000 bushels per annum, or about 7,531 sacks of fine flour. (Cheers.) The farmers had now no longer any occasion to go badgering to London to sell their flour; for they could dispose of it at their own doors! Then there was the extra consumption of beef, butter, cheese, and malt; things which colliers liked (a laugh); for however farmer's labourers lived, colliers knew very little about short

commons. (Renewed laughter.) A grocer told him, a few days ago, that when wages were good, they would have nothing but green tea and loaf sugar; and even when they were low they had coffee and moist sugar. (Much laughter.) But it was not the grocer alone who shared the plunder; it was diffused in various streams, and all went to augment the quantity of human comfort and happiness. (Cheers.) When that railway was commenced, its enemies prophesied that it never would be finished. And then, when it was finished, that it must go down—it could never prosper. It had, however, been twelve years in operation; and now let them inquire what effect it had produced during that period. Was it nothing that 100 ships weekly entered the Tees, where, previous to the construction of the railway, such a number were hardly seen in 6 months? (Cheers.) But this was not all. The coal-trade was going on improving, bringing into the district, in the course of the year, from 200,000l. to 250,000l. in ready money, of which they never saw one stiver before. (Loud cheers.) Then there was that enlargement in the trade of the town, consequent upon the increased traffic in the river, which was so advantageous to the inhabitants of Stockton. And there was another material point to be borne in mind. Committees of the two Houses of Parliament had "sifted" the coal-trade, to ascertain what it was; and it was stated, in the course of the inquiry, by one of the Messrs. Brandling, that because competition in that trade had become so great, especially from Stockton, they were not able, in the North, to sell coals, in 1830, as high, by 2s. or 3s. per chaldron, as in 1828. (Great cheering.) Now, if the people of Stockton did not get the benefit of that, such benefit was enjoyed by some other portion of the community. The saving that would accrue to the public, in the price of coals, estimating the vend at 1,500,000 Newcastle chaldrons, would amount, at 2s per chaldron, to 150,000l. per annum; thus proving the truth of that beautiful principle of commerce, that a man cannot mend his situation in life without bettering that of his neighbour's also. (Cheers.) The consequence, therefore, was, that while the railroad did well for the proprietors, it had drawn, to this part of the kingdom, trade from the Land's End to Aberdeen, and a large portion of our fellow-creatures were indebted to the enterprise of the southern division of the county of Durham for obtaining one of the first necessities of life at a cheaper price than they had ever done since the word "coals" was known in this country. (Great cheering.) To return more immediately to the subject of agriculture. He could assure his hearers, that some of the agriculturists were long-headed men. They had subjected him, in many places, to the most minute and searching inquiries: they had used their smallest compasses with regard to him. (A laugh.) He did not know how other candidates had fared, but with himself the scrutiny had been most severe

and unsparing. They had made him produce his title deeds, down to the minutest parchment, before they would grant him their confidence. The employment of this system, however, had only served to place him more firmly in the public regard; for he had the satisfaction of knowing that, in nearly every instance, as he had before stated, his explanations had been sufficient to secure approbation of his principles. (Cheers.) He had been surprised to find some agriculturists hold the opinions they did on the question of tithes. He did not mean to make that a prominent topic of observation here; but he would refer to it for the purpose of explaining how tithes operated to the injury of the farmer and the disadvantage of the public. Suppose a farmer took a farm at a rent of 210*l.*; but his landlord, after striking his bargain, says, "On, but I forgot—this farm is tithe-free; and I must lay on a sixth (he believed that was the rate) to the rent—which would thus be advanced to 245*l.* This was no *tenth* business. (Hear and laughter.) Now, he should like to see the good old times revived when the farmer used to calculate upon realising three reuts, one for the landlord, one for expenses, and the third for himself. (Cheers.) He did not know how the calculation might be made at the present day; but he was apprehensive that, in nine cases out of ten, the farmer was afraid to put pen to paper on the subject. (Cheers.) The rent, then, for this farm, would be 245*l.*, which on the former principle of calculation, would make the gross produce of the farm 735*l.* Now, if it had been taken at the rent originally stipulated, the produce, by the same mode of calculation, should have amounted to 630*l.*; and the tithe of that would have been 63*l.*, whereas the additional rent imposed by the landlord, on account of the exemption from tithe, would have been 2*l.* less than the value of the tithe. So that the loss to the farmer, by the operation of the tithe system, as contra-distin-guished from increase of rent, would have been the sum he had mentioned—which showed that nothing like the value of the tithe was ever laid on in the shape of rent. (Cheers.) But again; supposing the farmer took a twenty years' lease, and expended 1,000*l.* in improvements, calculating upon 10 per cent., or 100*l.* a year, for the employment of his capital. But if the tithe-farmer should say, "Out of that 100*l.* I must have 10*l.*," the loss would be, during the period of the lease, no less than 760*l.*—and without the improvements 560*l.*! Was he not justified then, in saying that the tithe-system was a bar to improvement—a public detriment and injury? (Loud cheers.) (After some further calculations tending to show the mischievous operation of tithes, Mr. P. proceeded.) Tithes were the means given to promote a certain end; and, therefore, when he heard it asserted that the clergy had the same right to the tithes that he had to his estate, he was compelled to ask, how did it happen the clergyman could

not receive them without his (Mr. P.'s) consent. He could not get them if his (Mr. P.'s) land were laid in fallow—if he grew no corn, or suffered his hay-crops to rot on the ground. (Cheers.) There was no law to force the cultivation of his ground; and such being the fact, what became of the absolute "property" of the clergy in the tithes? (Cheers.) Why, it was only the other day that 43 clergymen of this diocese had raised a cry against pluralities. They objected to a clergyman holding 2 or 3 livings; but who ever heard of a complaint being breathed against a man having 2 or 3 estates? (Great cheering.) It would really appear from this, that the clergy, whatever they might say, were beginning to think that the tithes were not so much their own as they pretended. (A laugh.) There were laws against simony in the church; but who ever heard of a simoniacal contract with regard to land. (Much laughter.) There was, indeed, a property in advowsons; but these were a peculiar sort of animal. (Laughter.) But though there might be a property in the right of presentation to a living, could anything be more monstrous than the assumption that, in consequence of such presentation, the incumbent should exact a tax upon the skill, capital, industry, and enterprise of the whole parish? (Much applause.) He would not say that he would take a radical part on this question; but he would at least endeavour to do his duty. (Cheers.) The time would come—it was fast approaching—when it would be asked what right these men had to more than a tenth of the fee of the land—when there could be no calculation of fifths or tenths, but when each clergyman should be paid according to the extent of his usefulness, and upon no other scale. (Cheers.) He was very anxious for the sake of godliness, that the clergy, on this question, should meet the people half way. They were the best friends of the church who persuaded them to concession. (Cheers.) Let them go across the Irish Channel, and learn by what they might witness there, that it is impossible for a church or a state to stand out against a combined people. (Immense cheers.) For these reasons, and for the sake of harmony, peace, and religion, the sooner there was a fair and equitable consideration of this case, the sooner the question should be properly and judiciously settled, so as to satisfy the people, the better for the people, but three-fold better for the church. (Loud cheers.) It had been suggested to him, as he entered the town, that he should say something on the subject of corporeal punishments in the army. The practice was one which he reprobated with all his heart; and which he would do his utmost to put an end to, to whomsoever it applied, whether to blacks or to whites. (Cheers.) Several persons had asked him if he did not know that there were such things as White Slave Owners? He knew that he had been charged with being one of these, as he presumed his enemies would charge him with anything to serve their own purposes. But

they did not know that he was one of the strongest sticklers for "Sadler's Bill," as it was termed. (Great cheering.) He rejoiced to say he had no reproach on his conscience on this point. While masters or parents, for there was as much culpability on the one hand as on the other, were willing to sacrifice the rising generation, by confining them to excessive toil, he thought it was absolutely necessary for the Government to interfere. (Cheers.) The first step to be taken was to abolish all-night labour in factories. (Cheers.) Masters would not sit up to pursue it, and why should children do so? (Cheers.) Actuated by these feelings, he had spent many an hour with Mr. Sadler, and, months before he thought of standing here as a candidate, had done all in his power to make that bill as imperative and effectual as he possibly could. (Loud cheers.) But the strangest argument to which he had to listen, as opposed to his return, was one which had been used by certain persons high in religious functions and authority—and one gentleman especially, who had a son in the church, had told him, that though he believed he would go into the House of Commons an honest man, he would not come out such. (A laugh.) For all his honesty, however, he knew the reverend gentleman would not give him his vote. (Laughter.) He said to him, "You come forward on Christian principles." He replied, "I do so." "You cannot carry them into execution in the House of Commons." What should he say to this? He could only say, that if Christianity were available, it must be available in every situation in life. (Cheers.) To concede the converse of that proposition was to say, that though Christianity was a very good thing, we would only take as much as we liked of it, and leave the rest. (Cheers.) But he agreed with Mr. Fox, that when we diverged from the line of moral rectitude we also went politically wrong, and that honesty in public, as well as in private life, would be found the best policy. (Loud cheers.) He considered the assertion, that Christian principles could not be successfully maintained in the legislature, far too bold and daring. Let it be recollected what the word most in vogue in that quarter had been. It was "expediency." Now the only change which his profession embraced was the difference between "expediency" and "justice." He knew what "expediency" had done for the country. Let them look around. He knew that "Christian principle" would remedy slavery; but "expediency" would not set the negro at liberty. (Cheers.) He knew that "Christian principle" said war was wrong, and that it was our interest to live at peace. But it was said that it was not, "expedient" that there should be peace; and he knew, that during the last war, when the chaplains of the army had to preach of "peace" they were instructed not to say a word against war. (Much laughter.) Might not "Christian principle" too, be well applied to our embassies; and if instead of

sending out a man with a splendid name to Vienna, or elsewhere, to protect the interests of the country, we were to employ an honest, well-meaning man of "principle," would not the consequences be better both for ourselves and the world? (Cheers.) What was it that gave the envoys of America their advantages over the great men of our own country, but their thorough acquaintance with the principles of trade, which the magnates of our own land so much despised that they would take an anodyne if they presumed there was a possibility of their even dreaming of trade? (A laugh.) Such men had no chance when pitted against a long-headed Yankee. (A laugh.) If, therefore, they would place all the country had lost through "expediency" in contrast with what it might have gained through "Christian principle," they would see the rock upon which the ship of state had already split, and from which it was desirable to protect it for the future. Till we adopted something like "Christian principle," as the foundation of our policy, in trade and agriculture, as well as in peace and war, it would be vain to expect national prosperity; and therefore, whatever might be said as to his losing his principles, which he regarded more than life, he meant to attempt it. He might be told his "Christian principles" were like a mathematical proposition, very beautiful in theory, but would not work in practice. He meant, however, to try them; because if he had any hope of serving his country, setting aside any local interests by the advocacy of which a man might acquire popularity, it would be by legislating in a spirit accordant with that blaze of light, knowledge, and understanding, which had burst upon the mind of the English people, with a force and effulgence that were without example in this or any other country. (Cheers.) Popularity had always, heretofore, been attached to the wheels of the great; who, if they could not win could buy it; but that day is gone by, and he was the living proof. (Loud cheers.) His hopes were these,—that the electors of England, at this crisis, would set aside all minor considerations, and do their duty by returning to Parliament none but men who had given proofs that they sought only to promote the interests of their fellow-men, and who were anxious for the spread of everything useful or valuable in politics, morals, and religion. (Cheers.) Then might we expect to see the dawn of our country's regeneration, and to behold the sun of British prosperity rise to an altitude from which nothing could reduce it. (Cheers.)—Mr. Pease then thanked the assemblage for the kindness with which they had listened to him; and after offering some jocular remarks upon a statement that had gone forth, that he had but one speech for all occasions, and exposing the absurdity of the imputation, concluded amidst the reiterated cheers of the crowd by declaring it was his firm purpose, if he were blessed with life and strength, to do

his best to serve them and the country—an Angel could do no more!

CARMARTHENSHIRE JUSTICE-OF-PEACE WORK.

(From the Morning Chronicle of 6. November.)

THE people of England are grievously mistaken, if they suppose that they can obtain the blessing of good Government and a fair and impartial administration, of justice throughout the country, without many a hard struggle. The Tories are united and powerful. They are, of course, no match for the people when the people pull together. But the moment the people relax, the Tories are ready for mischief. The Tories, yet have nearly the whole working of the administration. The lord-lieutenants are nearly all Tories; and the magistracy throughout all the country are nearly all the creatures of the Tory lord-lieutenants. These magistrates have, as every one knows, great power to annoy and persecute; and woe betide the honest man who at the last election agitation made himself conspicuous in promoting the return of reform candidates. In some places the magistrates proceed to most disgraceful lengths in wreaking their vengeance on those who are opposed to the return of Tory candidates.

A strong proof of the truth of these remarks has been recently furnished in the borough of Carmarthen. That borough has been thrown into a state of great excitement by the commitment to prison of George Thomas, Esq., one of its most respectable inhabitants; an attorney who has the largest practice, and is possessed of a large property independently of his profession.

On the last charter day, as our readers may remember, there were riots in Carmarthen. The next day Mr. Thomas was arrested, and liberated for fourteen days, on finding bail himself for 1,000*l.* and two sureties for 500*l.* each. At the expiration of that term, he was put in prison, and bail refused, though tendered to any amount. Mr. Thomas was obliged to apply to the Court of King's Bench, and the Judge (Mr. Justice Pat-

tison) on Saturday week, stated, "he never heard of a more gross case, and could not conceive how any justices could commit a respectable gentleman to prison for feloniously demolishing a house, when it appeared on the statement of the witnesses for the prosecution, that all the damage was done before he got there." The riot was made a handle of to arrest this gentleman, allowed by his very Tories enemies to be an honourable and most upright man. He was committed for felony, in riotously assembling with divers other evil-deposed persons, and with force beginning to demolish and pull down the dwelling-house of one John Davies. This man, John Davies, had fired two pistols, and wounded a boy without any provocation, in consequence of which outrage his windows were broken by the incensed populace, a full hour before Mr. Thomas went to the house for the purpose of apprehending him. Davies, the perpetrator of this outrage, is suffered to go at large, and the gentleman who interfered to bring him to justice is treated as a felon?

And now for the motive for this flagrant departure from justice. The real crime of Mr. Thomas is the having called and taken the lead in the numerous public meetings which have taken place in that spirited town, and in the county of the same name, in favour of the Reform Bill, and the having, by his talents, perseverance, and popularity, been mainly instrumental in securing beyond a doubt the return to the new Parliament of excellent reformers for both the borough and county; but, above all, the having counselled John Jones, Esq., the present Tory member, to pledge himself to vote for the Reform Bill in all its stages, without which he had no chance of securing his election.

In an address to the electors of the county of Carmarthen, and of the united burghs of Carmarthen and Llanelly, dated the 2d of November, Mr. Thomas thus expresses himself:

"Electors of Carmarthenshire—I charge the Hon. Col. Trevor with sanctioning or conniving at the pro-

"ceedings against me. I can prove
 "that the staff of the militia *commanded*
 "by him, were examined at *his com-*
 "*mittee-room*, and it is well known
 "that three of the justices elected last
 "charter day are officers of his staff,
 "and that the mayor and the others are
 "strenuous supporters of his preten-
 "sions to represent you in Parliament.
 "The gallant Colonel may *affect* to
 "treat this charge with contempt; but
 "until he disclaims it, I will repeat it
 "incessantly, and beard him at the
 "hustings. Recollect that all the votes
 "of the hon. Colonel during his parlia-
 "mentary life for ten years were uni-
 "formly against the public welfare—
 "that he opposed the repeal of the
 "salt-tax, working-horse-tax, and all
 "other taxes—that he opposed the re-
 "peal of the test-act, and every other
 "measure for extending the rights of
 "conscience to dissenters of all classes
 "—that he and his noble father have
 "used all their influence to prevent the
 "erection of dissenting chapels, and
 "annoy dissenters—that Mr. Daniel
 "Prytherch, the chairman of his central
 "committee, has written the insolent
 "letter to your landlords, urging them
 "to *compel* you to vote for the enemy
 "of your rights and liberties.

"Electors of Carmarthen and Llanelly
 "—To prove that the *present* Member
 "for Carmarthen is the prime instigator
 "of the charges against me, would be
 "to insult your understandings. The
 "mayor and six justices are notoriously
 "appointed *by him*; and I challenge
 "them to deny that they have consulted
 "him upon their recent proceedings.
 "The votes of this political weather-
 "cock *against* reform last year, his sub-
 "sequent hypocritical and compulsory
 "votes in favour of that great measure
 "—his tyrannous indictments, warrants,
 "and committals, are fresh in your
 "memory. He has now thrown off
 "even the *mask of reform*, and sup-
 "ports with all his might the *consistent*
 "anti-reformer, Trevor."

One purpose was answered by the
 kidnapping of Mr. Thomas. He had
 been appointed by the reform candi-
 dates for the borough and county to

travel with the registering barristers on
 their circuit, and support the objections
 to the Tory voters.

"To my particular care (he says) was
 "confided the objections which I *sug-*
 "*gested* to the Laugharne and Saint
 "Clears burgesses in the interest of
 "Colonel Trevor and Sir James—the
 "notices were given by me, and previ-
 "ous to my detention here, I had pre-
 "pared myself with authorities and
 "cases to argue the objections, which I
 "was obliged to hand to a professional
 "friend, who, in consequence, obtained
 "some share of the credit which would
 "otherwise have been mine exclusively.
 "The result, I am happy to add, is,
 "that not fewer than *fifty-one voters* of
 "the above class have been lost to the
 "Tory candidate, besides many others
 "who have been disfranchised by my
 "*sole suggestion*. This is the 'head
 "and front of my offending.'"

The *Welshman* of October 26, in
 commenting on this strange arrest, ob-
 serves:

"The sensation produced in this
 town by the commitment to prison on
 "a *charge of felony*, of our truly re-
 "spected townsman, G. Thomas, Esq.,
 "is indescribable. But one feeling op-
 "erates, and one sentiment expressed,
 "relative to the harsh measures adopt-
 "ed by our authorities against a
 "most active and useful member of
 "society. Last week, at the very time
 "that he was engaged, with his well-
 "known ability, urging and substanti-
 "ating objections to the claims of
 "Tories to the elective franchise, the
 "magistrates were assembled in the
 "committee-room of the Tory candi-
 "date, hearing witnesses against him,
 "and such witnesses, too, if our in-
 "formation as to the individuals be
 "correct, as we would not pollute our
 "columns by characterising. Who
 "these witnesses are is left to mere
 "conjecture to discover; and even what
 "they have deposed against him is cau-
 "tiously concealed. No opportunity
 "was afforded him of bringing forward
 "counter-testimony, with which, of
 "the most respectable kind, he is
 "abundantly furnished; and yet, by

"means like this, is a gentleman of
 "the first standing in his profession,
 "and the father of eleven children,
 "dragged from his home, and immured
 "in a filthy prison! We admit that
 "the Tory cause will be benefited by
 "the proceeding; as his extensive legal
 "knowledge would have thinned the
 "ranks of the supporters of this party,
 "had bail to any amount been ac-
 "cepted, and he been allowed to ac-
 "company the barristers now on this
 "circuit to settle the franchise. Public
 "disapprobation of the severity of those
 "measures has been expressed during
 "the week in many ways, one of which
 "meets our entire approbation. A me-
 "morial, signed by almost every re-
 "spectable person in the town, has
 "been forwarded to Lord Melbourne,
 "praying the Government to institute
 "an investigation into all facts con-
 "nected with and resulting from the
 "riots. In this step we entirely concur,
 "as we have no doubt that it will receive
 "suitable attention, and that justice
 "will be thereby fully attained. The
 "cause of the corporation party and
 "their members is completely ruined;
 "almost every independent man in the
 "town, who heretofore supported Mr.
 "Jones, has voluntarily joined the
 "liberal party; and thus we have strong
 "grounds for hoping that we will be
 "spared the evils of a contested election.
 "The majority of our popular candi-
 "date, the Honourable W. H. Yelver-
 "ton, is immense, and his return of
 "course unquestionable. It is some
 "satisfaction to witness good thus
 "issuing from evil."

The same paper of Friday last gives
 an account of the rejoicings in Carmar-
 then at the liberation of Mr. Thomas
 and a Mr. Henry Moss from prison.

"Did we not (says the *Welshman*)
 "so deeply participate in them, we
 "could have envied the feelings of
 "these gentlemen on yesterday morn-
 "ing, when, surrounded by all the re-
 "spectability, and nine-tenths of the
 "population of Carmarthen, assembled
 "without notice or design, they left the
 "walls of a prison, and were once more
 "restored to the embraces of their re-

spective families, and the comforts of
 "their own fire-sides. The history of
 "Carmarthen presents not so illustri-
 "ous an instance of popular feeling
 "spontaneously excited, and bursting
 "forth in such perfect and general
 "unanimity; and the occasion furnished
 "these much-esteemed gentlemen a
 "rich reward for all the inconvenience
 "and annoyance they may have suffered
 "from the puny despotism of their ma-
 "levolent persecutors. As it was ge-
 "nerally known that application had
 "been made to the Court of King's
 "Bench to receive bail, and that the
 "case would be heard on Tuesday, a
 "large number of persons met together
 "in Spilman-street, on the following
 "night, awaiting the arrival of the
 "London coaches. Their hopes and
 "expectations were both realized, the
 "news arrived, and was quickly com-
 "municated, that bail was accepted,
 "and that the prisoners would be libe-
 "rated, as soon as some necessary forms
 "could be gone through; these, how-
 "ever it was understood, would cause a
 "delay of nearly forty-eight hours. Not-
 "withstanding this, on the following
 "(Thursday) morning, crowds from all
 "quarters were seen hastening towards
 "the prison; women carrying *sawdust*
 "with which to sprinkle the streets;
 "boys and men with laurel branches,
 "some of which they had already twined
 "into arches, or suspended over the
 "street from opposite windows; gen-
 "tlemen with expressions of honest joy
 "and exultation, hurrying to the scene
 "to congratulate the prisoners, and to
 "accompany them home."

The Hon. Colonel Trevor and John
 Jones, Esq., have fallen into the pit,
 which, through the instrumentality of
 the magistrates their creatures they
 had dug for Mr. Thomas. But what a
 state of things is that which we have
 unfolded! And though the magistracy
 may not everywhere be disposed to pro-
 ceed to such extremities in furtherance
 of Tory interests as in this case, yet
 they are everywhere opposed to the
 people, and possess this enormous power
 of harassing and persecuting all those
 who support the people. There does

not appear to be anything like a speedy prospect of the nation's acquiring better lord-lieutenants and better magistrates. We may thus prepare ourselves for years to see the people arrayed on one side, and all who possess power and authority arrayed on the other. The feeling of bitterness of the Tories at this time is inconceivable.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOV. 9, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DENNIS, R., West Ham, Essex, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BAGLEY, J., Liverpool, haberdasher.
BOUCAUT, J., Albany-road, Camberwell, merchant.
BRUNTON, J., Southwick, Durham, ship-builder.
CARLOW, J., Birmingham, silk-mercier.
FIELD, A., All Saints, Canterbury, innkeeper.
FLORANCE, W., Corfe-Castle, Dorsetshire, surgeon.
FOSTER, E., Huddersfield, carver.
JACKSON, R. and M., George-st., Minorities, wine-merchants.
LANE, W. and S., Manchester, ironmongers.
LOCKINGTON, C., John-street, Oxford-st., oilman.
MOSS, J., Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road, shoemaker.
NORTON, S. D., Watney-street, Commercial-road, licensed victualler.
PAUL, J., Exeter-street, Sloane-st., furniture-broker.
PIKE, H., Aylesham, Norfolk, money-scrivener.
SEARS, M. U., Charterhouse-sq., engraver.
SIMPSON, W. and T., Leather-lane, Holborn, builders.
TAYLOR, T., Egham, Surrey, tallow-chandler.
UDALL, J., Islington, carpet-warehouseman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

KAY, J., Blenheim-place, Edinburgh, book-seller.

TUESDAY, NOV. 13, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

ESCUDIER, J., Albemarle-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.

HEILBRONN, I., Basinghall-st., merchant.
SIKES, S. G., Almondbury, Yorkshire, banker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COCKRILL, W., East Butterwick, Lincolnshire, corn-factor.

BANKRUPTS.

BURRELL, S., St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, linen-draper.
PEACHEY, J., Regent-street, ironmonger.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOV. 12.—Having a very moderate supply of wheat during last week, and there being a demand on Friday for shipping to Yorkshire, what then appeared of fine quality was readily disposed of at an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per qr., but notwithstanding the smallness of the supply this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, the trade was not so brisk as on Friday, and although a few superfine samples were sold at that day's improvement, no advance can be quoted on the general runs from the above counties. Fine old wheat is from 1s. to 2s. per qr. dearer, but the sales made at that advance were only to a limited extent.

Fine malting barley being scarce and in demand, is 1s. per qr. dearer, and the little that appeared of the stained sorts fully supported last Monday's prices.

Notwithstanding the immense arrivals of oats, there was not that depression in the trade which might have been expected from a continuance of such large supplies; for, at an abatement of 6d. per qr., extensive sales were made.

In beans and peas there was no alteration.

Wheat	56s. to 62s.
Rye	33s. to 35s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	40s. to 43s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 36s.
— Tick	30s. to 32s.

Oats, Potato..... 20s. to 21s.
 — Feed 16s. to 20s.
 Flour, per sack 50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 48s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new... 50s. to 53s.
 Pork, India, new.... 130s. 0d. to —s.
 — Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barrel
 Butter, Belfast 84s. to 86s. per cwt.
 — Carlow 80s. to 90s.
 — Cork 82s. to 84s.
 — Limerick .. 82s. to 84s.
 — Waterford.. 78s. to 84s.
 — Dublin 78s. to 80s.
 Cheese, Cheshire... 56s. to 90s.
 — Gloucester, Double.. 50s. to 60s.
 — Gloucester, Single.. 44s. to 50s.
 — Edam —s. to —s.
 — Gouda —s. to —s.
 Hams, Irish..... 55s. to 66s.

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 12.

This day's supply of beasts, though not so great as that of this day se'nnight, was numerous; but, as is usual at this time of year, on account of its being the practice with graziers to clear their land, by sending them to market, of those fleshy steers, &c. that are not likely to pay for being taken in to the close or stall,—in great part of middling and inferior quality; of sheep, calves, and porkers, but limited. Prime beef, and prime small mutton sold, though tardily, in some instances, at an advance of 2d.; but with other kinds of meat the trade was very dull; with veal at a depression of full 2d. per stone; with middling and inferior beef and mutton, as also pork, at Friday's quotations.

About one-third of the beasts were short-horns, chiefly half-fat steers, cows, and heifers, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; and the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welch runts, and small Irish beasts, from the same and our western and midland districts; with about 200 Town's-end cows, and a few Scots, Staffords, Sussex beasts, &c., from sundry quarters.

Full three-fifths of the sheep were new Leicesters, from the South Downs, or Hereford

crosses; about one-fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breeds, old Leicesters, and Lincolns; with a few polled and horned Norfolks, horned Dorsets, Aberdeens, &c.

Beasts, 3,001; sheep, 17,560; calves, 230; pigs, 139.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 16.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

} per Cent.	} Fri.	} Sat.	} Mon.	} Tues.	} Wed.	} Thur.
Cons. Ann.	} 83½	} 83½	} 83½	} 83½	} 83½	} 83½

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

BEg to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY. *

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, o. Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats		16	0
Figured ditto ditto		18	0
Valencia ditto		12	0
Barogan Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.
WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND.

No. VI.

Oldham, 16. November, 1832.

IN the last number, at page 416, I mentioned that I must postpone, until the present number, my account of the county of DUMFRIES, across which we go from Ayrshire to get into Cumberland. Dumfriesshire is much about like Ayrshire in point of land and productions; it is hilly occasionally, and has some fine farms on the flats, some of which are large; but generally they are small; the cottages numerous, built of stone, and made white by white-washing, which gives a very pretty appearance to the country, though there are, generally speaking, very few trees. We cross several very pretty rivers; the orchards are by no means bad, and the apple-trees very clean; the land is moory, and affords peat in several instances; a large part of the land is in pasture; dairy work and the fatting of hogs seem to be the principal uses of the land. The hogs are of the white lop-eared breed. Hams, bacon, and butter, are the principal products of the county. The woods are very fine in some parts, especially from SANGUHAN to THORNHILL, which consists, in great part, of the estate of the Duke of Buccleugh. I suppose that Dr. JOHNSON did not travel this way, for here is a beautiful river, and immense woods on both sides of it for nine or ten miles at the least; this river, which is called the NITH, goes all the way to the town of DUMFRIES; and after dividing Dum-

friesshire from Kirkcudbrightshire for a few miles, falls into the SOLWAY FIRTH, which my printers always print FAITH, they being more learned than I am, and more profoundly skilled in etymology. Leaving them (as indeed I must) to stick to their taste, I get on to the town of DUMFRIES, leaving at a great distance to my left the lofty hills, celebrated by BURNS, now crowned with snow, while the valleys below are covered with grass and dairies of fine cows.

From DUMFRIES to the town of ANNAN (sixteen miles), is a very fine farming country; here and there a peat-moor, with large stacks of peat; that being the fuel of the country, and it being exceedingly good fuel, a man telling me that it boiled a pot quicker than coals, and produced less ashes. Here the cattle are the Galloway breed, and the dairies are very numerous. Fine large valleys of corn-fields; hanging woods on the sides of the hills like those of Surrey; sometimes hills consisting partly of furze, and partly of broom, with a good deal of grass land between them; the cottages very numerous, and the people, particularly the children, looking very well. At eight miles from DUMFRIES, the SOLWAY FIRTH, with the sun shining beautifully upon it, presents itself to our right. Here we go through a long scattering village, which it would drive BROUGHAM and MALTHUS half-mad to behold; for, here the *little Scotchies* seem absolutely to swarm. What is to be done to prevent these Scotch women from breeding? Nothing short of "*clearing the estates*" A LA SUTHERLAND; a mode of proceeding so much eulogised by the ignorant and brutal scoundrels of the *Edinburgh Review*, and by their London echo, Dr. BLACK. At thirteen miles from DUMFRIES we come to an estate, where something in the "*clearing way*" appears to have been put in practice, some years ago, by the Marquis of QUEENSBERRY, who is, it seems, the principal lord of this beautiful country called

ANNANDALE; and who, having seen some remarks published respecting his "clearing" works, published in the *Carlisle Journal*, prosecuted the editor, criminally, and got him *fined and imprisoned*! Well, then, the account of the "clearing" was libellous, I suppose; but, though libellous, it might be *true*; for, the truth could not be given in evidence to justify the publication. Now, I should like to have the report of that trial and the account of that sentence, which would give me some account of the clearing work; and would enable me to get at *positive evidence* respecting the "clearing" work, of which the miscreant *Edinburgh Review* has been the eulogist. I am determined, if I be in Parliament, that this question of ABSOLUTE RIGHT to exclusive proprietorship of land, shall be brought to the test and be submitted to a solemn decision. It is to establish this absolute and exclusive right, that all the monsters, who are endeavouring to destroy the POOR-LAW, are labouring; and, if we do not beat the monsters at this game; if we do not teach them to repent of the hour, or rather teach the greedy and insolent tyrants who employ them, to repent of the hour when they attempted to establish this ABSOLUTE RIGHT on which they proceeded to clear the lands: if we do not teach them to repent of this; if we do not teach them that the doctrine which gives all men a common right in the land; if we do not teach them that this doctrine, though it implies a total destruction of civil society; if we do not teach them that this doctrine, horribly unjust as it is, is still *less unjust* than the doctrine which says that a man has NO RIGHT to be upon, and to have a living out of, the land of his birth; if we do not teach them this, and make them give way in time, events will teach it them with a vengeance.

At about four miles from ANNAN, we leave the famous parish of GREYNA, about a mile to our left, a spot so dear, doubtless, to the "jealous" WAKEFIELD, who, with brass of extraordinary thickness, is now writing and publish-

ing pamphlets, describing the innumerable hordes of villains said by him to be assembled in London, and insisting on vigorous measures to keep the "lower orders" in subjection. We have now fine land and fine farming, fine dairies, and everything fine, with here and there a piece of moor and peat land, all the way to the river that divides Cumberland from the county of DUMFRIES. At ANNAN we were very hospitably received, and met several gentlemen of the town, at breakfast, at the house of Mr. NELSON. At noon I lectured at the Assembly Room to a very respectable audience, and thus took my farewell of lecturing in Scotland. At the end of ten miles, or thereabouts, we pass over the river Esk, over a very fine bridge, into Cumberland, having about seven miles still to go to reach CARLISLE.

It is curious that, the moment we get into England, at this point, all becomes sterile and ugly, and continues on heathy and moory, for several miles; so that one would think, that it was England and not Scotland, that is the beggarly country. The land, however, soon begins to be inclosed and to be better in quality. Sir JAMES GRAHAM, he of the bright sword, has his estate lying off this road to the left. He has not been clearing his estate: the poor-law would not let him do that; but, he has been clearing off the small farms, and making them into large ones, which he had a right to do; because it is he himself that is finally to endure the consequence of that: he has a right to do that; and those who are made indigent in consequence of his so doing, have a right to demand a maintenance out of the land, according to the act of the 43rd of ELIZABETH, which gave the people a COMPENSATION for the loss of the tithes and church lands, which had been taken away by the aristocracy in the reigns of the TUDORS. This is all right; but it is not right to command a man to come out, and submit to military discipline, and to risk his life in defence of his country, and then tell him, that he has no right to be upon, and have a maintenance out of,

the lands of that country; and, this is what Englishmen *shall not be told!* They shall not be told this, say the knight of the bright sword, and the execrable "*feelosofers*" of EDINBURGH just what they please about the matter. If Sir JAMES GRAHAM choose to mould his fine and large estate into immense farms, and to break up numerous happy families, in the middle rank of life, and to expose them all to the necessity of coming and demanding sustenance from his estate; if he choose to be surrounded by masses of persons in this state, he shall not call them "*paupers*;" for that insolent term, which the tyrants make use of, is not to be found in the compensation-laws of ELIZABETH; if he choose to be surrounded with swarms of beings of this description, with feelings in their bosoms towards him, such as I need not describe; if he choose this, his RIGHT certainly extends thus far; but, I tell him, that he has no right to say to any men, born in his parishes: "You shall not BE here, "and you shall not have a maintenance "off these lands."

Along through lands not very well cultivated, we come to the city of CARLISLE, a very nice place, very good streets, and here we see the first brick buildings that we have seen since we left NEWCASTLE, which suggests the remark, that, countries abounding in stone have a vast advantage over those which are compelled to resort to the brick. The fences against roads, and between fields, are here so easily made and are so permanent, buildings are so cheaply raised and so lasting; yet, as if these natural advantages were not sufficient of themselves, our wise and just Government has used its power to make the comparative advantage greater by laying an enormous tax on the countries not provided with stone, in which countries they make the people *pay for turning their earth into building materials!* Oh, God! *It is time:* it really is time, that we had a *thorough change!*

The cathedral of CARLISLE, is, as in all other cases, the most magnificent pile in the county; but while it is quite sufficient to prove to the people of Cum-

berland, that their forefathers were giants in intellect as well as in moral and political wisdom, compared with those who pretend that those forefathers were a sort of beggarly savages, it is not, in point of magnificence, equal to several other of the structures of this name in England. The castle is a very large and lofty pile, now used for the purpose of one of those great modern improvements, commonly called *batracks*, which BLACKSTONE says, "are things "held in abhorrence by the laws and "constitution of England." Upon the top of the castle has been recently erected a sort of shed for the purpose of placing musketry, in a situation to *shoot up the streets if necessary.* CARLISLE has a very fine market for produce of all sorts. It was *Martinmas* the morning that I was coming out of the city, and the streets were all crowded with farm servants, who were there for the purpose of hiring; and, a more pleasant sight I had not seen for a very great while. Innumerable carts in the streets, all ranged nicely in rows, loaded with various things, especially small pigs and poultry; and, which I admired very much, with a barred frame over the top of each cart, and with a door in it, to take out the poultry or other things. Upon the whole, this city is a most respectable and pleasant place, and is surrounded by meadows, woods, and gardens, of a very delightful description, to which I ought to add, that the city was not rendered less agreeable to me by the kind entertainment which I experienced at the house of a very cordial friend, and by the conversation of many as sound and intelligent men as I have met with in the whole course of my journey.

PENRITH, also in Cumberland, observe, and just upon the edge of Westmoreland, was my next place for stopping to lecture on Saturday, the 10. of November. The distance from CARLISLE to PENRITH, is eighteen miles. The country is a good plain farming country; the farms not large, and barns for thrashing with the flail; the cornstacks made very nicely; the farmhouses small; the cottages numerous,

with nice gardens about them ; in all these gardens *privies* ; and to every one a pig-stye ; many orchards of different sizes, and the trees looking exceedingly clean and well ; coal not nearer than twenty miles, for the greater part of this road. A good deal of fine oak woods ; a peat moor here and there ; much of the land pasture ; the farming consisting in great part of dairy ; stone walls on both sides of the road of reddish stone ; turnips fine, but not so fine as in Scotland ; the cows large and bony, and generally white nearly all over, but a good many of the GALLOWAY cows, which are said to be very good milkers ; white large lop-eared hogs, and I have seen none of any other sort (except in a sort of styes near PAISLEY), all the way from Northamptonshire to the FIRTH OF FORTH and the FIRTH OF CLYDE ; which is a certain proof, that, all things taken together, they must be the best sort for the farmer. The chief articles of produce in Cumberland, are *bacon*, *hams*, and *butter*, which are sent to MANCHESTER, to LONDON, and to other great town in the South. All these articles are very well known in London, under the names of *Cumberland hams*, *bacon*, and *butter*, though a great part of them comes from Westmoreland and Dumfriesshire ; and it is curious enough that, while they make "*Dunlop-cheese*" in *Cumberland*, the Scotch return the compliment by making "*Lancashire-cheese*" in Dumfriesshire, and plenty of "*Cumberland-hams*" in two or three of the Scotch counties on the border. This is not so bad as the affair of the "*STILTON-CHEESE* ;" not one ounce of which, as they told me when I was in Lincolnshire, was ever made at STILTON.

PENRITH is a very nice little old town, solid as the hills themselves ; the door-frames and window-frames made of the red stone, just like those of CREWKERNE in Somersetshire ; here the soil is just like that, and, curious to observe, here the apple-trees grow as well as in Somersetshire. The land-owners are very numerous in Cumberland ; the farms generally small ; dairies prevail everywhere ; the people look very nice and

clean ; and this town itself, being much such another, is equal in neatness to that of GODALMING, in Surrey.

After lecturing to a most respectable audience at PENRITH, on the Saturday night, I came off in a post-chaise, on the Sunday morning to sleep at APPLEBY, in Westmoreland, and to stop and dine with a very considerable farmer (Mr. CROSSBY) at KIRKBY LONSDALE, a very fine village, about seven or eight miles from PENRITH. Immediately after quitting PENRITH, we cross the river EMONT, which is a branch of the EDEN, and which EDEN goes down to CARLISLE. Just by the side of the road there are some new cottages, erected for the purpose of giving the "*feelosofers*" the right to vote for BROUGHAM, at his contested election with the LONSDALES ; at a step from this is the famous "*BROUGHAM-HALL*," till lately called the "*Bird's-nest*," and of which I made sufficient mention in my last *Register*, at page 420. After this came something serious ; namely, my Lord THANET's estate, stretching out a great width on both sides of the road, for miles of that road, and consisting of a tract of very fine farming land, divided into farms of a moderate size. The turnips very good, and cultivated in the Scotch fashion ; but fed off by sheep *upon the ground*, which is not done in Scotland. The sheep are not managed here so well as they manage this matter in the South. You see here a couple of hundred of sheep, with two or three, or four acres of turnips given to them at a time, whereas we give them only as much at once as they can eat in the twelve hours, and we do not put them in such large flocks when we put them to fat ; so that, by their having the food a little at a time, they eat up clean, eat more, and fatten faster. Then we peck up the bottoms, and the sheep go over them at their pleasure ; and, finally, nearly the whole is eaten up clean. The reason for this wasteful mode of using the turnips, appears to be the want of hurdles, or wattles, to make the divisions with ; and this want arises from the want of coppices and hedge-rows. The divisions here are made by *cords* formed

into nets, which are at once expensive, and tedious in the use. Here the fences are principally of stone, which are much more cheaply kept up than hedges; and therefore no underwood is grown; and this is the principal cause of this unprofitable manner of using the turnips.

The country continues on of this plain farming and dairy description, till we get to KIRKBY LONSDALE, which is a very pretty neat village, at which I learnt something which would be very useful to communicate to the King's servants, if anything having sense in it could be made to enter into the minds of men everlastingly bawling about "*surplus population*," and about "*lessening the weight of the poor-rates*." BROUGHAM's grand puffer, "the GREAT LIAR OF THE NORTH," NED BAINES, publisher of that mass of lies and nonsense, called the "*Leeds Mercury*," who has half a dozen sons and sons-in-law, surprisingly well qualified "*to serve his Majesty*," in any capacity to which a good lump of the public money is attached. This great lying puffer of BROUGHAM has just announced to his cracked-skulled readers of that clever, industrious, active, frank, zealous, but enthusiastic and quackering county, who has always taken care to have one member, at least, to do more mischief to public liberty than any other fifty members in the House of Commons; this swelled-up, greedy, and unprincipled puffer, who has been the deluder of Yorkshire for twenty years past, has just announced to his quack-ridden readers, "that Lord BROUGHAM's "poor-law commissioners, quickened, "most likely, in their operations, by "the fires in the South, have actually "visited sensible LEEDS in person, to "inspect the *management of the affairs of the poor*." As they are got so far North, let them go on into the county where BROUGHAM has a "*Bird's-nest*;" and let them pay a visit to Mr. CROSSBY, of KIRKBY LONSDALE, and they will soon learn from him how it is that the county of Westmoreland has to pay, in poor-rates only a TENTH part of the amount of its rental; while the county of Surrey pays a THIRD

part of the amount of the rental in poor-rates. Mr. CROSSBY will tell them why there is this difference in the two cases, and why, in Cumberland, the poor-rates amount to only one-TWELFTH of the rental; while in Hampshire they amount to a FOURTH of the rental. If BROUGHAM, instead of circulating trash, under the name of useful knowledge, were to read; I will not give him leave to *print it and sell it at his shop*; I forbid him to do this; and if he do it, I will move for an injunction to himself against himself; I will not run about whining and crying about his society's pirating upon me, and underselling me; I will punish his society if it pirate upon me; but if, I say, he will read (buying it first) the "*Statistical Account of England and Wales*," at pages 522 to 525 of my "*Geographical Dictionary of England and Wales*," containing a neat little map of each county, and containing a full account of all the ecclesiastical divisions, of all the new parliamentary divisions, &c.; if he will read this "*statistical table*," he will there see pretty nearly everything that he ought to understand, and well understand, upon these subjects, as far as the state of the several counties, one compared with another, is concerned. But he, and his band of "poor-law commissioners," who will *cost more annually than the annual amount of the whole of the poor-rates of the county of Westmoreland*, must go to Mr. CROSSBY, of KIRKBY LONSDALE, to know why the poor-rates are only a TENTH of the rental in Westmoreland, while they are a THIRD of the rental in Sussex. Mr. CROSSBY will tell them, if they go to ask him, how they are to diminish the amount of the poor-rates, and how to prevent stack-burning in future; to begin by treating the labourers better than they are now treated; by *keeping the young men, young women, the boys and the girls, in the farm-houses*, as was formerly the case all over England; by giving a young man from *fourteen to seventeen pounds a year wages, with board and lodging in the house*, with table-cloth and knife, fork and plate, laid for him, twice in the day, with bread and cheese for supper,

and with beer to drink with his meals. Mr. CROSSBY will tell them, not to bother him about their "*surplus-population men*," and with the infernal nonsense of PETER THIMBLE and Lord Howick, but to pay the young women, and the boys and girls, in the same proportion, and to keep them in the same manner. And with regard to the married labourers, Mr. CROSSBY will tell them, to cause them to have *seven shillings a week* (and more in the South), in money, and *board in the farm-house besides*, along with the yearly servants; that is to say, when they are at *day-work*; and, when at *job-work*, leave them to board themselves. This is what he will tell them; and he will tell them, that this is what is done in Westmoreland, and in Cumberland too, and also in the greater part of Northumberland, in which last county the poor-rates are only a TWELFTH of the rental, as they are in Cumberland. Mr. CROSSBY, who is a banker as well as a farmer, a man of great knowledge as to all these matters, will tell them, that the young people thus brought up under their natural directors, are moral, and well-behaved; that, having wages so suitable to their usefulness, both men and maids, save money before they be married; and that, a great proportion of the farms being small, a considerable portion of them become farmers themselves upon marrying and quitting their servitude. He will tell them, that hen-roosts can remain unrobbed in Westmoreland and Cumberland; and, if he had all the land-owners and farmers of the South before him, Mr. CROSSBY, after telling them all this, would say, "*Go you and do likewise.*"

The treatment of the labourers in Westmoreland and Cumberland, was the treatment of the labourers all over England, before the Scotch nobility urged the sharking landlords of England to *throw farms together*, and to bring up infernal Scotch "*feelosofers*," and scourging Scotch bailiffs to introduce the damnable "*boothie*" system into England. Ever since that system began; and stupid and greedy COKE of Norfolk was the beginning of it; ever

since that system was begun, there has been *war* between the labourers of England and the owners and occupiers of the land. The former had obtained a security against this species of oppression, when they compelled the Parliament of ELIZABETH to pass the POOR-LAW, by which they obtained a *compensation* for the loss of that patrimony; for the loss of that share of the produce of the lands, which they had in the *tithes and in the church estates*. Mark, and never leave out of mind, that the POOR-LAW of ELIZABETH gave them a compensation, for the *tithes and church lands which the aristocracy had taken away from them*. Let this *always be borne in mind!*

By various acts of the late Parliaments, this compensation was, by degrees, craftily diminished, till, at last, came STURGES BOURNE's bills; came the alienation of the voices of the middle class in the vestries; came the "*select vestries*" with power to have "*HIRED OVERSEERS*;" came, in short, the power of the rich, almost to starve the necessitous at their pleasure, and to compel the labourers to work, in fact, for such wages as they chose to give them. Thus the compact between the land-holders and the labourers was broken; thus the latter were deprived of the compensation awarded by the act of ELIZABETH; and thus were the harmony and the happiness of the agricultural community in England destroyed. Hence all the turmoil; hence the sleepless nights to the farmer, and hence that farewell which he may bid to peace until the COMPENSATION be fully and fairly restored to the people. It must be restored; it shall be restored, or I will end my life in an endeavour to cause the restoration. The first step to be taken would be to *repeal STURGES BOURNE's bills*. But, instead of that, there was this Ministry, two years ago, putting *this very STURGES BOURNE* into a commission to try the rioting labourers; and here they are, now, again, with *this very same STURGES BOURNE*, in what they call, their "*poor-law commission!*" Here will I take my stand; whatever I have left of

labour in me shall be exerted till this object be accomplished, and until the young people be back again in the farm-houses ; to effect which latter, would not, with a wise and just Government, be more than the work of one single year. Here will I hold. If there be a God above, "and that "there is, all nature cries aloud in all "her works, he must delight in justice ;" and justice says, that it is most damnable tyranny, to say, or to do that which says, that a man ought to be called upon when necessary, to venture his life in defence of the land of his birth, and yet, that he has *no right to be upon, and to have a living out of*, that same land. This is my great point ; the best energies of my mind shall be directed towards its accomplishment, and I have the pleadings of reason, of justice, of human nature itself, so loudly on my side, that my efforts must be crowned with success. The question for the aristocracy to decide upon, is simply this : will they give way, and give up STURGES BOURNE's bills to be given with ; or will they not ? I will soon put them to the test ; and let them remember, that their decision will be *final*. The *Edinburgh Review*, that base creature of the Whig-faction, has just expressed its *alarm*, at the wild notions that some of the people seem to have, about a *general proprietorship in the land*, and about a *division of it amongst the whole of the community*. And, whence has this wild notion come ? Why, from the doctrines of the "*feelosofical*" villains, who have maintained the doctrine, of the *right* of the landowners to "*clear*" the land of the people ; or, which is the same thing, to deny them a sufficiency to live upon out of the produce of the land. Extremes meet, in this, as in all other cases ; and this doctrine, being such an outrageous insult to common sense and common humanity, men naturally rush on to the opposite extreme. I, for my part, have always deprecated the latter extreme ; but if at last we be compelled ; if the injustice of the landowners push us, to acknowledge their right of "*clearing*" the country of us, or compelling us to

starve amidst abundance raised by our own hands ; if they push us to this acknowledgment, or to insist upon our general right of participation, I am decidedly for the latter. Better, therefore, yield in time ; better repeal STURGES BOURNE's bills to begin with, and let us once more see lords and gentlemen beloved by the common people ; once more see happy cottages, cheerful farm-houses, and farmers able to go to sleep without starting every moment at the thought of fires.

Leaving BROUGHAM to give his nose a sarcastic twist at this, and leaving Lord GREY, pointing it out to his enlightened son with his finger, to draw up his nose and affect a smile of contempt at it ; leaving STURGES BOURNE, HARRY GAWLER, SENIOR (wise HARRY DRUMMOND's "*feelosofier*"), COULSTON the *reporter*, and TAIT, all the "*right trusty and well-beloved*" of the King ; leaving the group to look at it *very seriously* ; trembling for the duration of their office (and especially for their *salaries*) at the same time ; leaving all these to act thus, or in any other manner that they please, I now proceed with my journey, and come on, after lining at KIRKBY LONSDALE, to sleep at the borough of APPLEBY, which is *very* beautifully situated, with a pretty river running through it ; everything pleasant to the eye ; but, as is well known, politically rotten as a pear. From APPLEBY (on the Monday morning), to a little old-fashioned town called BROUGH, which has the ruins of a castle close to it, belonging to Lord THANET, we found the land to consist of small pasture farms, many of which are owned by the occupiers ; great numbers of cows, and also of sheep, some black-faced Highlanders and some of the CHEVIOT-BREED. From BROUGH to within a mile of BARNARD-CASTLE, which stands close on the Durham side of the river TEES, we went over a tract of land nearer to the barrenness of the Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire, heaths, than any spot that I have seen since I left London, except a small tract behind the hills at the back of GREENOCK. It is all an uninclosed common, partly rock, partly

rushes, and partly grass. We now-and-then came to a spot where there were fields inclosed, and little farms; the cows looking very well; and, even in the most barren parts, there were great numbers of the black-faced sheep, and they are all looking well. Upon a high hill which we went over, the ground on each side was more than half covered with rocks; yet there were sheep picking about amongst these; and, here and there, there were little farm-houses barren as all appeared to be, there were more people upon a square mile than in the rich counties of the Lothians! When we approached near to any of these little farms, we saw nice little cow-houses and stacks of hay, or of rushes, the cows looking very well, and the people all well dressed and good looking. When we were upon the highest ground of all, which was at the same time the most barren, and the most destitute of all human dwellings, lumps of unmelted snow lying here and there, not far from us we saw something red at a distance from us upon the road. As we approached this mass of sanguine hue, we perceived that it was moving towards us; and, as the post-boy rattled us along at a pretty good pace, we soon found that it was a knot of soldiers. We had just been looking about us, and observing how far we were from human dwelling; and, upon the sight of these defenders, I could not help exclaiming, "My God! they are everywhere! I saw them, but the other day, paraded before the court of justice while the judges were sitting at GLASGOW, and here they are again upon this wild and desolate hill." Coming up with them, we found that it was a very common-place concern: three of them only conducting a deserter towards CARLISLE. It put me in mind of poor GRIFFITH JENKINS, who had the strange fancy to enlist for a soldier, to run away, as he called it, and to get "whipped," when he had a good estate at the same time; and whose story must yet be told to this whole nation. A very large part of the lands all along here, does not exhibit real *sterling sterility*, like the barrens of Surrey, Hampshire,

and Berkshire, which consist of heath at the top, and of sand under it, which sand is quite fit to run through an hour-glass; and upon which grass will no more grow, than it will grow upon one of aristocratical WEDGWOOD'S plates. This is a country of rock; no chalk, no sand, and nothing that we, in the South, call clay. Here is peat sometimes under rushes and heath; but, everywhere, even to the tops of the hills, which are very lofty, there is more or less of sheep-feed; and the Highland sheep, which you see everywhere hereabouts, and which are certainly first-cousins to goats, climb about amongst these rocks, nibbling the grass, and looking very well even in the barrenest parts of this country; and, I dare say, that this country, which we have come over between BROUGH and BARNARD-CASTLE, is a full-blooded first-cousin of the Highlands of Scotland. The sheep, which they have here in the rather lower and better lands, are the CÆVIOIR sheep; very pretty short-wooled sheep, with white legs and faces and no horns. They fat to a greater weight than the South-down sheep; great numbers of them go into the North and West-Ridings of Yorkshire, where they raise lamb from the ewes; for which purpose they told me they were excellent. They are sold at the fairs, in June, at fifteen months old, at from fifteen to eighteen shillings a piece, present prices.

About a mile before we got down to the river TEES we looked over into the county of Durham, which is, here, very beautiful, presenting a most striking contrast with the open, hilly, rocky, and treeless country that we had just passed over. During this mile, I beheld with delight the small dairy farms very thickly scattered about on both sides of the road; there appearing to be more human beings upon a square mile here, than in the whole of the rich county of HADDINGTON, the town of HADDINGTON itself excepted. Some few miles before we get to BARNARD-CASTLE we are in Yorkshire, a strip of which runs up on the side of the TEES, and cuts off Westmoreland from that river.

BARNARD-CASTLE is a good solid old

market-town, with some little matter of manufactories ; but the TEES, though at some seasons a large river, is at others almost destitute of water, and, therefore, it is not navigable. The castle itself, which is still of considerable magnitude, and has an extensive inclosure about it, with very lofty walls, is, they told us, the property of the Marquis of CLEVELAND, who was lately the Earl of DARLINGTON, and who used to be said to put BROUGHAM into Parliament for WINCHELSEA. His Lordship is the owner of the *manor* of BARNARD-CASTLE, which I understand is very extensive. Now it is no harm for me to express my wish to know how he became the owner of this castle and this manor. I wish with all my soul that I did know it. Did he *purchase* them ? If he did, he can show the conveyance ; and, at any rate, they once belonged to the nation in one way or another. His predecessor had, I shall be told, a grant of them. Agreed, and I allow the title to be perfectly good ; but then I will not allow that any grantor, even if it were the whole nation giving their assent, man by man and woman by woman ; I will not allow, that even a grant thus made, would give him a *right* to “*clear*” the people off the land, or to refuse them a subsistence out of the produce of the land. If his Lordship ask why I make these observations, upon seeing his estate, let him ask his man BROUGHAM. It is he, who, by his impudent assertion, “*that he was ready to maintain the doctrines of MALTHUS to their full extent,*” that extent going to a total refusal of all relief to the poor ; it is he, and not I or any of the people of England, that has given rise to the starting of these ticklish questions. When the grant was made to the predecessor of this Marquis, there were the tithes of the manor, and the church lands of the manor, being the *patrimony* of the necessitous part of the people. The grant was necessarily made with that reservation ; the poor-law gives a *compensation* for the loss of the thing reserved ; STURGES BOURNE’s bills annihilate, in a great measure, that *compensation*. Now it would be wisdom in the Marquis of

CLEVELAND to inquire of his “*learned*” *protégé* what *answer* can be found out to these observations of mine. And, if sublime BROUGHAM, swelling with pride at the sight of his turret on the “*Bird’s-nest*,” should disdain to think of an answer, I do beseech his Lordship to think of it, and to think of it *in time*, too.

From BARNARD-CASTLE to DARLINGTON, all the way on the left bank of the TEES, is a very fine farming country, and the farms not very large ; the fields, in considerable proportion, pasture, and that pasture exceedingly good. Here we have Durham cows in great abundance, Durham cattle, young and old, and abundance of Durham oxen fatting ; hardly any turnips but the Swedish, and those prodigiously fine. There had been a fair at DARLINGTON, and amongst the things unsold were about a score of *West Highland heifers*, for which I bid money, but the dealer would not take my offer, or I would have had twenty little “*cookies*” at twenty cottages in Surrey, next spring, all giving milk, and every one of them telling her master, every day, that nothing but the Devil himself would ever deny him the *right* of having a living out of the land.

Having lectured at DARLINGTON that night, we set off for STOCKTON the next day, actually without seeing the country, being in a thick fog every step of the way. Here, at the theatre, I lectured in the evening to a very respectable and numerous audience, in the presence of whom I received an ADDRESS on the stage, which ADDRESS, by some means or other, I have so mislaid, that I cannot find it amongst my papers, for which I am very sorry, as it was a very neat piece of writing, and expressed sentiments highly honourable to me. As the gentlemen who presented it will doubtless have a copy, I request them to have the goodness to send it to me at *Bolt-court* with as little delay as possible. The next day, Wednesday, the 14. of November, at four o’clock in the afternoon, we got to BRADFORD, in Yorkshire, travelling in a post-chaise all the way, and coming through a very

fine farming country, in the North Riding, by the way of the TONTINE Inn and the towns of THIRSK, BOROUGH-BRIDGE, WETHERBY, and LEEDS, seventy-two miles in the nine hours; and leaving *sensible* LEEDS behind us to settle the important point whether it were most patriotic to elect a *nominee of the Duke of NEWCASTLE*, or to choose a pocketeer of the taxes, who has also a father and a brother pocketing in the same way.

From BRADFORD, where there was a numerous audience at a lecture, we came on to TODMORDEN, where we dined, and took up, as fellow-travellers, two Yorkshire cocks and four Yorkshire hens, trusting that they will be less fanatical, crack-brained, and quackering, than the fine and opulent and ever-varying beautiful county where they were born. After dining at TODMORDEN, we came to ROCHDALE, in Lancashire, and there I lectured upon the "*church reform*" which the wise Ministers are said to have in contemplation; and this morning (the 16. of November), here I am, writing at OLDHAM, and communicating to my intended constituents the kind respects and earnest exhortations of our friends in Scotland.

*Daventry (Northamptonshire),
21. Nov. 1832.*

At OLDHAM I found that all was settled to my perfect satisfaction. After writing in the morning, making a speech out of doors at noon, and another in the evening, by candle-light, I set off in a post-coach for MANCHESTER; slept there that night; met the electors, and addressed them in the Riding-school the next evening, which was Saturday; came to BIRMINGHAM by the coach, on Sunday; lectured at BIRMINGHAM on the Monday evening; came by the coach to COVENTRY yesterday in the afternoon; lectured at COVENTRY last night; and, by the coach, came to DAVENTRY this morning; intending to get to London to-night.

Thus I began this speeching and lec-

turing work at COVENTRY; and at COVENTRY I ended it. I shall, as soon I possibly can, publish in a book-form my ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND; adding, as I go along, such matter as want of time or want of room has obliged me to omit; and shall give a general view of the whole of Scotland, as far as I am enabled to do by the knowledge that I have acquired. But I cannot even suspend, for a short time, the movements of my pen upon the subject, without expressing my satisfaction at having seen this part of my country, and more especially, this part of my countrymen. My friend Mr. MARTIN, of BIRMINGHAM, I found full of delight at finding that Scotland was so good and so fine a country. He, like almost all the rest of us, had formed his opinion of Scotland, from the sayings and sarcasms of ignorant or prejudiced men. He had just been reading my description of the banks of the CLYDE; and when he came to me at the inn, he seemed full of surprise at what he had read. "Why," said I, "you are not *sorry*, are you, that it is so fine a country?" "No!" exclaimed he, "but very glad, indeed; and I am glad that *you* went to see it with your own eyes; for, we should never have got the truth from anybody else: either they do not see, or they do not know, how to describe what they have seen." This was very much the truth: I do see, and I know how to describe that which I have seen; and, gratitude for excessive kindness received out of the question, I must have been the basest dog that ever lived, not excepting a Scotch "*feelosofer*," or an Irish "*reporther*," if I had not endeavoured to do something like justice to the country, and to the people of Scotland. I will, however, do it in a more complete manner than I have been able to do it in the *Register*. The volume shall be compact and cheap, well printed and on good paper; and it will live long after the whole of the "*feelosofers*" and all their stupid and tyrannical supporters shall be rotten and forgotten.

The summary of this speechifying tour is as follows:

Speeches out of doors to great as-
semblages of people . . . 25
Lectures to persons in-doors . . . 50
Speeches at dinners 3

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I left London on the 27. of August, so that I shall have been eighty-seven days from home. I have written, during the same time, thirteen *Registers*, each containing more matter written by myself, than is usually contained in a two-shilling pamphlet. During the same time, I have travelled one thousand four hundred and sixty-four miles, and have slept in five different cities and twenty-four different towns; and, if that be not a pretty good eighty-seven days' work, let the gin-drinking "*fielosophers*" look out for better. To the "*Temperance Societies*," who would cut my throat because I call them despicable drivelling quacks, this one fact is worth more than all their volumes of trash and all their botcheration meetings; namely, that all this prodigious labour has been rendered light, only, because I have eaten very sparingly, during all the time, and have never drunk a drop of wine, of spirits, of the beer kind, or of the cider kind; and that my drink has been, very little in quantity in the first place, and in kind, tea, milk, or water.

WM. COBBETT.

no more to prevent my being chosen for OLDHAM, than he can to cause the sun to hide its rays; but he can do the WEST INDIA BODY a *good deal of harm*: by this effort of pure sterling malignity, and of base subserviency to what he deems perpetual power, *he can add to the hostile force of public opinion against that WEST INDIA BODY.*

During the day, while I was at OLDHAM, a deputation came from the manufacturing village of LEES, and presented to me the following ADDRESS, which I received, and which I now publish with very great pride. It is impossible to describe the cordiality and the zeal of these LANCASTRIANS; and it is impossible to look at their labours, and to think of the riches flowing from their incessant industry, without praying to God to be enabled to assist in causing their deliverance from such a horrible state of unrequited labour. MR. JOHN FIELDEN, who is intended to be my colleague in this case, has, all his life long, laboured for their deliverance by deed as well as by word. He is, of all mankind, the man best fitted for this undertaking; so that, in all respects whatsoever, the thing is as honourable to me as it is possible that it could be made. Here follows the ADDRESS, which I received from the POLITICAL UNION of LEES.

Address of the Political Union of Lees,
in the Parish of Ashton-under-
Lyne, and County of Lancaster.

To WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.

POLITICS IN LANCASHIRE.

AT OLDHAM I found that the "rich ruffians" who have been trampling that town under foot for many years, and who now see that a day of reckoning is at hand, had trumped up a fellow of the name of BRIGHT, brother of, and connected with, that BRISTOL BRIGHT, who is a member of Parliament, I believe, and who is one of what they call the "WEST INDIA BODY." A most respectable gentleman, one of the greatest West India merchants at GLASGOW, will remember what I told him about the stupid baseness of this WEST INDIA BODY. This fellow BRIGHT can do

"Sir,—Gratitude is, perhaps, the
" noblest principle of a virtuous
" mind—not to feel such a sentiment
" to you, Sir, would show us unworthy
" of our country, and of its high desti-
" nies. Inheriting the spirit of liberty and
" independence dear to Britons, we have
" seen our common country, for nearly
" half a century, made the sport of tyran-
" nic factions, league herself with des-
" pots to crush liberty abroad, and to stifle
" its benign influence at home. Amidst
" this blackness and melancholy, this
" despair and anguish, we have beheld
" a light, growing brighter and bright-

"er unto the perfect day; need we say
"that that light is *William Cobbett*.

"When we reflect upon the vast labours you have bestowed to enlighten your countrymen on their political condition; the great talent you have brought to the advocacy of liberty; the unceasing and ever-continued exertion for the recovery of the nation's rights, but above all, your magnanimity in bearing up against continued persecution and annoyance from the friends of despotic principles. Viewing these things, we feel the more the necessity of testifying our high regard for you and yours; and the Lees Political Union beg to offer you their grateful thanks for your gigantic efforts to raise our country from a state of humiliation and wretchedness to that of prosperity, contentment, and happiness.

"The Lees Political Union avow with pride, that to you they owe much of the political knowledge they possess; they feel that had your talent been saleable, a high price might have been obtained; they thank you, that amidst your sufferings, your cry was *Reform—Reform—Reform!!!* you have seen that measure, limited as it is, become the law of the land; it only requires that you be in Parliament to perfect that great measure. We heartily hope, nay, we are sure that the good sense of the people of Oldham will place you in that reformed Parliament, which is mainly the result of your powerful advocacy: Your *Paper against Gold*; your *Cottage Economy*; your *Advice to Young Men*; your *Protestant Reformation*; your *English Grammar*, and your other valuable works, have produced feelings of veneration in the minds of the members of this Union, that death only can erase.

"That you may live long, and in your declining years receive the grateful incense of a nation's gratitude, is the ardent wish of

"THE MEMBERS OF THIS UNION."

COUNCIL.

"Wm. Nicholson
John Hibbert

Joseph Shaw
Joseph Barton
John Dunkerley
Benjamin Harrop.
Robert Barton
Wm. Haivick
Benjamin Dawson
Robt. Harrop
George Groves
Thos. Schofield
Thos. Lees
Josh. Moss
Hen. Turner
Geo. Isherwood
Moses Chapman
Josh. Bardsley
Geo. Kershan."

At MANCHESTER I found that the *dose* which I left them in the *Register* of the 22. of September, had worked TOM and DICK POTTER, babbling SHUTTLEWORTH, pompous BAXTER, and sly Yankee DYER, both upwards and downwards. When I dictated that part of the said *Register*; or, rather, when I closed the article, I said: "There, now I will leave them, and you will see that, before we come back from Scotland they will have covered themselves all over with dirt. To hold their tongues they are too great fools; to keep their shop-boy-pens from paper they are too vain; they will get to writing and publishing; thinking me safe out of the way, they will lie in contradicting me; Mr. WHITTLE will detect their lies, and lash them like hounds; in trying to escape his lash they will get deeper in the mire; and, just about the time that we shall be back from Scotland, they will be emerging from the pool in '*all the majesty of mud*,' and the boys in the streets will be following them with the cry of the 'Three Golden Balls,' and pretty nearly pelting them with orange-peel."

I never saw a MANCHESTER paper from the time I left MANCHESTER till the time I returned to it; but I found that my prophecy had been fulfilled to the very letter. I found that they had been battered as boys batter bits of lead to beat them into chuckers; that they had sometimes been swearing, some-

times crying, and had been resorting to such base and dastardly tricks as to make even their own wives and children ashamed to walk the streets with them. They had *disclaimed* their mountebank companion, PETER WILKINS. The mountebank, stung at this *disclaimer*, had let out all the secrets; had told of all their meannesses and all their follies; had sworn that he was *as good as they* (and I will be sworn to that, too); and, in short, had blown them all up, and, having done that, had gone off, doubtless, to Sergeant WILDE. Apropos of Sergeant WILDE. I see that he is *not made Solicitor-General*! So, so! Mr. CAMPBELL is Solicitor-General, in spite of all the puffs. What a disappointment to OUR CHARLEY!

The POTTERS, reduced to great straits by the above-mentioned transaction, had recourse to a remedy which they deemed of infallible efficacy, but in which they were again disappointed; namely, the bringing down of HUME to appear on the right hand of DICK, while DICK was chairman of a dinner at MANCHESTER, to celebrate a something about his "NEW MECHANICS' INSTITUTION." I would have HUME take care how he goes to MANCHESTER again, to prop up, and give countenance to, these "three Golden Ball" fellows, who are spitting out their unprovoked toad-like spite upon me. I am sorry that I have not an account of this dinner to insert from the *Manchester Advertiser*. I should not notice this matter; I should not resent the conduct of HUME; nor should I now have mentioned these base and contemptible things at all; but for their atrocious conduct towards Mr. WHITTLE, the nail of whose little finger is worth the whole of their bloated and ponderous carcasses. Their villanous attempts to do serious injury to this honourable young gentleman of talent, greater than is possessed, not only by this tribe, but of all the men in the world that they are acquainted with; their infamous conduct towards him; their incomparably base and under-hand tricks with regard to him, demand that I lay the lash, with all my might, not only upon them but upon all who dare to at-

tempt to keep them in countenance. To besure, Mr. WHITTLE has taken ample vengeance upon them; he has lashed them to some tune: but if JOSEPH come to endeavour to prop them up, the lash shall fall upon him too. At the dinner in question "eloquenter DICK" was the chairman. HUME made a speech in praise of Mechanics' Institutes, as the source of education to the working classes; and ascribed the *increase of crime* in the country to the want of such education, stating at the same time what the increase had been at several periods which he mentioned up to the present time. At the end of a long, a bungling, and a very dull story, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN rose, and begged leave to differ with the honourable gentleman with respect to the cause of the increase of crime. This LANCASTRIAN philosopher, who employs between two and three thousand people constantly, and who has an idea, that the *knife and fork* have more to do than pens and types have, with moral honesty, said that he ascribed the increase of crime to the diminution in the size and the weight of the working-people's dinners; and then, with just as much clearness and unaffected modesty, as JOSEPH and DICK together had of bubble and of brass, took the account of the increase of crime, as stated by HUME, and *showed how exactly, period by period, the increase of crime had kept pace with the decrease of the working people's wages*! And this he did, to the utter confusion of JOSEPH and TOM, amidst rounds of applause, repeated again and again. Mr. FIELDEN drew no conclusion himself; did not say that it was a humbug and a cheat, to endeavour to persuade people that they could fill their bellies by reading books; he left the meeting to draw the conclusion; and they did it.

But this was not all the mortification that these heroes were destined to experience upon this occasion. One of the *toasts* at the dinner was, "Those who had laboured and suffered in the cause of reform living or dead," or words to that effect. In moving the toast, mention was made of MUIR and the other Scotch reformers, who were

transported ; **BURDETT** was mentioned ; **Major CARTWRIGHT**, and a great many others ; and all seemed to be right and tight and snug ; **Dick** sat simpering in the chair, looking as well as an owl in an ivy bush, and, apparently, thrice happy he was thus to behold, as he thought, his numerous progeny of humbug, gathered about him ; when up rose a young man of the name of **MANDLY** (whom I was sorry I could not see before I left **MANCHESTER**), and uttered, as I have been informed, words to this effect : " It is very proper, sir, that we " should bear in recollection the exertions and the sacrifices of the " many excellent persons that have " been named as having been the advocates of the cause of parliamentary reform ; but, sir, there is one gentleman, " whose name, it seems to me, ought " not to have been omitted, he having " laboured in the cause more, and more " successfully, than any other, and to " whom, I at any rate, owe all the political knowledge that I possess ; I mean, " **Mr. COBBETT** ! " " *Hiss !* " " *hiss !* " came from the upper end of the room, and particularly from **SHUTTLEWORTH**, who banged down his head Instantly the room resounded with clapping and cheering, thumping upon the table and thumping upon the floor, as an answer to this contemptible little hiss ! When order was restored, **Mr. MANDLY** proceeded, repeated precisely what he had said before. The little hiss was heard again, and then the room appeared as if it would have been knocked to pieces with the thumpings, the knockings, the clappings, the cheerings, in the way of rebuke to the malignant wretches who had dared to hiss at the sound of my name. There sat **HUME** by the side of **Dick**, stiff as if trussed for the spit. **Dick's** self, though a lump of conceit and insensibility, perfectly matchless, got up, as soon as order was restored, and made an awkward apology for the hissing ; and, finally the affair went off with the common-place proceedings upon such occasions. But, **JOSEPH**, who is no fool like **Dick** and **SHUTTLEWORTH**, would ponder these things well in his mind ;

and I am very much mistaken, if **Dick** gets him to **MANCHESTER** again.

Nor were **HUME's** humiliations to end with this. An open-air meeting of the working people was held, in order that **HUME** might address them. At this meeting, several questions were put to him as to the measures to be adopted for the relief of the people. By-and-by came the question, " Whether he " would still continue to make the " people pay interest upon the debt " contracted by the boroughmonger " Parliaments ? " To this he answered, " When I am prepared to go out on " the highway to rob, I will call to my " assistance those who are for ceasing " to pay interest on the debt." This brought him, accompanied with every mark of disapprobation, the following reply : " You know little of the working people of Lancashire, if you think " that they believe it to be just, that " they should work all their lives, and " their children and children's children " after them, to pay debts contracted " by insolent boroughmongers to stifle " liberty on the continent, and to prevent parliamentary reform in England." After this, very little was to be expected from **JOSEPH** ; and he went from this meeting, and out of **MANCHESTER**, with good reason to repent his having come to it to give countenance to this base crew against me, and promising himself, I dare say, that he would never attempt to do the like again. Upon that charitable presumption, I hereby proclaim peace with him ; but if ever I see him in friendly conversation with either of the **POTTERS**, **SHUTTLEWORTH**, **BAXTER**, or **DYER** ; if ever I hear of his being in the same room and sitting down with them ; or of his having any communication or correspondence with them, except in an official way, I will belabour him with as little mercy as a **CORNISH** carrier belabours a false and jadish pack-horse. I will make him remember going to **MANCHESTER** to poke his busy nose into my affairs ; I will *tot* him up, and subtract him, and multiply him, and divide him into the bargain. Oh, no ! I do not meddle with his election af-

fairs, and I will warrant him he shall not meddle with mine.

The malice of these huckstering ruffians of MANCHESTER against Mr. WHITTLE is the chief cause of my resentment against them. This malice, however, has, in some measure, proceeded from his own *faulty forbearance*. The moment the fellows began to give signs of their intentions, I besought him to lay on upon them. He was *squeamish*; wanted "to wait, to see how long they would act." "Oh!" said he, "do wait to see whether the ill-conditioned cur will take a piece out of your leg, before you break his jaws with your stick: be sure not to strike him, till he has actually taken out the piece; and, then, you know, you will be both howling together." "Oh no!" said I, "that's not my way: the moment I see his white teeth, I begin to belabour his jaws: you have seen the teeth of these curs long enough, and, therefore, lay on upon them, without any mercy." If this advice had been followed, DICK PORTER would never have showed his face at WIGAN, "eloquenter" as he is; and TOM POTTER would never have gone to canvass for the *full-pay* TORRENS at BOLTON. However, a man having been too forbearing, is not to operate in defence of his foul and base antagonists; and I will take it upon myself to say, that these reptiles shall receive a suitable quantity of that sort of chastisement which it becomes man to inflict upon animals of nature inferior.

With regard to the election at MANCHESTER, I by no means exaggerate when I say, that there is every prospect of my being returned. Mr. MARK PHILIPS has, at last, pledged himself to a repeal of the malt, hop, and soap-taxes; and, I believe, an abolition of the tithes; and that will probably carry him. The POTTER-CREW are for POULETT THOMSON, and they are accusing LLOYD of several things, and endeavouring (very likely justly) to cover him with dirt. LLOYD's fellows, on their side, are accusing THOMSON, of *standing pledged solemnly to the people of DOVER*. I ac-

cuse him of having been recently at GREENOCK *beating up for a seat there*, and that he was there told to go to the privy-council and *sell his tallow*! The Scotchies had too much sense to think of good coming to them from being represented by a lump of blubber. "Tallow-man privy-counsellor," with the finger pointed at him, and coming out of a mouth with a sarcastic twist: these are what he got in Scotland; and this he owed to his insolence in going to MANCHESTER to oppose me.

Mr. HOPE, who, perhaps, has as good a chance as LLOYD or THOMSON, when he finds an elector that tells him that he intends to vote for me, asks for their other vote, observing, that, with regard to Mr. COBBETT, there may be principle to guide them; but that with regard to all the rest there can be no principle at all; and that, therefore, they may as well give their other vote to him as to any of the rest. I shall, for the present, conclude this account of the affairs of MANCHESTER, with the following hand bill, which LLOYD has published against THOMSON. In this their war I wish them both success: I wish that THOMSON may destroy LLOYD, and LLOYD destroy THOMSON.

BROTHER ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER, I WILL NOT VOTE FOR POULETT THOMSON.

~~I~~ BECAUSE.—I. Though the French refused to reduce their prohibitory duties upon our cottons, POULETT THOMSON has reduced our duties upon their wines, A clear boon to France.

II. Though the British colonies impose no duty upon our cottons, POULETT THOMSON has nearly doubled our duties upon colonial wines. To the loss of that colonial market for our cottons, where we used to sell above two million three hundred thousand yards annually.

III. Though the French lay duties on our cottons so exorbitant that we can sell them but about eighty thousand yards yearly, and the Spaniards and Portuguese lay their duties on our cottons so much more favourably, that we

can sell them above twenty million of yards yearly,—POULETT THOMSON has reduced our duties on the wines of France, and increased our duties on the wines of Spain and Portugal.

A great injury to our market for cotton in Portugal and Spain.

IV. By this ~~reduction~~ of the wine duties, POULETT THOMSON only put money into the pockets of the rich, who drink the high-priced French wines, and took it out of the pockets of the middle classes, who drink the wines of Spain and Portugal; and worse, he levied a tax upon the illness and convalescence of the poor, whose only medicine of that nature was the cheaper wine of the colonies. The same measure has impaired the revenue, and tends to prevent the repeal of the internal taxes.

V. POULETT THOMSON having taken a million from the sinking fund to reduce the revenue, seriously proposed to exhaust that million by giving up nearly one-half the duties on foreign tobacco, instead of repealing internal taxes; preferring the interests of tobacco-planters in Virginia to the relief and encouragement of British industry.

VI. We send yearly to France about eighty thousand yards of cotton; to the Netherlands we used to send thirteen millions; and POULETT THOMSON is for blockading the Dutch coast: and we are now to be taxed for cutting-up our own trade.

VII. Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Russia, impose such heavy duties upon our cotton goods, that we can sell them but six hundred thousand yards altogether. The British colonists in Canada have no such duties, and we sell them yearly above nine million yards: and POULETT THOMSON insisted upon doubling our duties on Canadian wood, and reducing those upon the wood of Prussia, Norway, and Denmark; to the loss of the Canadian market for our cottons.

VIII. The British West Indies lay no duties on our cotton goods, and we sell them above twenty-one million of yards annually; if POULETT THOMSON would consent to reduce our duties upon their productions, we should get more sugar and coffee from them, and sell them

more cottons and woollens. But POULETT THOMSON prefers reducing the duty on the wines of France, and the tobacco of the Americans, though the latter levy most of their revenue by taxes upon our manufactures, and moreover, are underselling us in coarser cottons.

IX. The British East Indies lay no restrictive duty upon our cottons, and we sell them above thirty-seven million of yards annually; POULETT THOMSON attempted to increase the duties upon their raw cotton many hundred per cent., and place them on the same footing as foreign powers, who will not suffer us to sell a yard to their subjects till we have first paid half its value into their treasury.

This is what POULETT THOMSON calls Free Trade!!!

X. The colonial dominions of Great Britain can lay no restrictive duties on our cottons. We compel them to give a preference to our manufactures, and we consent in return to give a preference to their productions. *This is the colonial system.* By these means we sell to these dominions nearly one hundred million of yards of cotton goods yearly.

POULETT THOMSON loves such Free Trade as is described above, and hates the colonial system.

The returns are those of 1828, the latest in my possession, or that I find here.

Is it for the interest of the cotton trade that POULETT THOMSON should represent Manchester? CIVIS.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

AND, is it really true, that this rotten mass, this dunghill of BURDETT-baseness; is it really true, that this torpid mass; that this most stinking of all the rotten boroughs in the whole kingdom; is it really true, that this once public-spirited city, which made corruption tremble on her throne, but, which has, by the craft of BURDETT, and by the cunning of his understrappers, been, for fifteen years past, an example, or rather a sample, of

everything sordid, stupid, and base ; and which has, in fact, by its being kept in a state of torpor by this crafty old fellow and his hirelings, done more mischief than any twenty rotten boroughs, or than any fifty rotten boroughs ; because, the nation, accustomed to look to it as the leader, has been kept in a state of inactivity and silent submission, when it ought to have been in resolute movement ; is it really possible, that this city is roused at last ; and that it is resolved not to be made a tool in the hands of this crafty old fellow any longer ! From what is taking place in Westminster, I should think that this was the case. For a long while I have looked upon this city as so besotted and degraded, as hardly ever worthy to be mentioned in any writing or speaking of mine. While in Scotland, I met with three Scotchmen who had laboured with me personally, in breaking down the aristocracy in Westminster, and in bringing in BURDETT. They all observed, that, as the thing had turned out, we had done mischief, at that time, instead of good. Oh, how the Scotch do reproach the people of WESTMINSTER ! " What ! " say they, " *pelt him and his little shuffling colleague with cabbages and turnips*, in 1830 ; see them returned members for the city notwithstanding that ; and then choose HOBHOUSE again with the proceeds of his father's commissionership in his pocket, and also with the proceeds of his *wife's twenty or thirty years' pension* ; choose him again ! " Why, there was something so monstrous in all this, that a man who was not ashamed of being an inhabitant of WESTMINSTER, would hardly be ashamed in being detected in the picking of a pocket.

Now, however, there really does seem a prospect of our seeing an end to this infamy in WESTMINSTER. The state of the thing appears to be this : that, some few days ago, a body of the electors, after meeting and discussing the matter, sent a deputation to HOBHOUSE, for the purpose of ascertaining whether he would *pledge himself*, to do certain things, if they should elect him : that the little brewer ; the little LONDON-

brewer, BATH-banker, and WHITEHALL-privy-counsellor, upon learning the business of this deputation, stopped them short, scouted all idea of pledges, and strutted about like a little feather-legged-bantam, seeming to set the whole poultry yard at defiance. It is said, with what truth I know not (though I see it *hinted* at in the *Morning Herald* and the *Bloody*), that Lady JULIANA HOBHOUSE, whose *pap* and *baby clothes* the people paid for, sent out an expression of her surprise, that such *vulgar people*, meaning the deputation, should thus take up the time of her Right Honourable husband. Be this as it may, the deputation went away, anything but pleased with their reception ; and, when they made their report to the electors by whom they had been deputed, the expressions of indignation against HOBHOUSE appear to have been, in some degree, commensurate with his insolence. They now, it appears, proceeded to put that, I believe, honest young man, COLONEL EVANS, in nomination, not having as yet determined upon any candidate to supplant the "*old chaise-horse*," whose jibbings and jadings, and prancings and caperings I so fully described some little while ago.

In the meanwhile the toad-eating partisans of the brewer-banker-privy-counsellor took the alarm ; and, manifestly set on by the old "*chaise-horse*," began to *meet* and *resolve* on their part. At the head of these miserable toad-eating things there is a man by the name of VEAR, who has clapped a "*De*" before his name, to cause it to be believed that he is of high-blooded Norman descent. With this tool, of whom I never even *heard* before, and in whose *reality* I can scarcely believe, rather supposing that it is some fictitious name, resorted to by Sir GLORY in this hour of his extremity. Old IRONSIDES (whom I once prevented from abandoning GLORY), COWHIDE, and another or two, used to be the tools of GLORY ; used to speak for him, lie for him, swear for him, and do anything that the urgency of the case appeared to demand ; and, long and long after he had abandoned and betrayed the cause of reform, these wretched

devils used to toast him, as "*Westminster's pride and England's glory!*" In no country upon the face of the whole earth, was baseness like this ever witnessed before. Every scoundrel of them knew well that he had abandoned and betrayed us in 1817: every scoundrel of them knew that he had sent a circular over the country, signed by himself, urging the reformers to come forward in the most vigorous manner, and in the greatest possible numbers; that after this he skulked away from London, until the very day of the meeting of Parliament; and that he then sat silent as a post, while the horrible bills were run through the house to gag the reformers and cram them into dungeons. These scoundrels knew these things well; they knew, too, that the base fellow never attempted to give aid or comfort, or even to visit one of his victims in the dungeons. These scoundrels knew all this, and yet the instinctively base ruffians, merely because the fellow had twenty thousand acres of land; the instinctively base ruffians still toasted him as "*Westminster's pride and England's glory!*"

However, old GLORY seems to be now driven up in a corner; like CANTWELL, in the play, detection upon detection seem to pour in upon him; and I should not at all wonder, if we were soon to hear him, like his prototype, declaring that his only consolation now was "in the mansions provided for him in the kingdom of heaven!" GLORY is cunning, however. He will not be in a hurry to change mansions if he can avoid it; and I wish he may not; for political justice demands that he be pulled down, down, down; and down he will come, as sure as he has a head upon his shoulders.

I shall not have time to make, in this present *Register*, the remarks which are called for by GLORY's reasons against pledges. It is a tissue of lying shuffling stuff, which, together with the stuff in HOBHOUSE's excuses, I will demolish in my next *Register*, in an address to the electors of WESTMINSTER, who are now showing themselves worthy of such an address. The proceedings and docu-

ments connected with this matter, I will preserve with care; for it was an affair of the very greatest importance to the whole kingdom. The electors of WESTMINSTER are bringing the question of *pledges* to the test; and that other important question, too; whether a *placeman* be a person fit to represent so large a body of electors, and a *placeman*, too, who has been brought up upon public money, and who has married a woman who has had a pension almost the whole of her life. These documents must, therefore, be preserved; and I shall insert them in the following order: FIRST, there is an article which is taken from the "*bloody old Times*," praying the citizens of WESTMINSTER not to turn out BURDETT and HOBHOUSE; and this shuffling; this poor beggarly supplicating paragraph, while it forebodes the fate of HOBHOUSE and his master, is exceedingly well worthy of the attention of the reader. The "*Bloody*" is manifestly afraid of the result; and, therefore, it speaks with great timidity, lest it should, by censuring the people of WESTMINSTER, lose a part of its stupid customers. It sees that the situation of GLORY and his man is very ticklish; it would fain take the other side; but GLORY has voters in *Berkshire*, and there JUSTICE JACK WALTER (for JACK has sworn that he is a JUSTICE) is putting himself forth, incredible as it may seem, as "*a fit and proper person to be a member of Parliament!*" This is the real cause of the "*BLOODY*" taking this maudlin mixty-maxty course; and this was the cause why the "*BLOODY*" pitched in upon HUME for his opposition to HOBHOUSE at BATH: so that, JUSTICE JACK makes this old devil hardly know what she is about in this crisis of affairs. SECOND, I shall insert the letters of GLORY and of HOBBY, upon the subject of pledges, as I find them published in the "*BLOODY*" of the 20. of November. THIRD, an article in the "*BLOODY*" of the same date, entitled "*WESTMINSTER ELECTION*," and containing a report of the proceedings of a meeting at which this DE VEAR acted as chairman, and at which that dunder-headed fellow

Colonel JONES figured away in a most ludicrous style; seeming to forget the blows which he got from the cabbages and turnips when he appeared on the hustings in COVENT GARDEN, as a supporter of these two heroes, BURDETT and HOBHOUSE. FOURTH, an article entitled "WESTMINSTER ELECTION," in that heap of silly rubbish, called the *Morning Herald*, of the 21. of November, which article closes with a stinging letter to the "*old chaise-horse*" from Colonel EVANS, the only fault of which letter is, its insincerity; for, it is impossible that this man should have any respect or regard for a sorry old thing like BURDETT. After this letter comes an account of a meeting of the electors, friends of Colonel EVANS. If the reader go patiently through all these documents, he will clearly see how this matter stands; he will see that the DOX and his man may, if they like, very soon set out on their journey to do penance in the wilderness of SIERRA MORENA.

(From the *Times* of the 20. November.)

As the necessary period for the dissolution approaches, election matters begin to excite an anxious interest in every quarter of Great Britain. There are some persons, calling themselves reformers, who seem inclined to estimate the merits of "the bill" by the number of *new faces* which it is likely to admit into the House of Commons. Our notion is different from this. Unquestionably the old borough system was the means of shooting into that assembly a considerable mass of rubbish. The creatures who, instead of transacting any business in the house, were mostly asleep upon the back benches, or in the recesses, or, if seen about any part of the building save BELLAMY'S, made their appearance only when the division bell had rung,—such animals as these, whose sole qualification for seats in the legislature arose out of their relationship to the patrons of certain family boroughs, did at no time represent the people of England, could never have commanded the votes of half a dozen independent electors throughout

the country, and as they became members of former Parliaments by the reverse of creditable or honest means, and exhibited therein neither public virtues nor intellectual powers fitting men for an important national trust, so ought they not to be seen or heard of in a reformed House of Commons, and in fact few such, if any, will be found there. Again, the known petty jobbers of the old Parliament,—the foxes, ferrets, and vermin of the day, who never were fairly incorporated with any great section of the political world, but hung upon the skirts of party like vultures round a caravan, watchful for what they could pick up—that class of adventurers likewise, being factors for their own selfish interests, and not for the people, have no business to present themselves before an unfettered constituency. So, with men who have all their lives been voting for the Minister of the time, and against every popular right, privilege, and advantage,—men who would vote for a corn-law, not for the sake of the agricultural body, but for the abstract love of its *exclusive* principle,—who upheld game laws because they were a restraint upon the mass,—and commercial, manufacturing, corporate, borough monopolies, less for their supposed profit to the few, than for their prohibition against the many,—such men ought to be dismissed from every hustings in the empire, as instinctive traitors to all popular trust, and undeserving the sufferages of their countrymen.

To any of the above descriptions of candidates for public support we are far from offering the shadow of assistance; and in respect of all such, it may well be said that the Reform Bill will not have done its duty if in every instance a "*new face*" be not substituted for the old. But there are other candidates for the representation of the people who claim far kinder treatment,—men of known experience in public affairs, the whole course of whose Parliamentary life exhibits consistent adherence to the principles on which they originally rested, and an independent and incorrupt discharge of their duties. For such valuable senators to be turned a drift, out of

mere passion for novelty, or peevish caprice, would be an example of stupid ingratitude in their constituents, and a stigma upon the whole representative system of this country. Why should Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Sir JOHN HOBBHOUSE be abandoned by any portion of the electors of Westminster at the capricious bidding of a factious and arrogant junta? What upright or honourable Englishman will deign henceforth to accept the trust of representative from the people, if he finds that all the reward he has to look for is reproach and thankless dismissal at the last? The rumours which have reached us, for as yet they are nothing more, of certain projected movements by the "Rump," or, to use the significant circumlocution of Mr. BURKE, "the shameful parts," of the Westminster constituency, imply a degree of impudence and injustice on the part of those who threaten them, which must render any gentleman capable of being an efficient member of Parliament not a little repugnant to undertake the office for a city which so treats its representatives.

In the city of London, again, who could with greater activity or honesty have watched over the interests of their electors, or of the kingdom at large, than the Aldermen VENABLES (whose pretensions, though not mentioned yesterday, have been repeatedly and deservedly noticed by us), WOOD, and WAITHMAN? These gentlemen have done nothing to forfeit public favour, but every thing to secure it. Will London gain anything by setting up such Tory tools as Mr. LYALL in their place, or in the place of any one of them?

Then for Mr. HUME, who seems to mistake us for his enemies, we have already disclaimed the title and the feeling. It is our opinion that if Mr. HUME be thrown out for Middlesex, all things considered, he will have ample reason to reproach the electors with rashness and ingratitude. No man who ever sat for Middlesex effected more good in his office, especially in that most important branch of labour which Mr. HUME has selected, than the hon. Gentleman. Mr. HUME may have committed faults, and

fallen into errors (which we have often noticed, and shall again, when we think it right), as regarded other persons and other parts of England; but how or when has he failed in his duty to Middlesex; and *why* should the people of Middlesex desert Mr. HUME for such a compelled and kiln-dried liberal as Lord HENLEY? While upon this subject, we must add, that we have received a letter from Mr. WHITTLE HARVEY, in terms of direct, manly, and indignant complaint at the treatment which he states himself to have experienced from *prominent parties* in the present Government. Such charges, if made, as they have been, and publicly circulated, ought to be publicly met.

After the above remarks were written we received an interesting account of what occurred last night at a meeting of the friends of Sirs FRANCIS BURDETT and J. C. HOBBHOUSE, in Westminster. Our opinions are confirmed by all that passed on that occasion. Why will that respectable and estimable officer, Colonel EVANS, permit himself to be made the tool of an unwise (if not worse) petty faction, when the certain consequence must be to bring contempt or obloquy on some sincere reformers, himself amongst them, and the *probable* consequence the smuggled return of a Tory candidate? How can Colonel EVANS bear to stand on the same hustings with a man like Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after reading the following expressions of the straightforward Baronet,—“I would rather be turned out with HOBBHOUSE than returned with anybody else.”

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—At a meeting of the committee of the electors of Westminster, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Saturday, Nov. 10, 1832;

Resolved,—That this meeting has assembled in the belief that his Majesty is about shortly to exercise his constitutional prerogative of dissolving the present and convoking a new Parliament.

That this meeting has witnessed with

perfect approbation the conduct of the representatives of Westminster, more especially in the support given by them to his Majesty's Ministers in the struggle to obtain a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament

That this meeting, feeling it incumbent to return men whose past conduct gives the surest pledge for the future, request permission of Sir Francis Burdett and of Sir John Hobhouse again to propose them as representatives for the city of Westminster.

That copies of the foregoing resolutions be immediately forwarded to Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse.

The committee sit daily at No. 43, King-street, Covent-garden.

The following letters, addressed to the electors of Westminster, have been received in reply:—

" St. James's place, Nov. 15. 1832.

" Gentlemen,—The resolutions agreed to by a meeting of Westminster electors, at the Crown and Anchor, the other evening, were duly transmitted to me by Mr. De Year.

" Gentlemen,—I have no hesitation in stating, that I willingly accede to your request; that it is highly gratifying to me: for, besides the strong claim you have upon me for exertion whenever you deem it useful, I am proud, and I think justly, of the connexion which has so long subsisted between us, the origin of which I can never forget. I am particularly so on the present occasion, on which, as on so many others, your conduct appears to me well worthy the consideration of the country at large. I do not now mean to enter upon any of those great topics which engross public attention, as the doing so would far exceed the limits of this address; I will, therefore, confine myself to one of immediate interest, and with relation to which there seems to me to exist, and very generally, great error, and in allusion to which I commence this address.

" Gentlemen,—It is the subject of pledges, with respect to which a mental epidemic seems to prevail, highly injurious to the public cause; a system of self-deception, by which knaves are

taught to catch fools; a diseased appetite in the people to be promise-crammed, accompanied with a fatal belief that promises may be relied on, when honesty cannot. You, gentlemen, with your accustomed judgment and feeling, have altogether avoided this folly; for what else but folly can it be called to place reliance on sham security?

" Gentlemen,—This pledging system appears to me to have in it a quality directly the reverse of that which is attributed to mercy;—instead of being twice blessed, it is twice cursed; it injures both him who gives and him who takes: in fact, it is playing a game at which knaves are sure to win: for who are the persons who will be the most ready to pledge themselves?—will it be the prudent, the conscientious, the candid, the well-informed, in a word, the trustworthy?—or will it be the rash, the ignorant, the knavish, the reckless, the unprincipled." Is it possible that, at this game of pledge-making and pledge-taking honest men should not lose,—discouraged? Can it produce evidence of anything except rashness on the one side and suspicion on the other? But although it can afford no security, it is far from being indifferent; though it can do no good, it may and must do great harm. It is a false coin that ought not to be allowed to pass current with the public; its tendency is not to expose or to bind knavery, but to render honesty inefficient. Who can doubt that a person being pledged detracts greatly from his weight and authority? Who can doubt that if he is so sent to a deliberating assembly, he will be naturally and rationally listened to with distrust, and eyed with suspicion? Thus your champion is sent forth with a stain in his escutcheon—a knight without his spurs, marked recreant before he enters the lists,

" There is a story told of the late Lord Mansfield, when Chief Justice of the King's Bench, that he thus retorted upon a counsel, who, in a very marked and angry tone, told him that he entirely differed with him in law and opinion; his Lordship replied, "To be sure you do, I know that very well: you are paid

to do so." And this, or to this effect, will the pledged members sent to the next Parliament have probably the mortification frequently to hear, and the disadvantage to feel, and the difficulty of giving a satisfactory reply to.

"At the same time, gentlemen, although I feel so strongly the objections to this pledging system, let me not be misunderstood. I am far from thinking that candidates and their supporters, representatives and their constituents, should not come to a clear understanding one with another. No mystery ought to hang over their intercourse; every one should be ready to give a reason for his faith, and to answer any question that may be thought necessary for the satisfaction of his constituents. Without this free communication and candid exposition of sentiments and opinion, much misapprehension and disagreement may take place, instead of that confidence and union so necessary to give effect to mutual efforts for public advantage. Our connexion, gentlemen, has been ever conducted on these principles; that it may so continue, and continue us united, is my anxious desire; and it is this which makes me set so high a value on your good opinion, and which so much enhances this last testimony of your liberal feeling and unabated confidence.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"your most devoted and very

"humble servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"Berkeley-square, 15, Nov. 1832.

"Gentlemen,—I have again been honoured by a proposal to nominate me for the representation of your city, and, in acceding to that request, I trust I shall do that which will be acceptable to the electors of Westminster.

"The offer thus made to me has been founded, principally upon my "support of his Majesty's Ministers" in the struggle to obtain a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament; and I can assure you, with perfect truth, that it was in order to render that support more effectual that I connected myself with those Ministers. Fully aware of

my own personal unimportance, I thought, nevertheless, that it might be of some public service to show that the powerful and enlightened constituency of Westminster considered the acceptance of office, under such circumstances, no cause for suspicion, but a claim for increased confidence; and it will be to me a source of unmingled satisfaction to the end of my days, that whilst the conflict was at its height, and the event doubtful, I did not hesitate to give, and, what was of infinitely greater consequence, I enabled you to give, the best and most decisive proof of perfect reliance on the good faith and the firm resolves of the ministerial reformers.

"Gentlemen,—As your confidence in the men has been fully justified, so, I am convinced, will your hopes from the measure prove to have been well founded. That a great revolution has been effected there is no doubt, but the experiment is not so novel, nor the change so sudden, as some have been eager to contend. The bill has legalised and given not only just effect but proper limits to that control over the Government which the people of England have long claimed as their right, and have endeavoured to obtain, with various success, and by various means, at different periods of their history. Reform, though the work, as it were, of a day, has, in this country, resulted from the experience of ages. It has furnished us with new means to develop old maxims. It has enabled us to show the value of our ancient principles by applying them to our modern practice.

"Gentlemen,—The same law which has laid the foundation of good government entitles, indeed calls on you, to watch over and direct the superstructure. My thorough conviction is, that the great work will not be trusted to unworthy hands, and that the inestimable privilege of choosing a free Parliament will be duly appreciated and judiciously exercised by a free people.

"Those who propose to nominate me for your acceptance have been pleased to say, that my 'past conduct gives the surest pledge for the future.' Certainly, after our long-continued intercourse,

any other pledge would be unsatisfactory to you and degrading to me; I have, therefore, only to say, that if you think that security sufficient, I will continue to serve you—as I have hitherto endeavoured to do—zealously, faithfully, and to the best of my capacity.

remain, Gentlemen,
 ' your very obedient servant,
 "JOHN HOBHOUSE."

ON Monday, 19. November, a meeting of the electors of Westminster interested in promoting the return of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Cam Hobhouse, took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand; Mr. DE VEAR in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN stated that this was a special meeting, which he had been induced to think necessary, on account of certain circumstances which had transpired since the last meeting. A deputation had waited upon Sir Francis Burdett in consequence of an impression on the last meeting, that he objected to pledges altogether. Sir Francis, however, had explained that he was not opposed to pledges altogether, but his opinion was, that persons who had not been tried, ought to be pledged. The Chairman then read the letter of Sir Francis, to which he had added the following explanatory paragraph: "At the same time, gentlemen, although I feel so strongly the objections to this pledging-system, let me not be misunderstood. I am far from thinking that candidates and their supporters, representatives and their constituents, should not come to a clear understanding one with another. No mystery ought to hang over their intercourse; every one should be ready to give a reason for his faith, and to answer any question that may be thought necessary for the satisfaction of his constituents. Without this free communication and candid exposition of sentiments and opinions, much misapprehension and disagreement may take place, instead of that confidence and union so necessary to give effect to mutual efforts for public advantage."

The CHAIRMAN then read the letter from Sir John C. Hobhouse, acceding to the proposal to put him in nomination.

MR. DE VEAR then proceeded to state, that he should not have called this special meeting but for a report that Col. Evans had come forward as a candidate for this city. A deputation of electors had waited on Sir John Hobhouse, who received them politely, and told them he knew their business, and that he did not mean to pledge himself at all. "I know," he said, "you wish to put Col. Evans in nomination; I shall not pledge myself, and if I did, you would do the same thing." "Then," observed the deputation, "you will lose your seat for Westminster." "I had rather lose my seat than my character," was Sir John's reply: "I have sat as your member for fourteen years, and have given you no cause to be displeased with my conduct." They admitted that they had no fault to find with it. On his (Mr. De Vear's) communication with Sir Francis Burdett, the hon. Bart. expressed his surprise. He said he had received a letter from Colonel Evans; that he should write to him in return, and should request him (Mr. De Vear) to take it to the Colonel. He did go along with Mr. Pouncett. The Colonel quivered a good deal whilst reading it, and said he had been drawn into the affair; that he had been driven into a corner, and did not know what to do; and if he did not come forward, some other person would.

The following correspondence was then read:

"Sunday, 6, Waterloo-place.

"My dear Friend,—For some time past various communications have been made to me by electors of Westminster, expressing a desire to bring me forward as a candidate for its representation in the next Parliament. Last night a meeting was held on this subject, when, it having been determined to put me in nomination, measures were taken to carry that determination into effect; and I, having acceded to the wishes of the electors, am now a candidate, without,

as I fully understand, being in any way opposed to you. I hasten to communicate this to you, and remain most truly,

"Yours,

"DE L. EVANS."

"To Sir F. Burdett, Bart., M.P."

"Dear De Vear,—I herewith send you a letter I have received from Col. Evans, which grieves me much; but at all events, the Westminster electors ought to be aware of it. I therefore enclose it to you, with my answer to it. This I owe both to Hobhouse and the electors of Westminster. So, after reading it, have the goodness to forward my answer to him. I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"F. BURDETT."

"Nov. 19."

"Dear Evans,—I was so astonished at the receipt of your letter last night, announcing to me your acquiescence in a plan for turning Hobhouse out of Westminster—you may imagine my surprise, when I tell you that, when the subject was mentioned to me a day or two back, I at once said I was confident there could be no truth in it—that I was certain you would be no party to it. I cannot, therefore, without difficulty express to you the regret I experience in hearing the report confirmed by yourself; nor can I conceive how any body can have persuaded you to allow yourself to be put forward on such an occasion. I am at a loss to guess what public grounds can be advanced in favour of such a proposition, or what public advantage can be derived from it, though it is easy to see that much and various disadvantages to the public may. Excuse my speaking freely; for, as you have written to me to make known to me the project, with an appearance that there is no intention of offering me any opposition, it is necessary I should. I therefore say, without any hesitation, that were you to succeed in turning out Hobhouse, after 14 years' honest, able, arduous, and effective service, it would tend much to bring public estimation into contempt; and that as we stand

entirely on the same ground, and profess the same principles, and have ever acted so cordially and disinterestedly together, I should much prefer—pardon my sincerity—to be turned out with him than returned with anybody else. I omit a word which might by possibility be considered offensive.

"I remain yours sincerely,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"November, 19."

The CHAIRMAN added, that Colonel Evans observed he did not understand what the latter part of the letter meant. He (Mr. De Vear) stated that the plain meaning was, that Sir Francis would rather be turned out with Sir John Hobhouse than serve with Colonel Evans. He thought the Colonel appeared chagrined.

Mr. POUNCETT confirmed the statement of the chairman, except that he thought the words Colonel Evans made use of were, "I am in a predicament, and do not know how to act." The Colonel said that the electors of Westminster ought not to have a person in office as their representative, and it was on that ground he had come forward; it was not opposing himself to Sir John Hobhouse. He (Mr. Pouncett) regretted that Colonel Evans should, on such a ground, undertake to promote the cause of the opponents of reform. On former occasions they had known their opponents; now they were opposed by friends with whom they had taken counsel together. He lamented that a man of whom he had so high an opinion should suffer himself to be made the tool of others; for in a dissension of this kind there was great danger of a Tory candidate being set up, and slipping in. He did not know how Colonel Evans and his party could screen themselves from the scorn with which the public would visit them if this should happen.

Mr. THURSTON said that Sir John Hobhouse felt that, as a Minister, he stood, in a particular position as to pledges. In the case of Somerville the country was indebted to Sir John, who had declared that if that case was not investigated he would resign.

The CHAIRMAN bore testimony to the anxiety of Sir John to do away with flogging, and confirmed the statement respecting Somerville. Sir John had declared to Lord Althorp, that unless that case was investigated in a manner satisfactory to the public, he would give up his situation. Lord Althorp replied that he would break up the Administration. He went to Lord Grey, and Lord Grey went to the King, who readily granted the investigation.

Mr. BROWN suggested that a deputation should go to Colonel Evans, and reason with him, and put it to his patriotic feelings, whether he would risk the interests of the country—for other places might imitate Westminster—by acting on the persuasion that there was any probability of his success. The only possible chance he had was that of arriving at the contempt of the whole kingdom. He knew as a fact that the Tories had been looking for the very case which had now occurred, and a week would not elapse before a Tory candidate would be in the field, who, as the Reform Bill now worked, so many having been disfranchised, would have a very great chance of being returned.

An elector said that many of the men of Westminster had been deceived with respect to Sir John Hobhouse's sentiments. Pledges were not necessary from a man so well known.

Mr. WALKER stated, that without any intention of acting as a spy, he had been present at a very respectable meeting at the Salopian Coffee-house that very evening, at which it had been announced that a deputation had waited on Sir John Hobhouse, to whom they had propounded four propositions, which Sir John said he could not comply with. Resolutions were then passed to put Colonel Evans in nomination. There was a phalanx dissatisfied with Sir John Hobhouse. A portion of the propositions offered to him were based upon his own former declaration. The only part of them he could agree to was that which pledged him to support the taking off the assessed taxes. But although he could not propose the

taking them off, he ought, as a consistent reformer, and in compliance with his own declaration of 1822, that he would vote for taking off those taxes, to support such a motion. He should not probably vote for Sir John Hobhouse, nor for Colonel Evans; but though he thought Sir John Hobhouse's conduct was not such as to entitle him to the support of the electors of Westminster, it was unwise to put up three candidates, and allow a Tory candidate to come in, perhaps even to eject Sir Francis Burdett himself.

Mr. BROWN observed that Sir John Hobhouse had formerly declared that the assessed taxes were a most onerous burden on the industrious classes, and although he did not expect from him a distinct pledge for the removal of this burden, he did expect such an explanation from Sir John as should elicit his opinions, and a declaration that he would do all he possibly could to remove it.

Colonel JONES said, that as an old friend of Westminster, and having been instrumental in bringing in Sir John Hobhouse, when there was an endeavour to check the growing spirit of liberty, he thought himself bound to come here, and offer his services again. Every representative should be careful not to lend himself to the personal views and passions of men, but should keep in sight the principles of reform, and the great benefits to accrue from the measure with which the present Ministers had blessed the country. (Applause.) The people ought not to become ungrateful because men did not exactly correspond to their individual pleasure and opinion, and turn their backs on men who had done more for the country than any Ministers since administrations had ever been formed. He (Col. Jones) had been one of those who had advised Sir John Hobhouse to accept office, which he accepted with no interested object, but solely to carry the great measure of reform. (Applause.) By lending themselves to the improper passions which were afloat in the metropolis, they would be losing sight of the country, and of the great question which

ought to guide all reformers, to support the present Ministers, who should be tried, and if they failed in their duty, then, and not till then, it was the duty of reformers to oppose them. But would the men of Westminster, after returning Sir John Hobhouse when he became a Minister, desert him because he, as a Minister, could not do what he could do as a mere member of Parliament? He (Colonel Jones) was an enemy to pledges, because, taking a pledge of a man was to say he was not to be trusted. He believed the opposition originated in a little cabal, composed of a set who believed all wisdom centred in themselves; some of whom were actuated by good motives; others were mischievous and wicked. There were certain insects in this town who were only offensive by the stench they created. He knew an individual, who had been once a reformer, and became a renegade, and who was now anxious to get a Tory in for Westminster, and had urged Sir Robert Peel to stand, but he had too much good sense to make the trial. (A laugh.)

A resolution was, after some discussion, agreed to, appointing a deputation to wait upon Colonel Evans.

(From the *Morning Herald*, 26. November.)

A meeting of the electors of Westminster in the interest of Colonel Evans, was held on Monday evening at the Salopian Coffee-house, Charing-cross, to take into consideration the propriety of putting in nomination a gentleman of truly independent principles, for the representation of the city and liberty of Westminster.

Mr. PROUT, having been unanimously called to the chair, briefly explained the object of the meeting.

Mr. DETROSIER then read the following resolutions, which were passed at a preliminary meeting of the electors held on Saturday evening last.

Mr. MICHIE then read the report of a deputation which had waited upon Sir John Cam Hobhouse yesterday, at Richmond, viz: Mr. Thomas Michie, Mr. George Moore, and Mr. Thomas Milner. These gentlemen informed Sir John

Cam Hobhouse that they were a deputation of Westminster electors, commissioned to ask him answers to the four following questions, which were then proposed to him by Mr. Michie.

1. As you, Sir John, have maintained the propriety of voting by ballot, will you move for or support a motion to accomplish that purpose?

2. As you, in 1822, made a motion for the repeal of the assessed taxes, will you repeat that motion?

3. As you were returned to Parliament to procure short Parliaments, will you move for or support a motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act?

4. As you have advocated the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, will you move for or support a motion to repeal the stamp-tax on newspapers and excise duty on paper?

The report stated that, when Mr. Michie was about to read the second question, Sir John stopped him, observing, "You may save yourselves any further trouble; I will give no pledges whatever;" and on its being requested that Sir John would hear the whole of the questions, he objected, saying, amongst other things of a similar tendency, that "he had been the representative for Westminster for twelve years, and if the people of Westminster were dissatisfied, they had better look out for another to represent them; he never met any subject with more perfect indifference in the whole course of his life." The questions were put to Sir John three several times, each of which times Sir John refused to pledge himself.

The reading of the report excited a great deal of indignation among the gentlemen present.

Mr. MICHIE then addressed the meeting, stating his reasons for suspecting Sir J. C. Hobhouse, who, he doubted, was no longer the free, unshackled man, who had formerly been their representative. Mr. M. then commented on the evils accumulated in this country by Whig Ministers, beginning with that great source of all misfortunes, the national debt, commenced under the "glorious deliverer," William and his

consort, and concocted by the trading Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet.

After some further conversation Dr. WADE moved that the resolutions passed on Saturday should be now confirmed. It was suggested that this motion should for the present be withdrawn.

Mr. ARBER then moved, "That the decided manner in which Sir John Cam Hobhouse has refused to pledge himself to carry into effect the spirit of the Reform Bill, entails upon us the necessity of calling upon a gentleman of character and independence who will give that pledge."

Seconded by Mr. MICHIE, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Dr. Wade, it was then resolved that Col. Evans should be invited to come in.

Colonel Evans, on entering, was received with great applause. The following questions were then put to him:

1. Will you originate or support a motion for the vote by ballot?

2. Will you originate or support a vote for the repeal of the window and house tax?

3. Will you originate or support the repeal of the Septennial Act?

4. Will you originate or support the abolition of the taxes on knowledge and the excise duties on paper?

5. Will you support or originate a motion for the extension of the scot-and-lot suffrages?

Colonel EVANS then addressed the meeting, and answered the questions in the affirmative.

The gallant Colonel was received with the greatest approbation.

A resolution was then unanimously carried of support to Colonel Evans.

Thanks were voted to the chairman; and a committee was appointed in support of Colonel Evans, to sit every evening at seven, at the Salopian Coffee-house.

The meeting then broke up, it being previously resolved to call a public meeting in support of Colonel Evans, to be held on Thursday the 22d, at the Crown and Anchor, at seven.

MR. EAGLE AT BOLTON.

I HAVE great pleasure in sending forth, through the *Register*, a speech delivered by Mr. Eagle at Bolton, on quitting that place; and what heightens my pleasure, is, that I take the report from a *penny Magazine* that the good fellows of Bolton have set up of themselves and for themselves, they having, as yet, no press but one that Torrens has already contrived to cluck under his own wing. That's the way: if they will have education, let us give them enough of it. I'll warrant the corrupt hirelings and the base hirers, that we shall beat them at this work if we do but get fair play, and it is odd if we do not give ourselves this by means of our own Parliament. In short, the THING is now well beset, and the hypocrites who hope that there is still something left that is worth their struggling for, seem to be perplexed or defeated at every turn. I see there is, in the *Edinburgh Review*, a tremulous article on the "workings of the bill;" (egad! it will, as little Lord JOHN said in his play, "work the THING most strangely!") and, in this article, I see a sneaking compliment to the *Great Captain*; a most loving leer at the sword. Ah! 'tis too late for any such cajolery as that. The strength of the Whigs, is, an honest determination to go through with a thorough reform in church and state; but, alas! they have no such honesty, no such determination; the strength of the Tories is the *Great Captain* and his army, and therefore this leer at the sworn. But if the two factions were now to club their testers and defy the nation, the whole thing would be over in a week: a short resolution to pay no taxes, or a little placard "to stop the Duke, go for gold," blows the whole thing into air at once. However, let the people be firm and spirited through the coming election; let them reject *all placemen and pensioners*; let them look twice before they take a *lawyer*, and ten times before they take a *colonel* or a *captain*; let them question, catechize, sift, and bolt, the man who wants their votes, and then let them instruct him as

to their wishes, and, pledge him to the means of obtaining them; let this be done, and I warrant we shall have no more leering after the sword, and we shall not require the nice little pithy "resolutions" on placards. Let the people do their duty, and we shall come up to the monster in the proper form and with the proper weapons; we shall come to "close quarters" with it, not as Lord MILTON did with us in 1817, but in real English battle array.

BOLTON ELECTION.

On Thursday, the 28th ultimo, Mr. EAGLE made his appearance before the electors and inhabitants, for the fourth time, at the Falcon Inn, and addressed them in nearly the following words:—Friends and fellow-countrymen, electors and inhabitants of Bolton, I appear once more before you, for the purpose of addressing to you a few observations, in order to enable you to determine whether I am or am not a fit and proper person to represent the town of Bolton in the reformed Parliament. I have in my former addresses so often, and I trust, so distinctly, stated to you the great leading measures which I think essential to the salvation of the country, that it will not, I think, be necessary to repeat them on this occasion. I must, however, again call your attention to the objection which has been so vehemently urged against me by the partisans of the Whig faction, namely, that my being put in nomination as a candidate, will divide the reformers who were previously in the field, and ensure the return of the Tory candidate. As to the charge of dividing the reformers, my answer is, that my coming here could not, by any possibility, produce that effect; and for this plain reason, because, as I shall presently convince you, there were not any reformers in the field to be divided. There were at my coming down, three candidates in the field, that is to say, one Tory, one Whig, and Mr. Yates. Of the last gentleman I shall take the liberty of saying that I believe he will prove a sincere reformer. With respect to the Tory and Whig candidates, the Tories make not only no pretensions to the character of reformers, but declare themselves the unpromising enemies of reform. As to the Whig candidates who have presented themselves to the electors in all parts of the kingdom, under the mask of reformers, I shall repeat what I have often declared to you in my former addresses, that whatever professions may be made by a Whig candidate, it is utterly impossible for any Whig to be a real radical reformer. (Cheers.) I then brought forward many reasons in support of this assertion, and they were such as could not, in my opinion, fail to carry conviction to the mind of any rational man; and before I conclude what I am now

going to say to you, I shall lay before you some additional facts and arguments, to show that, in this respect, I have done the Whigs no injustice. My doctrine is, that there is no essential difference in regard to their political opinions, between the Whigs and Tories. They are equally the enemies of reform and of the people. The only distinction between them, if distinction it can be called, is that the Tories are, as I before remarked, the open and avowed enemies of reform; but the Whigs profess to be reformers, and represent themselves to be advocates of economy and retrenchment in every department of the public service, and friends to the freedom of the press, and to civil and religious liberty. These are fine words, gentlemen; but let us look a little more narrowly into the pretensions of the Whigs, and we shall find that the Whigs and Tories differ only in name, and that on all questions affecting the interests of the people, they are essentially the same in principle. If you ask a Tory whether he will repeal the malt-tax, he will at once say "No." If you put the same question to a Whig, he will attempt to put you off by loose and shuffling declarations of economy and retrenchment—he will talk of shifting the burden of taxation from the poor to the rich; but if you pin him closely to the point, you will find that he is as much averse to repealing the malt-tax, as the Tory. (Cheers.) The Tory affects to recoil with horror from the bare mention of touching the interest of the debt; so does the Whig; and he will not fail to call it a breach of the national faith, and an act of spoliation and robbery: and you will find him the same in every case in which you attempt to obtain from him a promise to support any specific measure for removing abuses, and relieving the distresses of the country. The cry of dividing reformers has been raised by the Whigs in every place where a radical reformer has been brought forward by the people. As to the pretence that my nomination will be the means of bringing in a Tory candidate, I have no hesitation in saying that I have seen and heard enough to convince me that it is quite impossible for a Tory to be returned as one of the members for Bolton. And here I will take the opportunity of remarking that there appears to have been some misunderstanding in regard to what fell from Mr. Grundy on this subject, at the meeting on Monday last. On that occasion, Mr. Grundy took the liberty to offer some observations to the meeting relative to the persons whom they ought to choose for their representatives; and on contrasting the pretensions of the Whig and Tory candidates, he made use of some expressions the effect of which was, that if the electors were bound to choose either a Whig or a Tory, the Tory was the least of the two evils. But you will recollect that Mr. Grundy followed up his observations by telling the meeting that they were not driven to the alternative, as there were two radical reformers in the field, namely, Mr. Yates and the humble individual who is now

addressing you. As to the charge of preferring a Tory candidate, I now tell you, as I have told you before, that I detest both factions; and that in my opinion, no man who calls himself a radical reformer can vote for either a Whig or a Tory, without being guilty of a gross and traitorous dereliction of principle. But it has even been said, that I have come down here for the express purpose of indirectly supporting the Tory candidate. Gentlemen, I repel this charge with indignation and contempt. My political life, which is known to the public, is without stain or reproach. My situation in life, and my political principles, which are well known to all the principal reformers in the kingdom, are a complete answer to so atrocious a calumny, and are, I trust, sufficient to rescue me from the foul imputation of coming here to act the part of a hireling mountebank and impostor. (Loud cheering.) The real truth, gentlemen, is, that the Whigs are not afraid that the Tory candidate will succeed. The danger which they apprehend is the success of a radical reformer. (Cheers.) I shall now proceed to give you a few more specimens of the sincerity of the professions of Whig reformers, as they style themselves, and more especially as regards economy and retrenchment. Economy and retrenchment, according to my interpretation of the words, mean a reduction of the taxes from fifty millions to about twelve millions, to which sum, and perhaps lower, I think it is absolutely necessary they should be reduced. And here I must take the liberty of remarking on the absurd notion which I have been informed is entertained by some tradesmen in Bolton, that they would derive no benefit from the taking off of the taxes. But let me ask them whether it be not a well-known fact, that the taxes which are levied from the hard earnings of the working classes of Bolton, and at present spent by the tax-eaters in London, Brighton, and other watering places, on the continent—let me ask the tradesmen of Bolton whether it would not be better for them if the taxes of which I am speaking, and which amount to more than half the earnings of the working inhabitants of Bolton, were left in their pockets to be spent, as they usually would be, amongst the tradesmen of Bolton, instead of being carried away and spent by tax-eaters in other places? Will any tradesman of Bolton, in defiance of this fact, pretend that he would not be benefited by a reduction of the taxes? (Cheers.) But some of the Whigs will tell you that they will shift the taxes from the poor to the rich, by levying them on what they call fixed property; but, gentlemen, I am, from long consideration, well convinced that it is impossible to devise any tax which the rich would not contrive to shift from their own shoulders to those of the poor, and which, indeed, would not of itself ultimately fall upon the poor. But let us consider the justice of the plan: the Whigs would tax houses and lands, which have been

depreciated to half their former value by the operation of Peel's bill, in order to preserve the funds, which have been raised to double their original amount by that impolitic and unjust alteration in the currency. Besides, the funds are taxes, in which there can be no property; and therefore these Whig projectors propose to sacrifice houses and lands, which are legitimate property, in order to preserve the funds, which are not property. Another, and the grand remedy proposed by the Whig statesmen, is education; and I believe various schemes will be proposed in the next Parliament for educating the children of the poor at the public expense. But to say nothing of the absurdity of educating children with money drawn in the shape of taxes from the pockets of the parents, I will ask whether you would not prefer keeping the money and educating your children yourselves, to having them educated in the way of charity at the public expense? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") But as to the pretence of alleviating your distresses by education, I, gentlemen, have had a good education, but I am not one of those who believe that education would make starvation pleasant; and if I were reduced to the state of destitution which I have witnessed in the dwellings of the weavers in Bolton, I am sure that I should avail myself of all the means which God and nature had placed within my reach, to rescue me from such a state of suffering. (Loud cheering.) But to return to Whig economy and retrenchment. I have already shown that the Whig Ministry have, by their organ, Lord Althorp, directly and explicitly declared that they will not touch one farthing of the pension list. They have also, in discussing the speaker's pension, indirectly declared that they intend to preserve the sinecures. They have refused to diminish the diplomatic expenditure, which amounts, I believe, to about 235,000*l.* annually, whereas the whole cost of the American diplomacy does not exceed 8,000*l.* per annum. The American ambassadors are moreover statesmen and men of business, whereas ours are principally empty-headed scions and dependents of the aristocracy, who possess no other merit than that of expending the spoils of your labour in the luxuries and dissipation of foreign courts. Then there is the 100,000*l.* per annum granted to the wife of our chief magistrate—I mean the Queen, the German Queen—and which will in all probability be some time hence carried over to Germany, that is, if the people of England will suffer it. Then, again, there is the 10,000*l.* per annum lately granted to teach our future chief magistrate, the Princess Victoria, the regal accomplishments of music and dancing. What, too, has become of Prince Leopold or the King of the Belgians' allowance? Where is the trust-deed by which he proposed to relinquish it, with some trifling exceptions, for the benefit of the people of England? I will now lay before you a few more instances of the sincerity of the professions of the members of the

Whig administration, and their ardent love of economy and retrenchment. You may perhaps recollect Sir James Graham's very able exposure of the numbers of places and pensions enjoyed by privy-counsellors. Sir James, who was then in opposition, proved, by indisputable documents, that there were 113 privy-counsellors, who annually received, in respect of places and pensions, no less than 650,000*l.*, of which 86,103*l.* was received by sinecurists. Sir James Graham is now one of the Ministers, and it might have been reasonably expected that one of his first acts after coming into power would have been to put an end to the abuses of which he had so loudly complained when out of office. It is, however, well known that Sir James Graham has never since opened his lips on the subject; and there he is, forming one of the very privy-council placemen, and receiving his share of the very sum of 650,000*l.*, the receivers of which he had held up to public obloquy. But this is not all. It is a fact which cannot be denied, that Sir James Graham owes all his political consequence, and his office of privy-counsellor and First Lord of the Admiralty, to the speech to which I have alluded. My Lord Durham affords another instance of Whig sincerity. His Lordship, who is Lord Privy Seal, discovered at his first coming into office that he had few or no duties to perform, and he declared that he was ashamed to receive the salary attached to the office, for doing nothing. The Duke of Richmond, too, who is the post-master-general, declared that he could not think of accepting his salary whilst he saw his poor neighbours at Goodwood labouring under so many privations. But, gentlemen, incredible as it may seem, the Duke of Richmond and Sir J. Graham are now in the receipt of the full salaries of their respective offices. But they acquired a temporary popularity by their self-denying declarations, and that, it seems, was all that was intended. The same observation applies to Lord Althorp's conduct in respect to the Manchester massacre. His Lordship at the time (he was then in opposition) voted for an inquiry into that horrible outrage; but when an inquiry was again moved for, after he became a Minister, he was one of the most strenuous opponents of the motion. (Cries of Shame, shame.) A word or two concerning pledges: I have written and said a good deal in support of the plan of requiring pledges from candidates—specific and distinct pledges—for a pledge which is not specific is no pledge at all. The Whig newspapers are raving against the pledge system.

It is said that it deprives a member of his free agency, and that it is a degradation for a man to submit to be sent bound and fettered to Parliament. The proud and haughty souls of the aristocracy cannot submit to such an indignity! But has it never happened that these high-minded personages have attended in Downing-street, by hundreds at a time, to receive instructions from the Minister of the day? Have they never entered the House of Commons so fettered? (Cheers.) Well, then,

gentlemen, if these high-minded persons have not been ashamed to receive instructions from the Minister, is it likely that I should consider myself degraded by receiving instructions from the people? (Loud cheering.) This high-minded aristocracy are proud of being called servants of the Crown; shall I then be ashamed of being called the servant of those to whom their master is but a servant, namely, the people? They are at best but the servants of a servant. (Loud cheering.) They are proud to obey the commands of their master "graciously expressed;" I, too, may then be allowed to feel proud to obey the commands of my masters "most graciously expressed," as there is no doubt they will be. (Loud and vehement cheering.) But then it is said that pledges will prevent a member from discussing and considering the measures which will be brought before the reformed Parliament. Now I must confess that the argument is of no weight with me. I am not one of those who are disposed to waste a whole session in discussing and debating on subjects which I have been considering for many years, and on which my mind has been long since fully made up. My doctrine is, that electors who have not made up their minds, and are not prepared to instruct the members as to the measures which are essential to the salvation of the country, are not fit to exercise the elective franchise. When the assistance of the people was wanted to press the Reform Bill, their political sagacity and intelligence was extolled to the skies; but now, it seems, they are to be considered as ignorant as brute beasts of what is necessary to be done to protect their rights and interests. (Cheering.) Another maxim with me is, that a candidate who has not made up his mind as to the particular measures which are requisite to rescue the country from its present state of misery, ruin, and degradation, is not fit to be a member of the reformed Parliament; he ought to be sent to school. (Much cheering.) The term delegate is most hateful to the aristocracy, but there is no other word which so aptly expresses the duty and office of a member of the House of Commons. I have repeatedly said that I consider a representative as the agent of those who send him to Parliament, and that he is bound to obey the wishes of the majority of his constituents, or resign his seat: but I have not said anything respecting the mode by which the sense of the majority ought to be ascertained. My plan is this:—I propose to come down to Bolton at the end of every session, and give an account of my parliamentary conduct to a public meeting of the inhabitants, electors and non-electors, to be convened for that purpose, and to take the sense of that meeting, by a show of hands, upon the question whether I shall continue one of the representatives of Bolton or not, and to act in conformity with the determination of that meeting. (Loud and continued cheering.) And now, as this is the last time I shall have the honour of addressing you during my present visit, I wish to

state to you the course which I intend to pursue at present. I shall leave Bolton without making any personal canvass, because I think that the office of a representative is a very laborious and arduous service, and not a personal favour to be solicited, except by those who wish to perpetuate the present system of public plunder, and expect to obtain a share of the spoil. If you wish to make use of my services, you will take the necessary steps for securing my return, which your exertions will, I have no doubt, not fail to accomplish; but, remember, that without your exertions, a favourable result is not to be expected. I now leave you, in the confident hope that you will execute the solemn trust with which you are now invested, in a manner which will prove that you know, and are resolved to perform, that which is due to the integrity of yourselves, your children, and posterity. (Loud cheers.)

The meeting then separated, after giving three cheers for Mr. Eagle.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, Nov. 16, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BARRETT, A., York-street, St. James's-sq., wine-merchant.
BOURNE, C., Leicester-square, victualler.
DAVISON, T., Barking, Essex, oilman.
SHEEN, H., Leicester, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

LORD, R., Barby, Northamptonshire, maltster.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BILLOWS, G. B., Poole, ironmonger.

BANKRUPTS.

BEEBY, G., Loudon-wall, haberdasher.
BOWER, G. jun. & M., Birmingham, toy-makers.
BURRELL, S., St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, linen-draper.
CAFFALL, W. sen., Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, butcher.
CRACE, H., Regent-street, printer.
DITCHFIELD, J., Warrington, Lancashire, victualler.
GIDFIELD, J. P., Liverpool, merchant.
HARRISON, S., and W. Bristow, Old Brompton, nurserymen.
HIGGINS, E., Manchester, draper.
HOWARD, T., Burnley, Lancashire, tailor.
JARVIS, W., Peterborough, Northamptonshire, victualler.

JEFFERYS, T., Hanley, Staffordsh., perfumer.
KILSBY, W., Southampton, hotel-keeper.
LAVER, I., Clapham, tallow-chandler.
PALMER, H., Stratford, Essex, timber-merch.
PEARCE, J., Museum-street, Bloomsbury, victualler.
PRICE, G., Portland-place North, Clapham-road, bookseller.
SAUNDERS, J., Corbet's Tay, Essex, school-master.
SLOPER, B. G., Chester, manufacturing chemist.
SMITH, W., Billingsgate, fishmonger.

TUESDAY, Nov. 20, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BOWLEY, J. B., Great Dover-street, Newington, furnishing ironmonger.
BURN, W. S., and E. L. Salzmann, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, merchants.
BUTLER, W., Little St. Thomas Apostle, painter.
LANDER, J., Derby, cabinet-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BUCKMASTER, W., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, wine-merchant.
CURRIE, D., Regent-street, army-accountment-maker.
HATCH, B., Susannah-street, East India-road, Poplar, builder.
NORTH, T., Wootton, Bedfordshire, carpenter.
PARMETER, W., Gosport, Hampshire, ship-builder.
POILE, W., West-end, Northall, Middlesex, dealer.
WILDEBOER, A., Crutchedfriars, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 19.—We had a fair supply of wheat this morning from Kent and Essex, but very little from the Suffolk coast, as the demand for the northern counties still continues, the best runs were taken off for shipping to Yorkshire, at an advance of 2s. 6d. per qr. on the quotations of last Monday. The millers bought but sparingly, in consequence of the low price of flour, which will not allow them to follow the advance on wheat, in proof of which free foreign went off but slowly, and only in small quantities, at the terms of this day se'nnight. We continue to be very scantily supplied with barley, having only a few vessels fresh in to-day from Suffolk; and, as the maltsters

were nearly out of stock, the finest samples of bright sold freely at an improvement of 1s., and all descriptions of stained were 2s. per qr. dearer than last week.

White peas are full 2s. per qr. higher, owing to the increased demand, in expectation of Government contracts for the supply of the navy.

Oats were firm at the prices of this day se'nnight, but not brisk in sale.

In beans and other articles no alteration.

Wheat	56s. to 62s.
Rye	33s. to 35s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	35s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	40s. to 43s.
— Grey	34s. to 36s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 36s.
— Tick	30s. to 32s.
Oats, Potato	20s. to 21s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 53s.	
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barrel	
Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to 86s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 86s. to 92s.	
— Cork ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Limerick ... 82s. to 84s.	
— Waterford ... 78s. to 84s.	
— Dublin ... 78s. to 80s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 90s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 60s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam ... —s. to —s.	
— Gouda ... —s. to —s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 66s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 19.

In this day's market, which was throughout moderately well, but not to say largely, or, though the average quality of the stock was superior to that of this day se'nnight, very gaudily supplied, the trade, with each kind of prime meat, was somewhat brisk, at fully, with the middling and inferior kinds dull, at barely Friday's prices.

Nearly, or quite, three-fourths of the beasts were about equal numbers of short-horns, Irish and Welch runts, principally steers and heifers, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western districts; the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Hereford and West Highland Scots, principally from our midland districts, and Town's-end cows, with a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, chiefly of the South Downs cross; the remaining fourth about equal numbers of South Downs, Kents, or Kent and Down half-breeds; with a few old Leicesters and Lincoln, polled and horned Norfolks, Dorsets, Welch, Aberdeeners, &c.

Beasts, 2,890; sheep, 18,200; calves, 137; pigs, 240.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 23.

The arrivals this week are again short. The prices are rather higher than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 83½ 83½ 83½ 83 83½ 83½	

41, LONG ACRE.

MATHEWS'S CHEAP CANDLE MANUFACTORY.

CANDLES.	s.	d.
Finest Wax Candles, per lb.	1	9
Palace Wax ditto	1	8
Wax Pieces ditto	1	6
Sperm or Composition, plaited wicks ..	1	5
Old Store Moulds, with wax wicks	0	6½
Best Store dips ditto	0	5½

SOAPS.

Old Brown Windsor, per lb.	1	4
White and Palm ditto	1	0
Mottled, per 112 lbs.	70	0
Best Pale Yellow	64	0
Good ditto	60	0

OILS.

Genuine Sperm Oil, imperial gallon ..	6	0
Best Pale Seal	3	6
Common Lamp	3	0

Starch, Blue, &c. &c.

Finest Sealing Wax, 4s. per lb.

J. M. begs to state that there are no two-priced articles kept or sold at his shop. The above are warranted first quality and for Cash only. Delivered in town, and carefully packed for the country.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 78.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1ST, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



“ I know what I have to encounter ; I know that I shall be told that I have been *praising* Sir FRANCIS BURDETT for several years ; I know that this will be flung in my face for a long while ; I know that even those who hate him will join him against me ; I know that it will take a long time to deprive him of the popularity which he once merited, and which he merits no longer ; I know that that base part of the public, who think it an honour to be numbered amongst his adherents, merely because he has twenty thousand acres of land, will adhere to him more closely than ever, and will most grossly abuse me for my exposure of him ; I am fully aware of all his craftiness, and of all his great talent at deception ; and I well know that it will take *years* before he will be seen by the public in his true light, and before he will be pulled down to his just level. But I know also, that if a thing be not *begun* it never can be *done*; and, therefore, I am now going to make a *beginning* upon him.”
—*Register*, written in Long Island, 21. July, 1817.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM, AND MANCHESTER, AND TO ALL OUR FRIENDS IN THE NORTH, SCOTLAND ALWAYS INCLUDED.

Normandy, 28. November, 1832.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Tired of lecturing and speaking and jolting and sitting up till twelve o'clock at night, I have been resolved to be, for a short time, at any rate, at a distance from all the rattlings of those coaches, the wheels of which are quite sufficient to make noise enough to gratify the cormorant appetite of WARRIMAN and such-like politicians ; and from all the turmoil and strife of politics ; I have resolved to come to this country, that I might have a more distant, yet

more distinct and enlarged view of all the subjects which are now in agitation ; just as men get upon a hill when they want to see the relative bearings of all the mansions, homesteads, meadows, woods, and arable land, spread about over the valley below. For these reasons, here I am in NORMANDY ; not, however, that NORMANDY from which the GRENVILLES and the GRINDSTONES (now called VERULAMS), and the BASSETS (now called DUNSTANVILLES), and the rest of those people, who, in their pedigrees, published in the *PEERAGE*, insultingly tell us, “ THAT THEY “ CAME IN WITH THE CON- “ QUEROR,” and who may very reasonably be asked, why they did not *go out* with the conqueror ; not that NORMANDY, my friends, but the *titling* of NORMANDY, in the parish of ASH, in the county of Surrey, the church of which parish is just about four miles and a half from the sand-hill, rolling down which constituted a considerable portion of my education ; the rolling, however, being associated with the very edifying pursuits of whipping cubs about amongst the heath, and finding out rabbit's nests and taking the young ones ; I having the misfortune to begin my life before the “ schoolmaster got abroad,” to teach us to write in the sand, and to sing in heavenly tune the “ *Magdalen Hymn*,” “ *God save the King*,” “ *The Apostles' Creed*,” and the “ *Pence Table*,” all which I heard the little “ *antitulluct*,” beings bawling out in *Bolt-court* last Saturday. Half maddened by the sound ; irritated at the chattering, gabbling, senseless sounds of the WEN, I started up and exclaimed : “ Go and get me a place in the coach ; for I am resolved not to endure this any longer.” “ It is too late, sir : the coach is gone.” “ Go and get me hack, cab, cart, dray, wheel-
“ barrow, get me something to convey
“ me away from these maddening
“ sounds !” After coming from the sensible people in the North, to be

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compelled to endure the botheration, the senseless gabble, by which I was half stunned, seemed to me to be a punishment, not only too great to be endured in case of necessity, but too great to be described. It was towards evening, and, therefore, I took a place in the coach for the next morning, and off I came, with a resolution to have a few days' *respite*, at any rate. And here I am, looking out of the window of a farm-house, upon a green common, inhabited by sensible cows, sheep, and geese; and, with the satisfaction to reflect, that I am five-and-thirty miles distant from the sound, the pious sound, of "*God save the King*," and the "*Pence Table*," by no means excepting that of the "*Magdalen Hymn*," which, however, really haunts me; and, about four o'clock this morning, waked up by a sort of monotonous sounds, I suddenly started up in my bed; and, from having changed beds so frequently of late, and it being dark, scarcely knowing where I was, I thought that it had been "*God save the King*," that had saluted my ear. But sitting a little while preparing myself for resignation to my fate, the sounds from half a dozen voices (responsive to each other) were renewed. "Oh! God be praised, it is the crowing of cocks!" Down I lay again, relieved from all my alarm; and here I am thus removed from the scene of noise and of nonsense, to address you upon the important subject of the WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

If, my friends, this coming election, affected nobody but the people of WESTMINSTER, it would not deserve all that attention which I am desirous that you should pay to it. It would deserve great attention under any circumstances, seeing how great the number of electors is; seeing how industrious the far greater part of them are; and seeing the weight which must necessarily under all circumstances be attached to the example of so great, so populous, and so opulent a city. Under ordinary circumstances, this election would, therefore, be a matter of great importance; but, under the present peculiar circumstances, it is a matter of the

very greatest importance to the people of WESTMINSTER, who are now going to decide, in the most solemn manner, upon A GREAT POLITICAL PRINCIPLE: they are now going to exhibit to the whole kingdom a proof that the people of this kingdom, either are, or are not, to be duped by fraudulent contrivances, or to be overawed by impudent aristocratic pretension.

In order to convey to you, in the clearest manner that I am capable of doing it, my account of the state of this struggle, and my opinions with regard to the conduct of the electors, as far as they have hitherto gone, and of what ought to be their conduct in future, it will be necessary for me, even before I proceed to describe to you that which took place on Monday the 26., at BURDETT and HOBHOUSE's meeting of electors; even before I do that, it will be necessary for me to give you a succinct history of the elections and members for WESTMINSTER, from the time that BURDETT began to be a member for that city. This is quite necessary, in order that you may see how he has worked the thing along until the present day: how he has continued to keep a seat, of which he has been wholly unworthy ever since the year 1816; and to show you his real motive for now making it a point, making it a *sine qua non*, a neck-or-nothing, that HOBHOUSE shall be the other member. After I have inserted an account of the present proceedings, I will add my *observations* and state my opinions; but first of all, it is necessary for me to give you a plain history of BURDETT's connexion with WESTMINSTER down to the present time; down to this moment, when that virtuous and spirited people seem bent upon recovering their lost reputation. Pray, my friends, look at the motto to this *Register*; you see, that it was fifteen years ago when I set about the work of demolishing this false pretender's false reputation: you see, that I was well aware of the time that it would require to accomplish the object; and of the great difficulties that I had to encounter. Nevertheless, I then began; and, now, before this struggle be over, every man

of sense ; every man of understanding ; and of information upon this subject, who deserves to remain *unchanged*, will be of my opinion, and will act upon that opinion. *Events*, as I told him from the very first ; *events*, as I told him, would finally put him to the test ; would finally drag him up to the bar of public opinion, at which bar he would be sure to stand condemned. Those events have come. In one of his quaint and rubbishy addresses, in 1818, he said, that he had been for many years "trying to find a public." "Poor man," said I at the time, "you will find one by-and-by." He found one round the hustings at COVENT-GARDEN, in 1830, when he and HOBHOUSE were returned "*without any opposition*," but with being pelted off the hustings with cabbages and turnips ; and he "found a public" again, even on his old dung-hill, the *Crown and Anchor* in the Strand, on Monday last, the 26. instant, a full account of the proceedings of which day I shall insert, after having given the history of which I have spoken above ; and which history I now proceed to give.

Until the year 1806 an election for WESTMINSTER had been, for many years, a mere boroughmonger farce. The two factions had agreed together, each to put in its man. Fox was the man of the WHIG faction, and an Admiral GARDINER, who became an Irish peer, and was called Lord GARDINER, had been the man of the TORIES. The Parliament was dissolved when it was about three years old, soon after the Whigs came into office, late in October, 1806. They wanted a Parliament of their own, and therefore they got rid of ADDINGTON's Parliament, which had been transferred to PITT, and had one chosen for themselves, early in November, 1806. But there had just been an election for WESTMINSTER, on account of the death of Fox. Upon which occasion the Whigs put up Lord Percy, the present great ambassador and lord-lieutenant, Duke of Northumberland. That base fellow, SHERIDAN, put himself up as the lineal political descendant of Fox ; but his party seemed to have thought that that

was a little *too bad* ; and, besides, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND of that day had *six or seven seats*, which were not things for the Whigs to disregard. They therefore made the old sot, SHERIDAN, give up his *hereditary right* ! PERCY was elected ; but at this time I had begun to rouse the electors of WESTMINSTER ; and, in twenty-three letters which I addressed to them in the *Register*, the first letter in the *Register* of the 9. of August, 1806, I made them clearly see all the villainies of the two political factions ; and, as Lord GREY told to a man who told it me again, I "destroyed the character of all *public men* ;" for this is the appellation taken to themselves by all those vermin who plunder us. Certainly, I did "*destroy*" their power to rob us any longer, without the robbery being perceived. PERCY was elected, but amidst the hisses of the people of WESTMINSTER ; and, for my part, I know of no disgrace to surpass what he had to endure at his *chairing*, except, perhaps, the disgrace endured by BURDETT and HOBHOUSE, at the cabbage and turnip election of 1830. The Parliament had not the advantage of listening to the SOLON-like suggestions of PERCY, for it was dissolved, almost immediately after his election ; and then there was another election to take place.

At this election, which, as I said before, took place early in the month of November, 1806, PERCY was not a candidate. The indignation of the people had been raised so high against him at the former election, he had so narrowly escaped an overwhelming shower of mud and addled eggs at his chairing, when *de la matière fécale* actually, in one instance, saluted his lordly dress ; PERCY had had such a foretaste of that which was to come, and had seen such preparations making for another *bout*, that he very prudently declined being a candidate ; and the two factions came to an agreement, the Whigs to put up SHERIDAN, and the Tories to put up Admiral Sir SAMUEL HOOD. The electors were roused by this time to a sense of the indignity offered them by these two factions, and

a large body of them proposed to bring forward Mr. PAULL, who was a Scotchman, who had been in India, who had been in Parliament during two sessions, who had brought articles of charge against the elder WELLESLEY for his conduct while Governor-General of India, who was a little man in point of height and size, who talked pretty well, who wrote better than one-half of the six hundred and fifty-eight, who was perfectly honest and disinterested, and who was brave to the back-bone, and persevering beyond any man that I have ever known in my life. The Whigs had all along been deceiving this Mr. PAULL, as they always have done every one else who has trusted in them. They, by leading him to believe that they would support his charges against old WELLESLEY, induced him to go on with the charges *until they themselves got into power, and then they turned against him*, and set all their whispering myrmidons to work to spread about *that he had been a tailor*, and that he was only accusing Lord WELLESLEY in order to get some money from him. I became acquainted with Mr. PAULL, from his having been introduced to me by Mr. WINDHAM, who strongly urged me to render him any assistance in my power in his undertaking against WELLESLEY; and I can truly say, that a more disinterested and honourable man I never knew in my life.

At this election, therefore, Mr. PAULL was fixed upon for us to put forward, in order to break up the infamous combination of these two factions, and to rescue WESTMINSTER from the disgrace of submitting to them any longer. This was my work: it was my own project: I paved the way to it by my addresses to the people of WESTMINSTER: I was the proposer of it in the meetings that were held upon the occasion; and BURDETT had no more to do in the deliverance of WESTMINSTER from the joint hands of the boroughmongers, than he had to do with making the great crops of apples this last autumn; and we shall see, presently, what an infamous part he acted, in order to get in for WESTMINSTER himself, and to keep out this

brave little Scotchman. This is amongst the most shameful acts of his life. He talk of *foul play* on the part of Colonel EVANS! we shall see, by-and-by, what *his play was* with regard to Mr. PAULL. However, observe, I am anticipating here; for what I am now speaking of took place at the election of the *next year*, when the Whigs were turned out, and when PERCEVAL came in. I am first to speak of *the election in November, 1806*. HOOD was the *Tory* candidate; SHERIDAN the *Whig* candidate, having WHITBREAD and PETER MOORE for his bottle-holders. They *beat the people*; but it was such a beat as pronounced their doom for the future, as far as WESTMINSTER was concerned. But, at the close of the election, HOOD and the base SHERIDAN slipped away from the hustings into the church of St. PAUL, COVENT-GARDEN, just opposite the porch of which the hustings stood, and there they were locked up nearly all the night, with constables and policemen to guard the church. It is curious that SHERIDAN and HOOD should have been driven off, in 1806, just as BURDETT and HOBHOUSE were driven off in 1830. The latter scene was in exact imitation of the former, except in as far as the *weather* made a difference: the latter being in *August*, the "*constituents*" were driven to the use of cabbages and turnips; but the former being in *November*, there was a plentiful supply of mud, with which the honourable representatives were covered all over from the forehead down to their shoes. I never shall forget them. They looked just like a couple of rats, raked up from the bottom of a sewer; and the High Bailiff and his books and his clerks and his beadles were all covered over in the same manner.

But, the most curious circumstance belonging to this election, and the most useful to be borne in mind at this time, is this, that *both the factions*, though desperately at war with each other; though more desperate against each other than they ever had been before, or have been since; though thus ready to tear each other to pieces, *most cordially united* in order to prevent the peo-

ple from having a voice. This is so valuable a fact; it so fully confirms all that has ever been said upon the subject of these unions, that I will cite the *proof* of it. After the election was over, it was thought proper, by the friends of reform, that there should be a solemn record as to the manner in which Mr. PAULL had been defeated. For this purpose a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 19. of November, of which meeting Major CARTWRIGHT was the chairman. At this meeting, seven resolutions were passed, the fourth of which was in the following words:

"FOURTHLY, That Mr. PAULL has "polled four thousand four hundred and "eighty-one votes of free and independent electors of Westminster, of "which 3,077 have been whole votes "or plumpers; while Mr. SHERIDAN "has polled only 955 whole votes, "and Sir SAMUEL HOOD only 1,033; "and that from the coalition of these "latter candidates, we find that they "each polled 3,240 split votes."

Now, reformers of the North, keep your eye upon these villainous factions, and you will find them playing just the same game over again during the next elections: you will find them everywhere combining and conspiring to aid each other against the people, and indeed you see the base ruffians of Whigs now combining with the Tories to oust Mr. HUME from *Middlesex*. This struggle it was, and not anything done by BURDETT; it was this famous struggle, of which I was the inventor, and in which I was the principal actor, that broke up the power of the combined factions in Westminster. How that famous city, having got rid of the fangs of the tiger, fell into those of the wolf, and became just as much the slave of BURDETT as it had been of the combined factions, we shall presently see. The next election was caused by another dissolution, when the Parliament was *little more than six months old*. The double-dealing of the Whigs, in the case of the poor Princess of Wales, had enabled PERCEVAL to oust them; and then they wanted a

Parliament of their own. Now, then, was the time to bring in Mr. PAULL. At a dinner, at which Major CARTWRIGHT was the chairman, and which took place immediately after the preceding election, the following was one of the toasts:

"Mr. PAULL.—Thanks to him for "having given us an opportunity of "exercising our franchises, and of demonstrating our indignation at a "proscription pronounced by a minister "against an upright member of Parliament."

At the meeting of the electors on the 19. of November, the last resolution agreed to was as follows:

"SEVENTHLY, That for this glorious "triumph, and for the fair prospect of "better days which it presents to us, "we are chiefly indebted to the integrity and perseverance of Mr. PAULL, "unto whom, therefore, we, in this "public manner, express our warmest "gratitude, and declare our *unalterable attachment*."

Well, then, *now* was the time to show this *unalterable attachment*! and the people were ready to show it; but the crafty and selfish BURDETT, plotting the thing with HONORABLE TOOKE; pretending at first that he did not want to be elected, and consenting, at last, only on condition that he should be put up independently of PAULL, who stood in absolute need of a subscription to aid him; and to have attempted to carry whom, except jointly with BURDETT, would have let in SHERIDAN and a Tory candidate again; in consequence of this, Mr. PAULL, who had been the real instrument in setting WESTMINSTER free, lost his election, and lost his life into the bargain! At the former election, BURDETT had been extremely anxious to cause PAULL to triumph over SHERIDAN and HOOD. He was *chairman* at the meeting of the electors, on the 30. of October, 1806, when the following resolution was put by him and passed unanimously:

"IV. That in the Parliamentary conduct "of Mr. PAULL, we have observed a "constant attention to his duty, a *strict*

"adherence to every promise made to the public, a virtuous abhorrence of oppressors and speculators, an inflexible perseverance in the prosecution of delinquency, a rare instance of resistance to those temptations by which so many other men have been seduced to betray their trust; and that upon these grounds, it is incumbent upon us, collectively and individually, to use all the legal means within our power to secure his election, and therein to do all that rests with us to preserve our country from a fate similar to that of so many European states, which have fallen an easy conquest to the enemy, only because the people had neither property nor liberty to defend."

This resolution was proposed by BURDETT, and carried without a dissenting voice. Why, then, not stand with Mr. PAULL now, when the reformers of WESTMINSTER were able and ready to carry both. Why, PAULL was far too good and efficient a man; he was too sincere a reformer, and BURDETT very well knew, that he would drag him along against his will. PAULL, who had spent pretty nearly all his money at the former election, was unable, without a subscription, to carry on a contest against Lord COCHRANE, ELLIOT, and SHERIDAN, the two former having plenty of money of their own, and the latter supported by the great purses of the Whigs. The election cost Lord COCHRANE not less than twelve thousand pounds; there was no possibility of raising a quarter part of the sum for Mr. PAULL; and BURDETT, finding that it was impossible to carry PAULL, except in conjunction with him, refused, in accordance with the advice of the malignant old HORNE TROKE, to be considered as a candidate in conjunction with PAULL. So that the electors were reduced to the necessity of seeing the two factions triumph again, or to carry BURDETT to the exclusion of PAULL; and this, observe, merely because BURDETT was afraid to see his laziness and insincerity placed in immediate contrast with the activity, energy, and sincerity of Mr. PAULL. This, as is well known, led to

a duel, which ended in the wounding of BURDETT and in the death of PAULL.

Seldom has there been known a more base transaction than this was on the part of BURDETT; but, what part did I, then, act at this time? Why, I acted no part at all. Burdett, in his second letter to Colonel Evans, tells the most impudent and fraudulent falsehood that ever was uttered by mortal man. He says, that the people of Westminster elected him *while he was confined to his bed*, and without his knowing anything at all about the matter. He forgets that I am alive, and that he and his understrappers made use of every artifice that they could resort to, in order to induce me to come into their views of excluding Mr. Paull. He forgets that, having exhausted my arguments against the exclusion of PAULL; having staid till I saw that the thing was resolved upon, and then left, before the election began, and never stirred from Botley until after it was over, resolving to do no one act, at any rate, to countenance any proceeding hostile to Mr. PAULL. My Lord Cochrane, in a very candid manner, applied to me for my aid; and his Lordship will recollect, that I refused it, notwithstanding my great respect for him: because, though the case of Mr. Paull was desperate, I should think it infamous to do any thing that might wear the appearance of hostility to that brave and sincere little man, to whose instrumentality we really owed the breaking up of the combination of aristocracy in Westminster. Fain would I have taken part against Burdett at this time, or have kept a total silence with regard to him; but it was impossible to do this without giving up the cause altogether, and without letting in the aristocracy again. Besides, in all other respects his conduct was then good. He then talked it well; he then told us that he would "tear out the accursed leaves of that scandalous red book, and bring back men's minds to the almost forgotten notions of the sacredness of private property, which ought no longer to be transferred from the legitimate possessors to venal and merce-

"nary combinations." In all other respects he was good; he held the proper language. In his address to the people of Westminster after the election, he said things which we will make him repeat now, or we will rub his nose in them once in every twenty-four hours. This address is so pregnant with matter, and so fine an illustration of his present doctrine, which inculcates the fitness of placemen to be members for Westminster, that we will have a new edition of it; and here it is, word for word, and letter for letter:—

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Electors of Westminster, after the Election.

"Gentlemen,—Next to the consciousness of endeavouring sincerely to serve my country, nothing can be more pleasing to my mind than the public approbation of my endeavours. Accept my grateful thanks. At the same time forgive me for feeling something like despair of any good to the country; whilst I see the regular expenses of corruption greatly exceed all the expenses necessary for any war, which we can be justified in pursuing; whilst I see attempts to delude the public mind, by COMPARATIVELY petty and insignificant inquiries into what is termed PECULATION; whilst those inquirers themselves think it not dishonourable to seize greedily every opportunity of enriching themselves out of the public spoil, by any other means not termed by them PECULATION. Such wretched notions of public honour and honesty can afford no signal benefit to the public, nor can give us any suitable redress. They appear to me to resemble the notion of chastity entertained by the prostitute, who boldly challenged any one to say, that she ever went out of the regiment. According to them, all within the regiment, all within the RED BOOK is honourable and virtuous. And they insult us by declaring that they have as good a title by the RED BOOK, as any of the people can have to the fruits of their industry, or to the inheritance of their ancestors;

from which industry, and from which inheritance, be it remembered, and from them alone, the RED BOOK itself takes every thing that it has to bestow. So that they pretend as good a right to all which they can contrive to take from us, as we have to the remainder—till they can take that too. Gentlemen, figure to yourselves a gang of robbers combined to plunder the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of several surrounding parishes; and agreeing amongst themselves to share the booty in such different proportions as the leader of the gang shall appoint to each. From time to time it will happen that some thief or other amongst them will purloin a part of the booty, and clandestinely appropriate to himself more than his appointed share. The purloiner is detected; and the gang with open mouths exclaim against the atrocity of cheating—the *regiment*; the only crime of the kind which they acknowledge to be so. Would it not be ridiculous in these plundered parishes to take any part in such a dispute; and to divide themselves into strong parties for the accusers or the accused? As long as the thieves in common take all they can seize, what is it to the plundered people who share the booty, how they share it, and in what proportions? Ought they not rather to destroy the gang and abolish the combination?—Such is my conception of the different corrupt ministers we have seen, and their corrupt adherents. And unless the public with an united voice, shall loudly pronounce the abolition of the whole of the present SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION, I must still continue to despair of my country. You, gentlemen, by this unparalleled election, have loudly pronounced your sentiments. May your voice be echoed through the land. In the meantime, though an individual is almost as nothing in the scale, I will carry with me your sentiments into the House of Commons. And I assure you that no rational endeavours of mine shall be omitted to restore to my countrymen

" the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair
 " fruits of their industry; to tear out
 " the accursed leaves of that scandalous
 " RED BOOK; and to bring back men's
 " minds to the almost forgotten notions
 " of the sacredness of private property;
 " which ought no longer to be transferred
 " from the legitimate possessors by
 " the corrupt votes of venal and mercenary combinations. I will continue,
 " gentlemen, disinterestedly faithful to
 " the interests of my country; and endeavour to prove myself your zealous
 " representative.

" FRANCIS BURDETT.

" 23. May, 1807."

Amidst addresses and speeches in this tone, poor Paul was soon forgotten, and all the baseness which attended his exclusion. The people had triumphed over the insolent factions; and they ascribed their triumph solely to Burdett, who really had had nothing at all to do with the matter. But, the committee who had carried on his election, became a formidable body. The achievement they took care to have ascribed to themselves, though not a man of them was capable of either writing or speaking more than any common porter or drayman. They got into a correspondence with persons all over the kingdom. Brookes in the Strand, who was their chairman, dealt in glass, and actually made a considerable fortune by circulating his glass advertisements, printed on the same sheet of paper with his political circulars; and there were all the reformers, all over the kingdom, applying to "Samuel Brookes, Esq." for political information, and sometimes to recommend fit persons to be members of Parliament, when poor Brookes could no more write two sentences correctly than he could have conducted a ship of the line across the Atlantic. This committee, however, could do nothing without Burdett; and Burdett could do nothing without the committee. They soon found out their mutual dependence, and they acted accordingly. They often wanted him to move, and he just as often wanted not to move, but to let well enough alone. They were afraid

that, without agitation of some sort, they should sink into contempt or oblivion: he, on the contrary, wanted them for nothing but for the purpose of keeping the people from stirring; and, thus they jogged along together, becoming every year more and more inactive; of less and less consequence, and more and more inefficient, as to all public matters; he resolved not to stir, and they knowing that they could not exist in opposition to him, bending to all his humours, bringing forward Kinnaird to exclude Major Cartwright; bringing in Hobhouse, in order to give him a supple and place-hunting colleague, and to protect him against the terrible danger of having for yoke-mate a zealous, a stirring, and sincere man.

But, *time*, which wears out every thing, has, by degrees, worn away this rump. The glass-man has been taken away by death. Old IRONSIDES has retired; COWNIE has given the thing up, if he be still alive: there seems to be only one single man of the old original rump in existence, and he, who always had more sense than all the rest, seems to be ashamed of attempting to hold up this *figurant* any longer. "Dear *De Veat*" and "dear POUNCET" (whence coming, and what being, God only knows), are entirely new actors; and seem to know very little about their business. He must be strangely put to his shifts; and, if he keep a seat for himself, to say nothing about his forcing a colleague upon the people of Westminster, it will be much more by luck than by any thing else.

I shall now insert the *Morning Chronicle* account of the proceedings of the electors at the Crown and Anchor on Monday last, at which meeting he and his colleagues certainly received sentence, being left to wait for the day of execution. Let it be observed, that this was a meeting called by themselves; that *dear De Veat* had done his best. I dare say, along with dear Pouncet, to pack the meeting as far as possible; and I dare say, that upon an occasion so important, HARPAGON would *bled a little*. He should have had a dinner meeting, at a sovereign a head,

and then "dear De Veau" might have employed the funds with certain effect in the procuring of good humour, taking care not to omit to remind the guests that, if there should be asparagus served up, they should mind not to begin eating them at the wrong end, as I will swear I saw Hobhouse's gang do when he had assembled them to hear him abuse me, and to prevent me from replying, in 1829. As it was, it appears to have been a most untoward event, though every precaution seems to have been taken to prevent the disgraceful result. The meeting had been advertised for the evening; but it took place at one o'clock, so as to prevent great numbers of the working classes from being present. But, in spite of everything, the old trickster found it impossible to carry on the delusion a moment longer. Well might he sweat! Well might he wipe his face. It would have made a skeleton sweat. A gentleman who was present tells me that, when at his peroration he pulled out his handkerchief, twenty people exclaimed, "Now the Baronet's crying." If I had been there, I should have said, "Not yet: he is only preparing his eyes against the crying time: that is to come when the cabbages and turnips are ready." I know, that I should see this fellow put down upon his own dunghill, and by his own people: popular justice is slow; but it is sure. Let the reader just ask himself this: If such be the storm which he has to encounter when *in a room*, what sort of a storm is that which threatens him if he dare to meet the injured and insulted people of Westminster out in the open air. All that is now wanted is, another candidate; to stand along with Col. Evans. Another candidate there doubtless will be, Radical or Tory; for, mind, he dares not keep his seat, if elected without Hobhouse. He is bound to that, by his letters; but that is feeble binding for him: there are other bindings which he cannot break through; and, therefore, unless the people of Westminster now relapse into shameful supineness, they will no longer be disgraced by being the property of this man, as they have,

in fact, been, ever since the year 1817, when he openly abandoned and basely betrayed, the cause of Parliamentary reform. When I have inserted the proceedings at this meeting, I shall have further remarks to make.

MEETING OF ELECTORS.

(From the Morning Chronicle, 27. November.)

On Monday, at the Crown and Anchor, a very numerous meeting took place of the electors and the inhabitants of the city of Westminster, to consider of taking measures to secure, at the ensuing election, the return to Parliament of the two present members—Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Cam Hobhouse.

The meeting was most numerously attended; was certainly one of the most stormy that ever took place in the metropolis; and though that was anticipated, no provision was made for the accommodation of reporters in the only place where the proceedings of a noisy assemblage can be heard—namely, immediately close to the chair. True they were placed within a few yards of the chairman, but so deafening was the clamour during a considerable portion of the day, that it became impossible to follow the course of the observations which fell even from the chairman himself. On the entrance of the committee, amongst whom were Mr. T. Duncombe and the two members for Westminster, there was considerable applause, and some waving of hats; but, at the same time, hisses from all parts of the room were loudly heard; and at no period, during the meeting, was there any expression of applause in reference to the conduct of Sir J. Hobhouse that was not immediately opposed by a strong display of hostility to the claims of the Right Hon. Baronet.

Mr. DE VEAU then addressed a few words to the meeting, but the purport of them can only be the subject of conjecture; they were, of course, presumed to relate to the appointment of a chairman, but on that point no question was put.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE then presented himself to the meeting, and though

assailed with cries of "No flogging," and a variety of other exclamations, did, in some degree, succeed in obtaining a hearing. Proceeding to take for granted that he had been called to the chair, he observed, that they might easily find men better qualified to fulfil the duties which attached themselves to the distinguished and responsible situation of presiding over a meeting such as that which he had the honour to address. He was fully sensible that his permitting himself to be placed in their chair on that day might be ascribed to vanity or presumption; but if he declined to preside over an assembly such as that, it might be attributed to other and to different motives—motives which he should be much more reluctant to incur the charge of than even those of vanity or presumption. There was no charge of which he could be more apprehensive than that of shrinking from his duty as a public man at a moment like the present; and, above all things, it would be most abhorrent to his feelings not to come forward in support of men in whose political principles he placed the fullest confidence. He had had in his place in Parliament the most ample opportunity of observing their conduct, and he had satisfied himself that there never was calumny more unfounded, or charges more false than those which had been levelled against Sir John Hobhouse. (Cheers and hisses.) The electors of Westminster must be aware of the opposition that was now in progress, and he was sure that there was not a man present but regretted that it had occurred, (cries of "No!" and cheers); and unless he could bring himself to believe that those who had been the prime movers of that cabal—(here the violent uproar prevented the conclusion of the sentence from being heard). There was no one act of inconsistency that could be brought against Sir John Hobhouse; but because he, a Minister of the Crown, refused to pledge himself to the period—even almost to the very hour—when he should introduce any particular measure, he was to be declared unworthy of their confidence. (Loud cheers.) The hon. Baronet was

now present, anxious and willing to declare and explain his opinions. (Bravo.) But with regard to pledges, if they had no regard for his past conduct, what confidence could they have in the fulfilment of pledges? As to his being a Minister of the Crown, who made him so? It would be answered, the King; true, the King had appointed him, but he was recommended by his conduct as the representative for Westminster; and if his acceptance of office was an act of guilt, the show of that guilt attached to the electors of Westminster, who had approved of his appointment, and re-elected him when he accepted office. The hon. Chairman, in support of Sir John Hobhouse's acceptance of office, referred to a distinguished statesman who was once the representative of Westminster—Mr. Fox; that distinguished individual had said, "A country can never prosper at a time when that which ought to be the object of ambition with a man of honour is considered a disgrace." The most amusing part of the opposition was, the distinction which was attempted to be drawn between Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse. Why, they had always acted together in all public measures; and if there were any guilt attaching to Sir John Hobhouse, Sir Francis Burdett could not be exculpated from a share of it. He would detain them no longer; but he would put it to the reformers, whether this was the time they should be divided among themselves? The voice of the people united gained them the Reform Bill, and it must be the same united voice that must secure to themselves the fruits of that reform. (Cheers and hisses.) The hon. Chairman concluded, amidst great tumult, by requesting that the report of the committee be read.

MR. B. BEAUMONT read the report, but owing to the tremendous uproar that prevailed, not one word of it was heard.

F. STEPHENSON, Esq., M.P., moved the first resolution, expressive of confidence in Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse. He addressed the meeting at some length, but it was evident, from

the temper of the meeting, that it was intended to listen to no person. The uproar during this gentleman's speech prevented our reporter from catching even a portion of a sentence, and at length the hon. gentleman retired amidst mingled groans and cheers.

A gentleman, whose name we could not learn, seconded the resolution in dumb show.

The CHAIRMAN appeared also to put the resolution to the meeting, but not a syllable could be heard.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then came forward, which was the signal for renewed confusion—a large party loudly cheering, the other party hissing and groaning. The latter and the former appeared to be nearly equal in numbers. Owing to the tremendous noise and confusion which prevailed throughout the whole of Sir F. Burdett's address, and the low tone of voice, and agitated manner of the honourable Baronet, it was utterly impossible that above fifty persons could hear even broken portions of his sentences. At the table at which the reporters were placed not a syllable was audible, and even when afterwards, by the kind accommodation of some of the gentlemen of the committee, we obtained a position close to the honourable Baronet's person, we were still unable to catch any more than occasional sentences and unconnected expressions. The confusion was as much owing to the supporters of Sir Francis, as to his opponents. For, as the former deemed it incumbent on them to exhibit their zeal, almost every alternate minute, by loud cheering, when from the fact of their not hearing, they could not possibly have assigned a reason either for approbation or disapprobation, the latter immediately answered the challenge by hisses, groans, and cries of "Off, off!" As far as we could succeed in comprehending the honourable Baronet, we understood him to say:—I cannot but deeply regret the cause of the discontent which has sprung up so unexpectedly amongst the electors of Westminster, who have for so long a period acted together unitedly on one principle, and have never allowed any enemy to cause

them to be divided. It is to me a source of deep regret that friends should now be dividing and separating, as I can understand, *on no public principle—on no ground that can be stated*; and that after the experience of so long a period of universal service on the part of my honourable Friend, there should, for no reason that I can collect; *for no valid reason*, I am sure, that has yet been put forth to the public, there should be found a gentleman to come forward and oppose Sir John Hobhouse (Hear.) Are there any of the electors themselves, who can state any rational ground why they should now strip my hon. Friend of the confidence with which they invested him fourteen years ago, and which fourteen years of able service should, I think, have secured to him? Much has been said in public print on the subject, and I have also taken the liberty of addressing you on it, speaking, as I am bound to do, my candid opinion, and not concealing from those who are opposed to me my views respecting them—[Here the noise was most intolerable, and the honourable Baronet was obliged to be silent for a short time.]—Copies of the following were then handed up above the heads of the meeting, and a great number thrown on the hustings. The hon. Baronet took one of them into his hands, and proceeded:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

"*Mr., now Sir John, Hobhouse's Speech on the Hustings, 19. Feb., 1819.*

"Let me put this question of reform to the Whigs distinctly.

"They say—I would limit your right of suffrage.

"I say—I would extend it!

"They say—I would not have all housekeepers vote.

"I say—I would not stop at housekeepers! Will they go as far as this?

"Ask them, Gentlemen.

"They say—I am not for annual Parliaments—I say I am! Will they go as far as that? Ask them, Gentlemen.

"Will they give you any reform that will destroy corruption? Ask them, Gentlemen.

"Sir John has made four propositions his own, viz.—

"1. Repeal of the Septennial Act,

"2. Voting by Ballot;

"3. Repeal of House and Window Taxes;

"4. Repeal of Taxes upon Knowledge.

"Will he stick to these? Ask him, 'Gentlemen.'

A paper is now put into my hand, which states that my hon. Friend, on a former period, alleged that he would extend the suffrage. It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Hobhouse has contributed mainly to extend it, he has exerted every effort in his power to extend it. Gentlemen, these papers are so futile, that I am astonished that gentlemen who are now offering them should think it right in this way to make such an utterly useless attack. (Here the hon. Baronet threw the paper before him.) Gentlemen, I really can have but little to say, either for myself or for my hon. Colleague, except that, from 1795, a period I am almost ashamed to confess, I have never had occasion to change any opinion I then entertained. (At this period the chairman got on the table, and used every effort to obtain silence, but his exertions were abortive.) Gentlemen, this is a scene, the like of which, within the long period during which I have been a representative of Westminster, I have never yet witnessed, I have never before seen the time when the electors of Westminster, with their ears open, their minds open, if they saw cause of complaint, would not in a handsome and manly manner come forward and state their objections, whatever they might be, to their candidates, before to-day. I have never before seen that they would allow themselves to be degraded by a tumultuous course, which can have no other effect on the public at large than that of countenancing all those calumnies which have been so often brought forward against them, and of playing the part of those new associates, who we have reason to think have been brought forward into Westminster, engaging with the Tories, whose only object is to be obtained by clamour, and who, if they cannot defeat popular

purposes, will bring popular meetings and persons into public disrepute, and which a very few persons, have the power to do. I say, then, that I stand before you on the same ground, with the same views, and on the same principles as my hon. Colleague and I wish not, and I would not for the representation of Westminster, desire to be separated from him. Now much has been addressed—I will not say to the understanding of the electors, but to their supposed want of understanding, by which they are supposed to be so easily entrapped, so easily gulled and duped, which would mislead them, and carry them into a course of conduct not consistent with that which they have hitherto boldly pursued. Amongst other things, I have been accused, or rather an apology has been made for me, which I, however, reject, which I should disdain to make, attributing to me, in something that has been addressed publicly to you, a want of discretion. It is to be excused, as it is said, on the ground of having been written on the spur of the moment. Gentlemen, I fancy that almost all letters are written on the spur of the occasion. I never heard of letters being written, then kept for a length of time, and then brought forth again, under the impression that, like wine, they would be the better the older they were. But I see no indiscretion characterizing any one sentiment, or expression, or feeling that I have uttered to the people of Westminster. Nay, I say more; I say, if I were indiscreet, I would be so still, because it is honest,—and I place honesty far above discretion in my scale of moral duties. I would beg leave just to say to the gallant Colonel who has come forward so uncalled for, and who has been most ungraciously received with regard to his making an excuse for me, as *Lady Trazle* said to *Mrs. Candour* in *The School for Scandal*, "Oh dear, *Mrs. Candour*, never undertake my defence." Gentlemen, if I wanted discretion ever so much—if any indiscretion had attended my conduct—I am sure I could not be ungenerous enough to borrow

anything from the gallant Colonel in palliation of it, who really appears to me himself to stand in need of all he has got. *Why, I hold my whole public life as an act of indiscretion. Was it discreet in me to take up the cause of the people five-and-thirty years ago? Was it discreet in me to get myself into jail for the sake of justifying, as I conceived, honest and ill-treated men? Was that discreet in me? I admit the indiscretion; but I claim a little for the honesty of my conduct, and the sacrifices I have made. That such honesty and such sacrifices should have been pledged and been completed in this great crowning measure of reform makes me proud, and makes, in my opinion, a demand on the public for the support of that King and those Ministers who have placed the liberties of the country on a rock that cannot be moved, who have thus placed the constitution on its true constitutional basis. And it is a little too much, I think, to expect of persons who have so lately effected such a purpose—a purpose which, a few months before it was effected, no man could venture to say or flatter himself with the hope of its being accomplished—now, almost before time has been given to the public to feel the great power they have obtained—my hon. Friend, too, having entered into the Government determined to support reform—that it is now to be so weakly cast into his teeth that he, at a time when the Whigs, as a party, were thought to be hostile to reform—when the great question of reform, which had been agitated in the minds of the country, had been adopted by all the ablest and most eminent men, I may say from the period of the Revolution down to the time when the measure passed—too much to suppose, that because my hon. Friend is opposed to coming forward and voluntarily pledging himself to his future conduct, that that is to be a reproach to him; that he is to be reproached at this particular time, under these altered circumstances, when a whole host of matters are pressing forward, all matters of great importance, all debatable matters, all matters of

prudence, all matters of deep consideration. I think it is too much to ask him to pledge himself, before he goes into that great assembly, if he should be sent there; but that he should be left free to support, as far as he may think right and good for the public, whatever may be brought forward for discussion. It is idle to think that he ought not to be allowed to go into Parliament unbiassed and unpledged, but he should be tied hand and foot, and be under the necessity of cutting short all discussions, by declaring that he had been either so thoughtless, or so wise, as previously to have come to an unalterable opinion on these subjects. (Hear.) The hon. Bart. then proceeded. Pledges were demanded; he had no objection to them for untried men; but he considered them nonsensical. (Hisses and uproar.) A gentleman named Merle had come forward the other evening on behalf of the gallant Colonel. That gentleman he (Sir Francis) believed was originally an anti-reformer, spoke against public principle, and supported the anti-reforming interest in the person of Sir Murray Maxwell. Another gentleman also, a Mr. Michie, had been enlisted under the banners of the gallant Colonel, who had also been an anti-reformer. The question then was with him, were they converts or not? If they were, in his mind they were acting with the greatest absurdity; if they were not, they were acting in that manner which he (Sir Francis) would not name. (Cheers.) He objected to pledges, as not binding any man; and he would give them an instance why he did so. He would suppose that a person went into the House pledged to support the Vote by Ballot; that, during the time he was in the house, there had been pointed out the mischiefs that resulted from it in other countries—for instance, in America; was he then, being convinced that it would be attended with the worst effects, to break his conscience or his pledge? (Cheers and tremendous uproar.) It had been said by Mr. Merle, that he (Sir Francis) thought himself wiser than the collective constituency of Westminster. He

could assure the meeting that he did no such thing, and he would refer to his former conduct whether he could be charged with such an offence. It was because he did not think himself wiser than other men—because he did not think that it was impossible nothing could occur to alter his opinion—that he was not dishonest enough to pledge himself. He was not one of those who wished to mislead by sham and false pretences, and therefore it was that he objected to pledges. He objected to them, not on his own account, but for the good of the electors of Westminster. (Loud cheering and disapprobation). It was not for the sake of his honourable Colleague that he wished the electors of Westminster to re-elect him; but it was for the support of their own honour and consistency. He knew it had been said that a new broom swept clean. How that adage would bear out in the present case he would not pretend to say. (Hear, hear.) If the electors of Westminster chose to send the gallant Colonel as one of their representatives to the House of Commons, they might be able to discover that. The gallant Colonel, it was true, had said that he thought it right a Reformed Parliament should remodel all the institutions of the country. He (Sir F.) did not view matters in that light. The whole fabric to be destroyed before it could be remodelled, was a principle which he never could adopt. What he wished for was, the rendering more perfect the institutions of the country; but at the same time preserving and rendering them immortal. He stood before the electors of Westminster willing and anxious to make known to them the opinions he entertained if they knew not enough of them already. (Cheering and uproar.) He had always been ready to do so, and he was sure that no elector of Westminster could say that he had found him shrinking and skulking from the most open investigation; and he stood before them now as satisfied of meeting with the support of the patriotic and sound-judging electors of Westminster as he ever did in his whole life, and that the struggle that had now commenced would

terminate in the support of their high character. The excitement that now existed was the natural result of the condition into which the people had been brought; but he had no doubt that a very little time would elapse before the people came into the same state upon the subject as they originally were. The whole complaint against his right hon. Colleague, and which appeared to him to have caused the disturbance and clamour which had taken place at the meeting that day, had resolved itself into one circumstance, namely, that Sir John was in office. Was it, he would ask, to be said, that an honest man never could be in office? (Loud cheers.) That he could hold no public situation without being a foe to the people? (Cheers.) Such a sentiment would naturally have come from the breast of an Englishman during the borough-mongering domination; but now that the people had a Government who had carried reform, all such sentiments ought to be extinguished. He could assure the meeting, that if they had listened to such arguments as those, they would be imposed upon by their former opponents, and would be answering every end they wished for—namely, be excited into a spirit of dissension. (Cheers.) They would join with their former adversaries against their former friends; he, therefore, looked to the electors of Westminster with that confidence with which he had ever looked to them, ready as he was at all times willingly and truly to communicate upon every subject upon which they wished information. He trusted, that now the boroughmongers had been got out of the House of Commons, electors, whose rights were so valuable, would not quarrel among themselves. (Vehement cheering.) Colonel Evans had said that he should not think of opposing Sir John Hobhouse upon any public ground, and that he would only come forward in case of a vacancy, thinking that vacancy would occur by his (Sir F.) being raised to the peerage. That event had not taken place, and therefore no vacancy has occurred. What, therefore, could have induced Colonel Evans to have put himself forward,

having no accusation against Sir John Cam Hobhouse, he could not imagine. There must have been some reason further than that which had been assigned, to have induced any reasonable man to favour his pretensions. Colonel Evans had said that he thought Lord Dunboyne had been applied to; but upon what ground it was, that he would ask the gallant Colonel opposing his right hon. Colleague. All his (Sir J. Hobhouse's) exertions were to be thrown aside, and because he would not give pledges as the gallant Colonel had done, that support which he had hitherto received from the electors of Westminster was to be denied him. If there were any charge against his hon. Colleague, Sir John Hobhouse, relative to his public conduct, he was now present to stand upon that conduct, and to reply to the charge. Both his hon. Colleague and himself were present to answer any charge that could be manfully and fairly brought forward, and by rational beings. (Loud cheers.) But he had no hesitation in saying, that if any of the opposing party thought they could pick out from among themselves, or from elsewhere, any person who was more likely and more faithfully to defend those principles of public liberty which both Sir John Hobhouse and himself had hitherto unitedly defended, he would as zealously co-operate with that man in the ranks of the people as he had already done. (Cheers.) Those principles were what he had first declared to the electors of Westminster, and they would continue to be his principles to the last. He appealed to the electors upon those principles, leaving them to do their duty as he had done, conscious as he was that, to the best of his ability, he had conscientiously discharged it. (Cheers.)

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE then came forward amidst the warmest applause from all those present who favoured the pretensions of the right honourable Baronet, but he was, no doubt, very loudly assailed by the opposite party, who certainly appeared to us to be numerous, and very equally diffused throughout the different parts of the

meeting. Our improved situation on the platform, and the great distinctness and deliberation which, at all times, mark the right honourable Baronet's delivery, enabled us to catch more of what fell from him than from any other speaker. He began with saying—Fair play and fair dealing have always been the characteristics of the electors of Westminster, and of the people of England; and as I am now upon my trial this day, I hope that the jury, before they condemn me, will give me a fair hearing. I am well aware that when I first entered into public life I embarked on no summer sea. (Great confusion, and an interference on the part of the chairman to obtain order.) I say, that when I embarked in public life, I was well aware of the nature of the undertaking. I knew that in facing my constituents I could not expect at all times an equally favourable reception, especially in representing any very large constituency. I say, that in my answer to the late address in which I acceded to the wish that for the sixth time, I would allow myself to be put in nomination for the city of Westminster. (Renewed confusion.) I am aware that this disturbance is created only by some half dozen persons in different parts of the meeting, to prevent my being heard by the great and enlightened constituency of Westminster. By that great and enlightened constituency I have been elected; and from the time of my first election to the present hour, I can safely and conscientiously say, that I have never done anything to deprive me of the enjoyment of that share of the confidence of the electors of Westminster, which first placed me in the high and honourable situation of their representative. In a letter which has been addressed to my honourable Colleague by a friend of mine, he says he has found a general and glowing disapprobation of my conduct on the part of the electors of Westminster. The friend who thus writes of the dissatisfaction which he says prevails, has undoubtedly had the very best opportunities of knowing how the matter really is, for he has been at my side, or rather behind me, on most public occasions; and I fully

agree with those who think that he ought to know what is the opinion of the electors of Westminster, for he has had recently very frequent opportunities of intercourse with some of them; and who is this? No other person than Colonel De Lacey Evans. Yes, the hon. and gallant Candidate who now offers himself for your suffrages, has, it would seem, found out that there is much and general dissatisfaction expressed in Westminster respecting my conduct in Parliament. It would seem, then, that he has at length found it out. To borrow a metaphor from his own glorious profession, the train has been laid in silence under-ground, the sappers have effected their work noiselessly, and, when the mine explodes, the gallant Colonel comes forward, declares his breach practicable, cheers his supporters on to the assault, tears down Westminster's ancient standard, pushes its former defenders into the ditch, and proclaims himself master of the citadel. (Cheers, cries of "Well done, well done!" and some hisses.) When the deputation, which has been so often referred to, came to me, I asked if they had any complaint to make against me? The reply was, "No complaint whatever." But while I am upon this subject, I may as well observe, that it has been industriously circulated abroad that I was guilty of want of courtesy towards that deputation. I almost feel it a degradation to be under the necessity of replying to such a charge. Is there any man in England who could suspect me of want of courtesy or respect towards such a deputation? I trust I am too well known to be seriously accused of that. But I understand the gallant Colonel objects to me in my official capacity; but I think that objection has been most satisfactorily disposed of by my hon. Colleague, and, indeed, I would say, that it has been disposed of by the electors of Westminster, who returned me without opposition immediately after my acceptance of the office which I have now the honour to hold. Now, I will ask you, gentlemen, what opinion my hon. and gallant Opponent has expressed upon the sub-

ject of my conduct upon that occasion? Who was it, at the election which took place after my appointment to office, that moved the thanks of the electors of Westminster to their representatives?—It was no other than Colonel De Lacey Evans. (True, true.) And in what terms did he express himself respecting the conduct of my hon. Colleague and myself on that occasion, to the person by whom the resolution was seconded? He said he should move it with pleasure, for he said he thought us two of the honestest men in the House of Commons; and now he offers himself to the electors of Westminster all for the love he bears his country—he can have no other motive. There is no charge made against any part of my conduct—no person dares to do anything of the sort. In fact, the hon. secretary of this hon. Candidate's committee exonerates me from any charge of the kind. There exists, as I repeat, no ground, not the slightest, for bringing any charge against me. It has been stated that I had declared that my principles and those of Mr Hume were as far as the poles asunder. This is certainly a misstatement. I never said any such thing. Wits have short memories; I will not add the remainder of the quotation—that blockheads have none; but wits have short memories, and in this instance the person by whom the statement was made certainly failed to relate the matter in the precise terms applicable to it. I repeat that I never said any such thing; what I said was this—that if Mr. Hume proposed a reduction to the threatened extent of 30,000 men, that then he and I should be as far as the poles asunder; but that has nothing whatever to do with the slanderous placard that has been going about on this subject. I now come to the last charge that has been made against me, or with reference to the coming election. It is said by those who are hostile to me, that I have refused to give pledges as to my future conduct; that is not true, for I offer the best possible pledge—I offer the pledge of my whole life. But I need not detain you with detailing the particulars of the

paltry contrivances by which this cry has been raised, and by which an organised plan has been matured for removing me from the representation of Westminster. Let me not be misunderstood—I am far from attributing it to Colonel Evans, that was concerned in organizing any such proceeding—on the contrary I believe he was unconscious of its existence at the time it was going forward. But by whom do you suppose has this project been carried into effect? By 5,000 of the electors?—No such thing—nor by 50, nor by 10; but how many, think you, gentlemen? By one individual, and I have his letter in my pocket; and I may be allowed to say, that I feel very grateful for the interest that he has been kind enough to take in my election. Now observe what this gentleman says to the three electors who came to me to ask me for pledges. He says, “Take care and get his answer (meaning mine) before the public meeting, and then publish it immediately after it has been obtained.” This is exactly the present condition of the hopeful scheme. Of its defeat I cannot entertain the slightest apprehension. The public are already aware of its character; and, least of all, should I fear that the electors of Westminster would be duped by any such scheme. Pledges from me! My whole public life is the best pledge which can be offered. There are some who do not think that that will satisfy the electors of Westminster; and what will then? Have I ever deceived you? Have I ever omitted to do anything that could promote the interests of Westminster, or benefit the country at large? My conscience tells me that I have not. If a life of public service be not sufficient to guarantee integrity and good faith, I know not what is. In the judgment of most men it would be considered that none but a fool would fling mere promises into the scale against public virtue and tried integrity; and to this I have but to add, that when the great struggle does come, and coming, should terminate otherwise than I expect, I shall feel that there must have been somewhere not only a great sacrifice of public principle, but of private honour; and it will be impossible for me ever to contemplate it otherwise than with pain; for a man may brave the hatred of his enemies, but the heart sickens at the ingratitude of friends. He says he opposes me because a man in office goes shackled into Parliament, and that many of the institutions of the country were to be remodelled; therefore the electors of Westminster could not support a man so shackled. They had lately been employed in remodelling one of the greatest institutions they had, and he would ask who it was that had carried through that remodelling? Was it Col. Evans? Was it Mr. Hume? Was it men in office or men out of office? Why, was it not the Ministry, backed by the people? (Cheers.) It seemed that they were to have a remodelling of the Constitution; but you will not begin by cutting up the roots of good faith between man and man, but have something like sincerity in the dealings of this world. I hope you will not endeavour to found public morality on private infamy. I have only my past services to refer to; and unless I find something more palpable than a charge against my being in office, I must call it a mere trick to hide a paltry design. Lord Grey and his colleagues had introduced the greatest measure which statesmen had ever tried to accomplish; they carried it by the assistance of the people, through every danger, and now they would pursue their unpromising course. The victory was won—the deed was accomplished. Now, of course, the finishers of that good work looked around for the approbation of the country, to which they considered themselves entitled. If Westminster could not return a man in office, what other place was there which could suffer itself to be disgraced, for disgrace it must, in such circumstances, be considered? The result must be that placemen would altogether be left out. There had been many great men in the extraordinary times in which I have lived; with many of them I have been intimately acquainted; but with the histories of all I am acquainted; but it appeared there was a great man

living at this very time, whom I have not known till now; this great man is sought after by no less than three different places as a representative—his native Limerick claimed him for her own; Rye, the shores of Sussex, would not lose him; and, lastly, the electors of Westminster said they could not spare him. His gallant Friend seemed to be the most desirable man that ever was desired, he must possess the power of ubiquity. He was wanted to support Mr. O'Connell in the repeal of the Union; the agriculturists were in agony at the thoughts of losing him, and according to the placard which has this day been exhibited, the electors of Westminster claimed him for themselves; and, as it is said, he was, at all times to be accessible to the 18,000 electors. To do all that he must, as *Mrs. Malaprop* said, be like Cerberus, three gentlemen at once. My gallant Friend is more fortunate than myself, for I have no shelter if driven out of Westminster, nor would I accept any other; for if I am unfit to serve the electors of Westminster, I am equally unfit for any other constituency. If we are to have a struggle, I hope it will be a very different one to what we have witnessed this day. I do not doubt but that it will end so as once more to establish your character for honesty and good faith. Colonel Evans has assigned as a reason for his coming forward, that Westminster is an open borough, and that if he did not come forward, somebody else would. This is but a bad reason; the same thing might be said of the King's highway; that was an open highway, and a highwayman might as well say to me, there is something that belongs to you which will suit me very much, and as this is the open highway, I'll make hold to take it. (Confusion.) I think I should have great reason for complaint, more especially if the robber had been riding side by side with me along the road for a considerable distance, and I had, consequently mistaken him for a friend. (Cheers and hisses.) Now, gentlemen, I can only say to you, that such as I have been, such shall I continue to be. I told this

to the gentlemen who waited on me to ask me to pledge—and I said to them, that dear to me as was your confidence, and the representation of Westminster—still dearer to me was my own character. I care not what those who have taken part against me may say, I desire to be judged only by my actions. And I know that I shall have your verdict in my favour; and I know, perhaps with still greater certainty, that I shall have the approving verdict of my own conscience. The gallant Colonel Evans has said, that he was used to be on the winning side, and hopes he may be so now. I beg leave, however, to tell him, that he is already on the losing side, and I tell you that he has already lost the esteem of many good and honourable men (No, no! cheers and hisses.) I do not think, gentlemen, that Colonel Evans viewed the subject in the same light as you, perhaps, or as myself—if he had, of course he would sooner have cut off his right hand than have acted as he has done. Would I have gone to Rye to supplant him, because Rye was now an open borough, and because there might, perhaps, exist there a few individuals who were not satisfied with his conduct? For had such an application been made to me from those individuals, I should have answered, Colonel Evans is my friend. I approve of his parliamentary conduct. It is not impossible, from his situation, that he may have made one or two little slips. His principles in the main I admire. We have worked together in the same cause, we have together urged our way in the same public career, and I will not turn round on an old friend, nor bring discredit on an old cause, by dividing its old supporters. (Cheers and groans.) The gallant Colonel cannot be on the winning side. If he were to triumph, it would be but an inglorious victory. It would be a triumph over an old associate. He would succeed in dividing old friends. He would give glee and joy only to the enemies of the good old cause of reform, and though he would not succeed in gaining any additional credit, yet he would most certainly succeed in bringing great discredit upon

the very cause of which he pretended to be an advocate. Of the result of the contest, however, I have no doubt. Indeed, the only difficulty I find is, to persuade anybody that there will be a contest at all. (Confusion—"Oh, oh!") But, gentlemen, we must, of course, be prepared. You, gentlemen, must exert yourselves. I will be at my post. I will not be wanting to you; and I feel certain, gentlemen, you will not be wanting to me. (Loud cheering and disapprobation.)

The same confusion that existed during Sir F. Burdett's address, prevailed during that of Sir John Hobhouse, and was attributable to the same cause. We have, therefore, only noticed those expressions of approbation and disapprobation which were more particularly vehement.

The CHAIRMAN then rose to put the resolution, expressive of confidence in Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Cam Hobhouse, which he said he had previously read. (Great confusion existed—Cries of "read.") The greater part of the meeting did not appear to understand what the resolution was. The Chairman, however, put it, without reading, and about 150 hands out of the vast meeting appeared to us to be held up in its favour, and at least twice that number against it, the greater part of the meeting not voting. In putting the succeeding resolutions, however, nearly the whole assembly took part in the division. The Chairman declared the resolutions carried, amidst great confusion, and cheers, and cries of "No, no!"

Mr. CROUCH then came forward, and the persons present, exhausted, doubtless, by the incessant clamour which had been kept up against the principal objects of their hostility, became at once orderly and attentive. He expressed his regret at the personal feeling which appeared to exist among them. He had often witnessed contests in that room between the friends and the enemies of the people, but it had remained for that day to exhibit an unnatural contest between the advocates of liberty themselves, and conducted with a degree of frenzy far from doing them honour.

He had no personal feeling towards the gallant Colonel, but he was sorry to see him embark in a contest which would have the effect of dividing the friends of the good cause. All such contests as these he felt himself bound to deprecate; and whether he witnessed such a contest in Westminster or in Middlesex, he should equally exclaim against it. He denounced the operations now going on in the county of Middlesex, for the purpose of unseating that zealous, able, and worthy advocate of the rights of the people, Mr. Hume. (Bravo! and tremendous applause; cries of three cheers for Hume! which were unanimously given with great distinctness, heartiness, and unanimity.) The division that had been caused in Westminster he deeply deplored. He wished Colonel Evans had been present to witness the manner in which the greatest patriot of the day—the man who had rendered the most disinterested services to the people had been treated—he meant Sir Francis Burdett. (Uproar.) Sir Francis Burdett, the hero of 40 years' arduous services—the man who had held his fortune, and even his life, a cheap sacrifice to the public cause. And yet the period had actually arrived when men were found so ungrateful, as at the appearance of that man to groan and hiss and cry Off, off. He wished Col. Evans to reflect on the mutability of popular support, and he thought, that had he been there that day, he would have shrunk from the men who could so treat Sir Francis with shame and disgust. He then concluded by moving a resolution to the effect, "That the past conduct of their present representatives was the surest pledge for the future, and that it was unnecessary to demand pledges from Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse."

Mr. HARRISON seconded the motion, which was then put from the chair. An immense majority was held up against it, in the opinion of several around three or four to one, but certainly more than double. The friends of Sir John Hobhouse, however, called it carried, and

Mr. POUNCEY next stood forward.

He said he hoped they would bury all their differences, and would not permit the attempt now making to divide the friends of freedom to succeed. In proposing the next resolution, he begged to observe the authority, in support of it, of a person who was no partial friend, but at this moment a political opponent, that the people, and the electors of Westminster in particular, possessed the most able, zealous, and eloquent advocate in their present representative, Sir John Hobhouse. He then moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting, after the strong expression of approval now given, lament and condemn the measures now adopting to oppose the return of Sir John Hobhouse; and being unable to discover any good object in that opposition, are seemingly determined to use their utmost efforts in order to frustrate it, and to crown with success the return of the man whose public efforts have had the test of experience."

Mr. THURSTON seconded the resolution, which was then put to the meeting, and was declared by the chairman to be carried. An immense number of hands was held up against it, and we should have supposed that it was negatived by as great a majority as the one immediately preceding it.

Mr. CHAMBERS came forward amidst great uproar, and asked whether clamour was proof of a good cause or a bad one? He was here interrupted by three cheers being given at the lower end of the room, for the show of hands just displayed, and three groans for those who were in favour of the resolution. Some persons then called out, "Three cheers for Colonel Evans," which were immediately given. Mr. Chambers, finding he could not gain a hearing, after several ineffectual efforts, proposed a resolution, expressing a hope that the electors would unite with the committee for the purpose of bringing into action all the feelings and interests of the men of Westminster in favour of their old, excellent, and long-tried members.

Mr. DE VEAR having seconded the resolution, it was put and declared to be

carried, although an immense majority of hands was held up against it.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, who, after acknowledging the compliment, declared the meeting dissolved.

Three cheers were then given for Sir F. Burdett and Sir J. Hobhouse, which were replied to by three groans for the same parties, and three cheers for Col. Evans, when the crowd dispersed; and thus ended one of the most stormy meetings which it has been our lot to witness even within the walls of the Crown and Anchor.

At a Meeting of the Central Committee for conducting the re-election of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse, the following Copy of Sir Francis Burdett's second Letter to Col. Evans was read.

"DEAR EVANS,—I take the earliest opportunity, on arriving at Brighton, to acknowledge the receipt of your last letter, which appears to me to be founded on a complete misapprehension, and owing thereto to a complete misstatement of all the circumstances and all the feelings connected with this case. You complain of want of courtesy towards you; in what respect, however, you do not point out; and I can only say, that on my part it was never intended. You do, however, specify the last passage of my letter as 'not marked by much courtesy; but that, in consideration of your regard to me, you only permit yourself to complain.' Believe me, this would be much felt by me if I thought there was any cause for the observation, except misapprehension, in the same manner as you suppose I make the representation of Westminster 'a matter of personal feeling;' this last observation relieves me much from the pain the first might occasion, as both are equally without any just foundation. Give me leave to ask, where is the want of courtesy in my stating that I would rather be turned out of Westminster with Hobhouse, than returned to Parliament with any one else? In this there is nothing personal or of private feeling; it is entirely on public

grounds; and were you the best friend I had in the world, I should say the same. To the best of my recollection, there is not a single sentence, or even a word, in my letter, having reference to any consideration except of a public nature.

"There is no question either between us as to the 'disinterestedness' and public spirit of those who, you inform me, have 'during some months sought you as a candidate.' These words, 'during some months,' are very important; they give rise to new ideas and thoughts; they seem to prove, as Othello says, 'a foregone conclusion.' May I ask whether these persons who had been soliciting you for many months, whether they were the same persons who went to Hobhouse for pledges? If so, was not that a poor contrivance? Or is it not now, to use a significant phrase, the 'cat out of the bag?' And is this, supposing the case to be so, candid dealing, or conduct such as the electors of Westminster have hitherto observed on similar occasions? I think not, and, if it is to be in future adopted, no doubt it is high time to look out for new persons to represent them.

"You then object to my making use of the words, as applied to you of acquiescing in a plan to turn Hobhouse out of Westminster: you say you see no propriety in the term. I must confess I see no impropriety in the act; but am totally at a loss to find the impropriety of the term. You are pleased to suppose me to ask you 'Who the persons were who persuaded you to come forward!' I am not aware of having asked any such question; you, however, suppose so; then comes the answer, 'they,' you say, 'who persuaded me and Hobhouse, to whom we are so largely indebted for success.' It was hardly worth while to suppose the question for the sake of the answer, for, though smart, it is not correct. The fact, as all the world knows is, that I was elected without knowing anything of the matter myself. I was confined to my bed owing to the unfortunate affair with Mr. Paull, Mr. Cline forbid-

ding every one, excepting the necessary attendants entering my room. As to Hobhouse, he cannot be said to have undergone any process of persuasion. He stood forward on public grounds and public principles. He has never quitted the one, or abandoned the other. He stands so still in fact; for as to the objection started of his being in office, it is too childish to deserve notice; besides which, it has already been disposed of by the electors of Westminster themselves. 'It is easy,' says the proverb, 'to find a stick to beat a dog;' but it is not so easy to find a valid reason for opposing an honest man. I hope it is not necessary for me here to say I am not drawing comparisons, or speaking, as you call it, in contrast with Mr. Hobhouse. To disclaim such an intention would be too humiliating to us both, and I can only express my surprise that you should have entertained such a thought before. I am fully aware of your great merits as well as his, and have pleasure in acknowledging them; but, with reference to the present case, the matter in hand, I cannot entertain any doubt, if they were to be weighed, whose scale would kick the beam. The question now is, not which is the best man, but what is the best conduct, the most becoming, and the most useful, in a public point of view, for the people of Westminster to follow? It is the character of the electors of Westminster, and of the people, by one of the best specimens that is going to be tried at the ensuing election, whether popular support and opinion shall be raised or sunk in the estimate of wise men; whether the reproach of inconstancy and levity in the people, so often, with effect, cast upon them by the enemies of popular rights, shall be confuted in this instance or confirmed. This is the stake now about to be played for, and it is on this account, and on this account chiefly, if not solely, that I feel so deep an interest in the game. This great question, therefore, will be tried, I trust, on its true grounds, that all personal preferences or dislikes will be lost sight of, and the result be such as will uphold in the eyes of the

country the high character, sound principles, sound judgment, and steadiness of conduct which the electors of Westminster have so long sustained.

"I cannot conclude without assuring you that the grief and sorrow I before expressed is real, and not mere words; I cannot but feel how uncomfortable this interruption is, thus given to an intimacy I so much valued, nor can I part with it without a pang.

"I remain yours sincerely,

"F. BURDETT."

"Brighton, Nov. 23."

I do not know who this Mr. T. Duncombe is; but I know that he will soon think, if he be not absolutely a toad-eater of Burdett (and I am sure he will get nothing else to eat from him); if he be not absolutely a led-captain of the old Baronet, he will very soon wish that he had been at home bed-ridden, instead of being perked up in a chair upon this occasion; and if Mr. Barber Beaumont's insurances be not something a little more certain than his escaping universal contempt on account of his being a bottle-holder upon this occasion, God preserve those who have taken out policies with him. With regard to the rest of the group, it seems to have consisted of a parcel of people that nobody knew; so that Burdett might be fairly congratulated on having brought his hogs to a fine market at last. He is a cunning fox; but the cunningest of foxes carry the joke too far very frequently; they over-estimate the effects of their cunning. His old rump, if it had still been in existence, would have guarded him against the insolent assertion that they *should elect Hobhouse, or that he would not serve*. The old rump would have smelled out the quiet opinion of the people long and long ago. Dear De Veau knows, perhaps, well enough, what the people have long been thinking, and what they have been talking about; but "*DEAR DE VEAU*" has not had the skill to let him know this, without seeming to perceive that he did let him know it. "*DEAR DE VEAU*" has always approached him with a due sense of the profound respect due to twenty

thousand acres of land; and wanting the skill to *drop* words from which he might *gather* disagreeable truths, has not had the courage to state them to him; so that, at last, he is likely to end, by being the dupe of his own cunning and of his own aristocratical insolence combined.

In the way of *remark* upon the above proceedings, the first thing is, the falseness and baseness of the *reporters*. The reptiles tell you that "*nothing could be heard*;" and yet *they could hear* the speeches of these two horrible vagabonds! I know, and could produce evidence upon oath, that these reptiles did not hear *any one sentence* of that which they here appeared to have heard delivered by these two fellows. If you look at the thing you will be convinced that the two fellows must have written out what is here printed as their speeches. It is a base falsehood on the part of the *Morning Chronicle*, that is to say, on the part of BLACK, or CLEMENT, or both: it is an infamous falsehood to represent the two caitiffs as ever having been heard at all, at more than seven or eight feet from their mouths. So that here is this base press doing all it can to save them: the old "*Bloody*," keeping *Justice JACK* and *BURDETT's Berkshire votes* in view; and yet, attending to the *main chance*, does not know what to be at; stupid old *Chronicle*, from other motives, is much about in the same muzzled state; and thus, as far as these base newspapers are concerned, the people are informed of no truth; they are told no truth relative to this matter, and they are left to *infer* that which is false. But the people are not to be thus duped: they do not draw the false inference: they perceive the truth, through the veil made use of to hide it; and, though they have had no means of making it known that they do see the truth, they do see it, and they act upon it; and the base newspapers do, in fact, no harm, except to the impostors themselves. They make them believe, that they are successful in cheating the people: they make them believe, that the people are deceived by them; and thus it is that every ministry goes on, until at last the explosion of public

opinion comes and blows them up. WELLINGTON laughed, I dare say, at the idea of his being unpopular; he laughed at all my warnings, until the very moment that the stones of the street came whizzing about his head: he would not believe that he was not popular, till he was obliged to clap his spurs, in order to avoid being knocked off his horse. Thus it has always been; the base newspapers have, at last, *duped nobody but the insolent, arrogant, aristocratical wretches themselves*. And this is now just the case of HOBHOUSE and BURDETT, who have, in fact, wheedled and intrigued with the base newspapers, for no other purpose than that of deceiving themselves; and I dare say, that they were just as much astounded at the "OFF, OFF, OFF," "DOWN, DOWN, DOWN," at the Crown and Anchor, last Monday, as WELLINGTON was, when he escaped through the Park, and got home with one of his eyes closed up with mud. But these two *sots* (I mean in the French sense of the word); these two presumptuous sots might, one would have thought, have formed something like a correct judgment from the *cabbage and turnip-pelting of August, 1830*. Would not anybody, who had not been actually infatuated, have asked themselves, *how this pelting came to take place?* How it came to pass, that they were *pelting upon their own dunghill?* They saw no man that was at all a leader in politics; they saw no man there that they could call their enemy; they could trace the hostility to no particular source; even if it had been alleged (as it never was) that the peltings were *instigated or hired*, still it was a monstrous multitude to be instigated or hired by any private person, or by any number of private persons. In short, such a course was impossible; and if these fellows had not suffered themselves to be duped by their own cronies, and pot-companions, the newspaper scoundrels, they would have said to themselves: "Ah! faith, we must take care; we have got away with whole bones, to be sure; but this is the voice of the *people*; it is the *people* who have pelted us with cabbages

and turnips: attempt to disguise it as much as our newspaper cronies may please, the fact is, that we have been pelted off *by the people*; and this being the case, we must change our course, or never show our faces here again." This is what they would have said to themselves, had they not been buoyed up by the success of that presumption, mixed with political fraud, which they had been practising so long, and the success of which had, indeed, been secured by the skill, conduct, and the industry of the experienced and watchful rump.

It appears from what the base *reporters* have put forth as the spoken speech of little SANCHE, that this precious pair of politicians were deceived afresh by what took place at the *last election*; for, little doddler is made to say, "that the *answer* to the charge of his being a placeman *has been given by the electors themselves*;" that is to say, by their *having rechosen him without any opposition*. Poor little soul! What! he does not know, then, that the people wanted him and the "old chaise horse," merely to vote for the Reform Bill! He does not perceive this. He does not perceive, that it was an election purely for carrying the Reform Bill; and that, as this pair of politicians had pledged themselves to the Reform Bill, that was all that was wanted of them; but that now, a great deal more is wanted of them, and, therefore, they are not now to be chosen *without pledging themselves to that and a great deal more*.

Thus have these fellows been the dupes of their newspaper cronies, who led them to believe, that they were the two most popular men in the kingdom. I have now great experience with regard to the workings of this infamous London-newspaper press. I have seen, not less than a score of men, who, each in his day, attained to wonderful popularity by the means of this all-infamous, all-accursed press; and I have seen every one of those men come down, at last, covered with disgrace; sink into the grave with an infamous epitaph, or buried alive in still more disgraceful oblivion. It has been my good fortune;

a merciful God has been graciously pleased so to order it, with regard to me, that I have, from the very moment that I set my foot on English ground, a little better than thirty-two years ago; from the very moment that my foot came again upon my native land, I have been an object, constantly an object of the foulest calumny, the most impudent lies, the most atrocious attempts at destruction on the part of this most infamous thing, the London daily press: made use of, too, more by this pair of baffled political empirics, than by any other pair in the kingdom. And, *what has been the result?* Ah, "old chaise horse!" what would you now give had you never acted a base part towards me? But, what would you give, had you never been an object of praise with this infamous press? You are *cunning*, and have acted a *cunning* part. You have hugged yourself, for a long while, in contemplating the success of your cunning; and you have revelled with delight, while you saw the bloody broad-sheeted monsters tearing away at me. But how stands the matter NOW? You now begin to think, I dare say, of repeating the prayer of the double-faced Balaam: "Let me die the death of the 'righteous, and let my last end be like *his*.'" No, no! was the answer; you have enjoyed the fruit of your hypocrisy and your greediness. You have lived the life of the wicked; and your last end is not to be that of the righteous. You have had the praises of the accused newspapers; and now you are to taste the natural fruits. Even you, as long as you were calumniated by the newspapers, were not only safe, not only popular, but you were deservedly so: the moment they began to praise you, you began to descend towards that mud in which you now find yourself up to your very eyes. They began to praise you the moment you showed yourself to be false to the cause of reform; the moment you abandoned to their fate those poor men whom you had urged to come forth and expose themselves to the fangs of Sidmouth and Castleleagh; the whole of the history of which I will now republish

as quickly as I can, beginning with the next number of the *Register*; and there is Mr. FITTON of ROYTON and Mr. JOHN KNIGHT of OLDHAM, and scores of others, still alive to bear witness to the cruelties produced by your conduct of 1817.

I have now to remark, my friends, FIRST, on the *manner of reporting* the above proceedings at the Crown and Anchor; SECOND, on the manner of carrying the resolutions; THIRD, on BURDETT's doctrine with regard to the *fitness of placemen to be members of Parliament*; FOURTH, on what the brace of cocks say about there being *no necessity for putting pledges to tried men*.

FIRST, with regard to the manner of reporting these proceedings, I have merely once more to beg my readers to observe, that the speeches of the cabbage-pelted heroes, must have been written out by themselves, and sent to their friends, the *reporters*, or to their friends, BLACK or CLEMENT; because I can produce evidence upon oath, that a very quick-hearing and well-informed gentleman, standing at from seven to twelve feet from them, could not hear distinctly one single word that either of them uttered. All he could gather was, that they were in great agitation, in a state of great rage, and that they were moving their mouths as if uttering words. Therefore, these pretended speeches are a sheer fabrication, put forth for the purpose of making persons at a distance believe that there was a something like a hearing, at any rate, and that the opposition was merely *partial*. I beg this to be borne in mind; for it is very material, with regard to the *prospect* which the *shoy-hoys* have before them. If such were their reception, at a select meeting of the electors, called by themselves, and in a room, what will be their reception before the honest and unbiassed people! The "old chaise-horse" has put this question to himself long before now; and he has, by this time, sense enough to give himself the proper answer. Never will he appear upon the WESTMINSTER hustings again. There is but one more

dip for him; that is to be guarded to and from the hustings at COVENT-GARDEN by a troop of long soldiers upon fat horses, with strong swords, and with carabines and pistols in their holsters. This is his last dive; this is that dive below the bottom; that "lower deep in the lowest deep" of which the poet speaks; but from this he will be saved, if Lord GREY be not totally bereft of his senses.

SECOND, the manner of passing the resolutions. We have before, upon many occasions, seen great and flagrant partiality in the performing of this sort of work. We have many times seen the infamous newspapers reporting resolutions to have been carried, when every soul present knew very well that they were not carried. We saw the infamous London newspapers report, that the *address* to the Prince Regent and to the Parliament, *thanking them for the dungeon and gagging bolts*: we have seen the infamous newspapers report, that this address, from a county meeting, in Hampshire, was "*carried*," when it was well known to the whole country, that it was never even *put to the meeting*: we have seen this all-in-famous press, carrying on its trade of this sort for the last thirty years; but, never before did we see the base thing frankly and boldly record that the resolutions were "*carried*," when, it reports at the same time, that *there was a great majority against them*. This "T. DUNCOMBE" must be an invaluable treasure to the Don and his man! The *report* says, it was moved "that the electors of WESTMINSTER ought to support Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, and the Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN CAM HOBBHOUSE;" and that "there was a "great majority against" this motion. The *chairman* decided, "THAT THE MOTION WAS CARRIED!" Well done, "T. DUNCOMBE." They need give themselves no trouble to look out for a new Speaker: you have proved your fitness for that office. The truth is, they were compelled to decide in this manner, *or to give up the contest at once*. It was a meeting of their own calling: the room was *lined by BURDETT's committee*; that

numerous committee attended *with wands in their hands*; they guarded the two *shoy-hoys*, Squire DUNCOMBE, BARBER BEAUMONT, and the rest of the miserable group, into the room; and they placed themselves upon the platform for the purpose of giving the signals for clapping and cheering. Therefore, if the resolutions, brought forward by the bottle-holders of the shoy-hoys, *had not been passed*, a'l was over, and the only remedies remaining were, dangling from a willow, or a deep dive into the merciful flood. It was absolutely necessary to give the thing up at once, or to pass the resolutions; and the performance of this desperate duty fell upon TOMMY DUNCOMBE, whom (there being other DUNCOMBES) we will, in future, distinguish by the name of Mr. SPEAKER DUNCOMBE: for he is a very paragon of all speakers. Notwithstanding all this, we shall see "*Dear DE VEAR*" advertise these resolutions as carried! We shall see them put forth as an official document, founded in unquestionable truth: and, so infatuated are men in their anxious hope to avoid destruction, that I should not at all wonder, if the *shoy-hoys, after paying*, expressly, for the inserting of these lies, were themselves, *seeing them in print*, to believe them to be truths. At the very least they will believe that the public will believe them to be truths; and that is quite enough to ensure their discomfiture.

THIRD, on BURDETT's doctrine with regard to the fitness of placemen to be members of Parliament.

BURDETT DETECTED.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

London, 25. November, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONGST all the instances of political turpitude; all the instances of barefaced, shameless, odious, inconsistency, which we have witnessed within the last twenty years, none has been so flagrant, so barefaced, and so utterly shameless, as that inconsistency of which Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now stands convicted from his own lips and his own pen. He assumed, in his speech

at the Crown and Anchor, on Monday the 26. instant, that there was no objection against Sir JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, except that of his being a PLACEMAN; and, on that assumption he falls to abusing those who act upon that objection, which, he says, is "*founded on no public principle, and on no valid reason*;" and then, he says, that those are "*impostors*" who put forward such grounds of objection.

Now, gentlemen, electors of WESTMINSTER, let us see who, in this case, is the impostor. Let us first take the words of the speech as delivered in the Crown and Anchor last Monday; and then, let us take his words, as given, and published from under his own handwriting and with his own signature to them, at the approach of the general election in the year 1806. I say, published from under his own hand, and under his own signature.

"*Speech at Crown and Anchor, Monday, November 26, 1832.*"

"It is to me a source of deep regret that friends should now be dividing and separating, as I can understand, on *no public principle, on no ground that can be stated, for no valid reason*; that the whole complaint against his right honourable colleague, and which seemed to have caused the clamour that had taken place at the meeting that day, was, that SIR JOHN WAS *IN OFFICE*. What! he would ask, was it to be said *that an honest man could never be in office*; that he could hold *no public situation* without being a foe to the people? He could assure the meeting, that, if they had listened to arguments like these, they would be imposed upon by those impostors who had *heretofore imposed upon them*."

Now, gentlemen, hear what the same Baronet said upon this same subject, in a letter addressed by him to Mr. PAULL on the 3. of October, 1806, and published in all the newspapers in a few days after that. At this time, Mr. Fox having died, an election was about to take place. Lord PERCY and Mr. SHERIDAN were the intended candidates. A com-

mittee of the electors had met, and had resolved, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT should be invited to be a candidate, in order to throw both of the others aside; and, Mr. PAULL, as chairman of the committee, having written to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT to request him to suffer himself to be put in nomination for WESTMINSTER, Sir FRANCIS, in a written answer to Mr. PAULL, declined, upon the following grounds:

"It is, however, impossible for me to be a candidate upon the present occasion; for I did very early declare, to numerous applications, and afterwards, as a single and private elector; I did declare, that I would give my vote for Lord PERCY; and I did so, because, I had heard of no other candidates, but such as had *recently accepted of lucrative offices under the Crown*; and I cannot think that such gentlemen, *however fitted for those offices, and however otherwise estimable*, can, at ANY TIME, become *the fit representatives of a free, uncorrupt, and independent people*."

No comment is necessary to men of sense. Here is the answer to his speech at the Crown and Anchor on Monday last. This he wrote, you will perceive, at the time of the WESTMINSTER election, consequent upon the death of Mr. FOX. When, in a few weeks afterwards, the general election came on, Sir FRANCIS was a candidate for *Middlesex*; and having issued a circular letter to all the electors of *Middlesex*, one of which, of course, went to Mr. WHITBREAD; Mr. WHITBREAD wrote him an answer, in which answer he called him to account for the above passage in his letter to Mr. PAULL, asserting, that any man who held such opinions concerning members of Parliament having places, must either want the *power* or the *will* to reason upon the consequences of such doctrine; or, to use BURDETT's own interpretation of the words, must either be a *fool* or a *knave*. WHITBREAD having published this answer, BURDETT, in an address to the freeholders of *Middlesex*, *maintained his own doctrine*; and, by implication, called all those plunderers who denied

the soundness of his doctrine ; which doctrine was, observe, " that no man " who was in office, however fit for his " office, and however estimable in other " respects, could, *at any time*, become " a fit representative of a free, uncor- " rupt, and independent people." This letter of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was in the following words. Read them, electors of Westminster ! read these words ; and then recollect, that this same Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now tells you, that nothing but "*impostors*" will tell you, that a man is unfit to represent you, because he has got a place under the crown ! Read the letter ; let the Baronet read it ; and then let him be surprised, if he can, at the indignation which you expressed at his conduct on Monday last.

" *Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the " Freeholders of Middlesex, after the " Close of the Election, on the 27. " Nov., 1806.*

" GENTLEMEN,—The moment before " the commencement of the late elec- " tion for Middlesex, Mr. WHITBREAD, " in a manner most unbecoming his sta- " tion, connexions, and character, in- " serted in the public newspapers the " following passage, signed with his " name ; addressed indeed nominally, " with dissembled respect to me ; but " intended as a political electioneering " manoeuvre against you :—" I do not " perceive in your present address " (says Mr. Whitbread) any allusion " to an opinion promulgated by you " on the late election for Westminster, " which is, '*that a person holding an " office under the Crown, however " otherwise estimable, cannot at any " time become a fit representative of " a free, uncorrupt, and independent " people.*' If such opinion be " founded in truth, which (continues " Mr. Whitbread) I utterly deny, a " law ought to be passed to exclude " all the executive servants of Govern- " ment from seats in either house of " Parliament. I have not heard that " it was in the contemplation of any " one to propose such a measure ; " and, if proposed, I am sure it would

" meet with resistance from all de- " scriptions of persons, who have the " power or the will to reason upon its " consequences. The people, by the " acceptance of your doctrine, would " reduce themselves to the hard " necessity of being governed by the " worst of mankind."—These, Mr. " Whitbread's sentiments, have like- " wise been recently paraded by Mr. " Windham, Secretary of State ; by Mr. " Tierney, Chairman of the Board of " Control ; by Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer " of the Navy ; and are now held, I pre- " sume, as the political creed of the " whole party.—*Gentlemen*, in that act " of Parliament (12 and 13 Will. 3.) " which gave the throne of these king- " doms to his present Majesty, and his " family, entitled—" An act for the " further limitation of the crown, and " better securing the rights and liber- " ties of the subject,"—it was wisely " and honestly thus enacted—" That no " person who has an office or place of " profit under the King, or receives a " pension from the Crown, shall be " capable of serving as a member of " the House of Commons."—But Mr. " Whitbread, it seems, never heard of " this provision—" for better securing " the rights and liberties of the sub- " ject." And because, after a melan- " choly experience of the necessity of " such a provision, which our honest " ancestors only foresaw, I maintain the " opinion of those from whom his Ma- " jesty holds his crown, I am represent- " ed, by these best of patriots, as an " enemy to the constitution, and by " some of their place holding and place- " hunting party, as a traitor to my " country. The worst of traitors to " their country are those who eat up its " resources. Mr. Whitbread's judg- " ment upon us who hold this opinion, " is indeed something milder ; he only " concludes us to be either fools or " rogues,—"*either we have not the " power or the will to reason upon its " consequences.*"—I have reason to " believe that Mr. Whitbread himself " possesses both the *will* and the *power* " to obtain speedily a lucrative office " under the crown, without much em-

"barrassing himself with the consequences to the public.—GENTLEMEN, when the last additional taxes for the present year were lately imposed upon the people by these best of patriots, it was undisguisedly and tranquilly acknowledged by them, without the least compunction, or commiseration of the people, that the necessary effect of these taxes would be, to drive the inhabitants of a house into lodgings, and the lodgers of a first floor into the second. Here, indeed, they stopped; leaving us to complete the miserable picture of national calamity: viz. that the lodgers of the second floor must mount up into the garret, the garretier descend into the cellar; whose former wretched inhabitant must be thrust out upon the pavement, and from thence transferred to the workhouse or the grave. And this process is to be repeated *toties quoties*: so that the best provided amongst us cannot tell where himself and his family may be found at last. This is a hard lesson for Englishmen to hear. It is harder still to hear it enforced from the mouths of those, who themselves are all the while creeping forward from their original garrets into palaces. Such an unfeeling insult as this would never have taken place but amidst placemen and pensioners. Had they been really the representatives of the people, they would have felt something for the people; and, instead of incessantly calling for fresh sacrifices, and telling us gaily that we must "retrench even part of our necessities," they would surely now at last have held out to us some prospect of consolation and redress; they would no longer continue to gorge upon the vitals of their country, but would think themselves too well off, if they were not justly compelled to disgorge their past infamous swallowings.—GENTLEMEN, in becoming a candidate at the late election for your county, I do acknowledge, that I rather sought a public, than a seat in Parliament. I sought for, and have found, amongst you, freeholders who would vote for

themselves, and not for any candidate —who would not give their votes as a favour conferred, but as a sacred trust reposed in an honest man, to enable him to stem the torrent against these venal coalition Whigs, who are, by their own avowal, hunting the people of this country from the second floor to the garret.—That this system of corruption and oppression may cease, is the only ardent wish, and, in spite of every calumny, shall ever be the constant and unrelenting endeavour of, Gentlemen, your most obedient and respectful humble servant.

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

BURDETT said, on his dunghill at the Crown and Anchor, in 1818, that I had accused him of many things, and that I had foretold *what he would become at last*; that "he did not know but that he might not, at last, become an oyster;" but that I could not say that he was not a consistent politician, at any rate." Ah, old chaise-horse! now we have you on the hip; here is your *consistency*. WHITBREAD challenged you on account of this very address; and you authorised BRAND (now Lord DACRE) to state that you had not had the most distant intention to say anything that could be construed into personal disrespect to WHITBREAD; and if your words did bear such interpretation, you begged to assure him, that your words expressed that which was contrary to your "*meaning and intention*." Just a second chapter of the crib-affair with CANNING! But, at any rate, you cannot deny that this quarrel arose, out of your having most positively asserted, "that no man holding a lucrative office under the Crown, however fitted for that office, and however otherwise estimable, could, AT ANY TIME, become the fit representative of free, uncorrupt, and independent people." You said, that WHITBREAD called you *fool or knave* for holding this doctrine; you maintained the soundness of the doctrine, and, at the same time, you accused WHITBREAD of having a place

in view for himself; **WHITBREAD** *challenged you for this*; and you, to pacify the enraged brewer (whose family pretends to be of Norman descent), authorised **BRAND** to assure **WHITBREAD**, that, if your words did bear an interpretation disrespectful to **WHITBREAD**, they bore an interpretation "contrary to your meaning and intention," though, to every one who came near you at the time, you did not scruple to accuse **WHITBREAD** of the lowest and greediest designs with regard to the public. There you are then, now standing in your true light before the people; and this, fifteen years ago, I told you would be your lot at last, if you should live any considerable number of years.

FOURTH, on *what the brace of cocks say about there being no necessity for putting pledges to TRIED MEN*. 'Tried men! What do they mean by that? If, indeed, the men have been tried, and have acted agreeably to their former professions and promises; if they have *done anything to relieve the people from their burdens*; if they have laboured to reduce the standing army; diminish the number of barracks; to lop off the pensions, sinecures, and grants; if they have made an effort to expel placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons: if they have done these things, and many others, that all members of Parliament have been enabled to do; then, indeed, it may be not absolutely necessary to pledge them; but, if they have left undone all these things; and have done just the contrary; then, there is an absolute necessity, not to pledge them, indeed, *but to reject them altogether*; and, this is what the electors of **WESTMINSTER** must now do, or they must make but a very poor figure, a very mean figure, in the eyes of the country, which has now those eyes steadily fixed upon them. Whether **HOBHOUSE** has acted in a manner not to require pledging, might be gathered, without more ado, from the following questions and answers, handed about at the meeting on Monday, and which I will here insert before I proceed further.

1. Who voted against a motion, made in the last Session of Parliament, for the *suspension of flogging in the army and navy for one year?*

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

2. Who *opposed* a motion made by *Col. Evans* to make a *small* reduction in the standing army in the time of peace?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

3. Who publicly declared in the House of Commons, in a discussion on the army estimates, that his opinions on *financial measures and economy*, differed as widely from the sentiments of *Mr. Hume* as "the poles were asunder?"

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

4. Who has *positively refused* to support or sanction in any way, the *re-election of Mr. Hume* for *Middlesex*?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

5. Who *smuggled* into and carried through the House of Commons, a private bill for imposing on his constituents, in the out-ward of St. George's, Hanover square, a rate of 300 PER CENT., to be levied by an *unresponsible* body of trustees, in the interest of Lord Grosvenor?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

6. Who, *when out of office*, promised to bring in a bill to *reduce* the aristocratical qualification for *vestrymen*, and when *in office*, refused to perform it?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

7. Who *positively refuses* to give a *pledge* to the electors, that he will vote for and support the repeal of those obnoxious and oppressive duties, the *house and window taxes*?

Your Representative, the Whig Secretary at War, *Sir John Cam Hobhouse!*

Leaving little **SANCIO** for the present, let us now turn to the **DON**; and see what he has done since the day when he reduced us to the necessity of excluding the brave little Scotchman, or of suffering the factions to triumph over us again. What has he done? What has he attempted to do? And, what did we put him into Parliament for, in the year 1807? We put him into Parliament because he told us that the factions united in enriching themselves out of the public spoil; that they regarded all plunder as lawful, so long as it was

kept in the regiment ; that they asserted that they had as good a right to their pensions, sinecures, and grants, as we had to the fruits of our industry, or to our inheritance from our ancestors ; that they were like a gang of robbers, combined to plunder the peaceable and industrious inhabitants ; that the people ought to destroy the whole gang and abolish the combination ; that the people ought to unite and loudly pronounce the abolition of the whole present system of corruption ; that he himself would faithfully carry the sentiments of the people to the House of Commons ; and that, *no rational endeavour of his should be omitted to tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous Red Book.* The whole of the address has been inserted above, with day and date, and signature attached to it. I have here repeated the substance of it. These were the pledges he gave us ; it was on these grounds that we elected him, and that we were prevailed upon to exclude the brave and honest little Scotchman. Who, upon hearing these pledges ; upon hearing this language, could doubt of his sincerity, or fail to anticipate great efforts at his hands ? Yet he has not even attempted to do any good for us. The address which he moved in the House of Commons in 1812, and which supported his then declining popularity, I drew up ; I almost compelled him to move it ; and, (curious anecdote !) *I myself subscribed towards publishing an edition of the address and his speech* (made from notes furnished by me) and, I purchased a thousand copies, besides, and circulated at my own expense. This was the only blow that he ever aimed at the system. For the *grand blow* given to the system by the publication of the pension and sinecure-list, the nation has to thank my Lord COCHRANE, the "old chaise-horse" always having refused to move for it. For that other *grand blow*, which they received in the affair of Queen CAROLINE, the nation has to thank Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE and me. For the *grand blow* of all (the wounds from which will finally kill the system), we have to thank PEELE and his supporters, amongst

whom I must do "the chaise horse" the justice to say, that he was one ; to give the devil his due, he had his share in giving this blow ; though, as in the case of the enraged brewer, "it was" wholly contrary to his meaning and "intention."

I defy any man living to point out, even any effort of his to do good to the cause of the people. "Why did I support him, then, from 1807 to the end of 1816 ; why did I support him during these nine years ? Why did I praise him during that time, and then begin to expose him and attack him ?" *Why did Major CARTWRIGHT do both for that period and one year longer ?* I am aware that it may be said, that the *Major might be wrong, too.* He might ; but he was not. We both of us saw, in the year 1814 or 1815, how difficult it was to induce him to do any real good. The *Major* was a greater *hoper* than I was ; and he, in fact, kept me on longer than I should have kept on, if it has not been for persuasions, and for the great deference that I had for his opinions ; but, the fact was, we had nobody else ; and the false "chaise horse" knew it. For about five years, I think it was, I thought him sincere, but a political poltroon, and I knew him to be lazy beyond compare. For the rest of the time, I despaired of ever seeing any good come out of him. Still our only choice was to hang on to him, or to give up our cause altogether ; to proclaim it as abandoned, and to give the boroughmongers grounds for laughing at us and trampling us under foot. I, therefore, hung on, notwithstanding his sliding the back-way out of the Tower ; notwithstanding the firm conviction of my mind that he would never do anything ; until, in 1817, he, after having sent a circular all over the country to rouse the reformers to petition and to act, most basely abandoned them, and, while he kept his silence, suffered them to be crammed in dungeons, in which dungeons he never visited a single man of them ; not even Mr. HONE, who had got into jail for publishing a parody, in fact, for BURDETT himself ; for, I gave it to HONE,

commissioned so to do by BURDETT, who promised to take and pay for five hundred copies of the edition. Did he visit Mr. HONE; did he send assistance to him in prison? Let him answer these questions in the affirmative, before he again mounts the hustings of Westminster.

But, reserving myself, till next week, for a history of his incomparable baseness in the year 1817, let me again ask, "*DEAR DE VEAR*," or "*DEAR POUNCET*," or "*DEAR TOM DUNCOMBE*," to name one single thing that he has done, or attempted to do, in fulfilment of the pledges, in consequence of which WESTMINSTER chose him in 1807. Let us confine ourselves to *one pledge*; namely, "*No rational endeavours of mine shall be omitted to restore to my countrymen the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair fruits of their industry; and to tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous Red Book.*" Has he fulfilled *this* pledge; has he tried to tear out the "*accursed leaves*"? No, but he has assisted to put many leaves into that book; he has given his silent acquiescence to monstrous augmentations of the army; to those monstrous things the naval and military academies; to the Queen's dower, as he had done before to COBURG's pension; he has voted *sixteen hundred thousand pounds out of the taxes, to go as a gift to the clergy of the Church of England*, in addition to all their monstrous revenues in tithe, in lands, in mines, in manors, and other estates; he has never proposed, never even talked of, to put a stop to any of the *plunderings*, as he called them; and much less has he attempted to compel the plunderers "*to disgorge their past infamous swallowings*," according to the promise that he gave to the electors of MIDDLESEX, in 1806; he has, on the contrary, always been giving his assent to the additions made to the pensions, sinecures, grants, and every other thing of which the Red Book is made up; his last act; that of voting the late Speaker four thousand a year for life, and the son four thousand a year for his life, after the father, while the son has a sinecure of

three thousand a year, which he is to have in addition to his pension, as long as the father lives; and when the father has already pocketed, in salaries and fees, for fourteen years' speakership, *more money than all the seven Presidents of the United States have received since the establishment of their government*; this one act; his having voted and spoken in favour of loading this oppressed people with this charge; this one act, of so recent a date, so well known as it is, will stamp with everlasting infamy every elector of WESTMINSTER *who shall give this man his vote*. But in God's name, what can any man want more than his now insisting that the tax-eater, HOBHOUSE, the son of a thirty years' tax-eating father, the husband of a twenty-four years' tax-eating wife; what more do we want than this conduct, compared with his declarations above cited, which declarations it was that recommended him to the people of WESTMINSTER? What do we want MORE than this with regard to the "*chaise-horse*." As to HOBHOUSE, none but fools ever listened to his professions and promises. What was to be expected from him, but that which you have had. Brought up, fed, clothed, lodged, out of the taxes. Son of a father who was first a FOXITE, next an ADDINGTONIAN, next a PITITTE, next a coalition Whig, under GRENVILLE and GREY, next a Duke of PORTLAND-man, next a PERCEVAL-man, and next a LIVERPOOLITE, a CANNINGITE, a GODERICHITE, a WELLINGTONIAN, and then a coalition Whig again; thus sticking fast, and seeing ten Prime Ministers rise, and nine of them fall, while his inflexible mouth lay firmly glued to the tap-hole of the taxes, being both brewer and banker all the while. From such a sire one might venture to take the son without a character. That he never should have voted for taking off a pension is natural enough. He and the DOX have been quietly voting a hundred a year of the public money into the pocket of *Lady Juliana*; and at last, little SANCHEO marries the girl! and marries the money, too, as a matter of

course. 'Tis a pity that BURDETT is not single too. He has some pretty strong claims on the female part of the pension, sinecure, and grant list; for a pretty many millions of our money has been voted into their ladyships' pockets; and never, in *Parliament*, in the whole course of his life, did he object to the voting of any part of these millions, which he used to call "*plunderings and infamous swallowings*;" and we chose him for WESTMINSTER, because we thought it impossible that a man should be such a hypocrite, as to make use of these appellations without intending to destroy, utterly, the things that they described.

Thus have I, my friends of the North, done as much justice to this subject as my time would allow me to do. I shall return to it; and, if Dr. BLACK, do not openly take one side or the other, I will make a proper exposure of him and of his *balancing* concern. But, are we, *now*, on SUREGROUND? I do not know Colonel EVANS; I would rather that he were not a *Colonel*; I wish not to excite suspicions; but the devil take me if my readers shall be duped *this time*. I remember old Scabby SHERIDAN, putting up as a *shoy-hoy*, to transfer the city to the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND's son. I will not suspect the sincerity of Colonel EVANS, because I have no knowledge that warrants the suspicion; but I do not like his compliments to BURDETT, which are not only exaggerated, but are absolutely false, owing, I ought to presume, to the Colonel's want of knowledge of the political history of the man. At any rate, it becomes the citizens of WESTMINSTER to act a cautious, and, at the same time, a resolute, part; it becomes them to show, that their city is no longer the tame tool in the hands of *intriguing* deceivers; it becomes them to retrieve their character, and again to exhibit an example to follow, and not a beacon to shun. They ought, without a moment's loss of time, to apply to Sir CHAS. WOLSLEY, to come and supplant the wriggling baronet. Sir CHARLES has been put in nomination for the north of Staffordshire, I believe;

but respectable as that is, it is at WESTMINSTER that he is wanted. In Sir CHARLES we have sound understanding, steadiness of purpose, perseverance, courage, and unconquerable attachment to the well-being of the common people. He was one of the great favourites of Major CARTWRIGHT; he used to say, "I like WOLSLEY, because he is unchangeable, because he is brave, and because he will stir." These are the qualities that we want. I beg Sir CHARLES to have the goodness to write to me as soon as he shall see this *Register*. He need not withdraw himself from Staffordshire: let them go on then and elect him there, too: they will then have time to think of a man proper to replace him, if he be chosen for WESTMINSTER, of which, if he come, I have not the smallest doubt.—I have no time for anything more at present, but just to say, that I hope that all that I have here said will be read with great attention.

WM. COBBETT.

SMITHFIELD.—Nov. 26.

This day's supply of beasts was rather numerous, but, in great part, of middling and inferior quality; of sheep, calves, and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout dull, with beef, mutton, and pork, at, in most transactions, a depression of full 2*d.* per stone; with veal at barely Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts were about equal numbers of short-horns, Irish (principally) half-fat steers and heifers, and North Wales runts, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons and Herefordshire steers, cows, and heifers, chiefly from our western and midland districts, and Town's-end cows, with a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

At least three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and various white-faced crosses; the remainder about equal numbers of South Downs, Kents, and Kentish half-breds; with a few horned and polled Norths, horned and polled Welch and Scotch sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 2,339; sheep, 17,460; calves, 120; pigs, 170.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 30.

The arrivals this week are short. The market for wheat is 1*s.* dearer than on Monday.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"A reformed Parliament puts an end to 'BURDETT; his shuffling upon a motion to sweep the pension and sinecure-list clean off the paper; his shuffling upon a motion for tearing the leaves out of the accursed 'Red Book;' either of these will *finish* him. Oh, my God! how he dreads reform! Never did shirking, straight-backed Scotch '*feelosofer*' so dread a spade, as this crafty, shuffling jade of a patriot dreads parliamentary reform."—*Register*, 24. December, 1831.

MR. COBBETT'S ADDRESS

TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE

WESTERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

Normandy, Ash, 1. December, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

As an Englishman, merely as a subject of the same king, I have a *right* to address you upon the subject of the ensuing election. Understanding more about such matters than the far greater part of my fellow-subjects can possibly understand, it is also *my duty* respectfully to tender to any part of them my opinions upon a matter which so deeply interests us all, and upon our conduct relative to which may finally depend the peace and happiness of our country. To YOU I owe a particular duty in this case. You occupy the spot upon which I myself was born and reared up to manhood; and I am also now your neighbour upon that spot. All these circumstances united make it my bounden duty to lay before you my opinions with regard to the choice which we ought to make of two members to represent us in the first reformed Parliament. It would have been my duty to do this some months back; but I could not

attend to the affairs of this county, without neglecting those other affairs which, for that time, appeared to me to be more important. I shall not have an opportunity of meeting you and of addressing you in person, before the election will have taken place; and therefore, I do it in this manner, deeming it criminal in me to omit to cause you to see what will probably be the effects of your making an improper choice at this nearly-approaching election.

The candidates are Messrs. LEECH, DENISON, and SUMNER; the two former being looked upon as ready to do their best for the people, as ready to make that *great and absolutely necessary change* which we are all wishing for and expecting; and the latter being deemed to be a man *resolved upon making no change at all*, but upon causing us to be *taxed and tithed* and pressed down to the earth, in the same manner that we have been for so many years past. Now, my friends, with regard to Mr. Sumner, I believe that this is his full intention; I believe that he will act thus; and I believe it, because he always has acted thus, and because he has never said that he would act otherwise, and has always plainly told us that he would not. So that, to choose him, to vote for him, is, in fact, to vote against any alteration at all of the system under which we groan.

But with regard to the other two gentlemen, there is something to say which is very well worthy of your attention. It seems to be taken for granted, that they will endeavour to make *the great change* which we want to have made. Now, it is of vast importance that we be not *deceived* in this respect. With regard to Mr. LEECH, I have not seen that gentleman for about twenty months past; I have not had any communication with him, either verbal or written, directly or indirectly; but I know, from all the conduct of his past life, that he is *safely to be trusted*, and that he will do to the utmost of his power, every thing *to relieve us from*

our burdens; for all the rest is nonsense; it is these oppressive burdens which we want to have taken from our backs; and I am quite satisfied that Mr. Leech will do his best to take these burdens from those backs.

But with regard to Mr. Denison, very different is my opinion. What do we want to have done? For what did we so labour to obtain this reform? Why have we so boasted of our triumph in having obtained it? Because we thought it would make us *better off* than we now are. *How* was it to do that? Why, by causing the burdens; that is to say, the taxes, to be taken from our overloaded shoulders. The several sorts of taxes press, one more heavily upon one class of persons; another more heavily upon another class of persons; the house and window-tax, particularly heavy on the merchants and traders; the corn-tax more heavily upon the manufacturers; the tithe-tax and the malt, hop, and soap-tax, more particularly heavy on those who cultivate the land. Now, it is our duty in this case, to look after our own affairs, and to take care that we be relieved, while the merchants and traders are justly and sensibly taking care that they will be relieved. Let me now, therefore, my friends, beg your attention to what I have to say about these *burdens upon the land*, seeing that ours is a purely agricultural spot. I shall first speak of the *TITHES*; and then I shall speak of the monstrously oppressive taxes on *our malt*, on *our hops*, and *our soap*; the last being a tax laid upon our *ashes* and upon the *loose fat* that comes from our animals: when I have spoken of these, I will give you my opinion as to what will be the conduct of Mr. Denison with regard to them; and then you will judge whether you ought to give him a vote on any condition whatsoever, and especially whether you ought to give him a vote *to the exclusion of Mr. Leech*. I have first to beg your attention to the important subject of *TITHES*.

Tithes were instituted in the first place by *MOSES*, afterwards by the *APOSTLES* (who collected them under the name of oblations or offerings) for

the *sole purpose of giving relief to the poor*, the *unfortunate*, the *widow*, the *orphan*, the *aged*, and the *stranger*. As Christianity extended itself over the civilized world, this provision for the necessitous became general and permanent in every Christian land; Christianity having for its very foundation, *brotherly love and the relief of our poorer neighbour*. Tithes became, in process of time, a general thing, founded on explicit law; but always, in all cases and in every case, their end, their object, the purpose of their institution was solely that of providing relief for the necessitous of the various descriptions before mentioned. Such was the nature of their institution in England; and such was the purpose to which they were applied, for more than *nine hundred years*, out of the twelve hundred since St. AUSTIN first brought the glad tidings of the gospel into the county of Kent. But, at what is called the "*PROTESTANT REFORMATION*," the king, the nobility, and the gentry, seized upon all the tithes and all the church-lands, divided them amongst themselves, or allotted them to be eaten up by bishops and by parsons, and *left the people no means of relief at all*. Just the same took place in Ireland and in Scotland. The unhappy people of those countries were compelled to submit to hunger and nakedness; but the English people, more accustomed to understand the laws and the usages of their forefathers, and more in the habit of asserting their rights, would not so submit; and they compelled the tyrant Queen ELIZABETH and the greedy nobility and gentry of that day, to pass the *POOR-LAW*; that is to say, to make a provision for the poor, the widow, and the orphan, and the stranger, as a *compensation* for what they had been robbed of by the seizure of the tithes and of the church-lands. Never until this time did England hear of *poor-rates* or of *church-rates*: the poor were maintained by the clergy out of the tithes, and the churches were repaired out of the same source. The people said, "We will have relief; we will have something in *compensation* for the loss of our patrimony." And

that savage Queen and her unjust nobility, instead of giving back the patrimony and estate of the people, which they had seized on, kept the tithes and church-lands to themselves, and laid a general tax upon all the people, in order to secure relief for the poor. So that all our lands, all our houses, all our little gardens, all our mills, are now *carrying a double load*; they are paying *tithes to the aristocracy and their dependants, the parsons*, and they are paying *poor-rates for the relief of the poor*.

Now, my friends, justice demands that one or the other of these burdens be taken from the lands and the houses of the kingdom. And, as it would be extremely difficult, and productive of great confusion, to go back to the custom of our fathers, and to cause relief to be given to the poor out of the tithes and church-lands, the wise way is, to suffer the parochial relief to remain; to suffer the poor-laws to be duly and mercifully executed, and to **ABOLISH THE TITHES**. This would be doing justice to the people so far. But, there are the *taxes* before mentioned, the *malt-tax*, the *hop-tax*, and the *soap-tax*. The former tax alone would be enough to ruin any country upon the face of the earth. Malt produces *the drink of all the people*. This drink is necessary to the vigour, the activity, the good humour, and the health of the working people. At this time, at this place, malt is *ten shillings and sixpence the bushel*, and malting barley is *four shillings and threepence the bushel*. You all know well, that a bushel of barley makes a bushel of malt, and makes as much over as will pay the expense of malting. You all know that your fathers, or your grandfathers, used to take a sack of barley to the malt-house, and bring home a sack of malt *in exchange*. The tax upon the malt is half-a-crown a bushel, a great part of which goes to *pay the exciseman* for the trouble and persecutions he inflicts upon the maltster. At this time, therefore, the maltster has a *profit of three shillings and ninepence a bushel*; and yet, the maltster's trade is no more profitable than that of other people; for the various im-

pediments thrown in his way by the exciseman; the great injury done to his barley and his malt in its several stages, by his being compelled to submit to the numerous vexatious regulations imposed by the excise-office; the quantity of money which he is compelled to keep by him to pay the duty before he sells the malt; the great peril to which he is constantly exposed of being ruined by the exchequer: all these make it impossible that any but a rich man should be a maltster; and, thus, while his profits are not so very large, we who consume the malt, have to pay ten and sixpence for that which we ought to get for four shillings and threepence!

The *hop-tax*, though apparently a trifle in itself, is, if possible, still more odiously oppressive. The hops come in our hedges; yet we dare not stick a pole for them, and gather them in for our use, without exposing ourselves to prosecution and to a jail. In numerous instances, this hop-duty *amounts to less than is paid to the exciseman* for surveying and collecting the duties on hops; it is, in fact, so much money squeezed from us, and so much injury done to us, for the purpose of paying a parcel of idle fellows called excisemen, to come into our hop-gardens and our kilns, and domineer over us like so many masters. Were it not for this monstrous tax, every farmer would have a little bit of hops, enough for his own use, and every labourer would have a dozen or twenty hills in his garden, and not have to go to a shop to buy hops, if he were able to brew. God seems to have said to Englishmen, "*There are hops for you*:" the Government comes and says, "*You shall not have them*"; because, if "*you have, we shall not have employment for these troops of excisemen of ours*."

Two effects most cruelly injurious to farmers and labourers have arisen out of these oppressive taxes: the first, that the young men and maids have been, on account of the great expense of beer, driven from the farm-houses in greater proportion than they would have been: hence, they have been driven to the public-house, to a disorderly life, and to

all the other moral degradation that we witness. Hence the necessity of great jails and of tread-mills; hence **STURGES BOVANE'S special vestry bills**: hence the **HIRED OVERSEERS**: hence the unnatural state of things between the labourers and the farmers: hence the deep-rooted resentment of the former; and hence the *constant alarm* and *sleepless nights* of the latter! And, until the abolition of the tithes, and the repeal of these monstrously oppressive taxes shall take place, never will there be, and never can there be, peace and happiness in England again.

Now, then, will Mr. DENISON pledge himself *to vote* for; not to support by speech, for that he is incapable of; but will he pledge himself *to vote* for the abolition of the tithes and the repeal of these cruel taxes? My opinion is, that he will not; and, my opinion is founded on the following facts. In the spring of 1829, I petitioned the House of Commons *to abolish the tithes*, and all the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland; representing to the House the monstrous injustice of compelling a Catholic people to give a tenth part of their produce to a Protestant clergy. I sent this petition to Mr. DENISON, in order that he might present it: he did present it; but he told the House, at the same time, that he most decidedly *protested against the principles of the petition and against its prayer*! I therefore, believe, that he will not vote for the abolition of tithes; and, for reasons to be presently stated, I believe, that he will not vote for the repeal of the taxes above mentioned; and, if there be a single man amongst you who vote for him, or for any other man, who will not pledge himself to such abolition and to such repeal, that man deserves to be taxed to the very breaking of his back; he deserves to be a slave all his life; and, at his death, to have the curses of those children upon whom he has entailed such degrading slavery.

Mr. Denison holds himself forth to you as a **TRIED** man; let us see how this matter stands. He has certainly been *tried* long enough; but let us look at the *result* of the trial. He has been

in Parliament, while in time of peace, he has seen the standing army amount to a hundred thousand or more; and within these two years he has seen it greatly augmented, *without a word of opposition from him*. He has sitten in Parliament while there have been a million and a half of money voted out of the taxes *as a present* to the church clergy, over and above the tithes and church-lands; and he has been there while *two millions of English money, since the peace*, has been voted to discharged Hanoverians; they with their wives and children being in Hanover! Ever since he has been in Parliament he has been voting annually a pension of two thousand four hundred a year to **BURKE**, *who died thirty-two years ago*! In 1821 he was in Parliament, when a committee sat to ascertain the cause of the *distresses of agriculture*. Mr. JOHN ELLMAN, of Sussex, told that committee that forty-five years before that, when he became a farmer, every man in his parish *brewed his own beer and enjoyed it by his fire-side*; and that now *not a single labourer in the parish brewed his own beer*, but had to drink water; and before the same committee the sheriff of Wiltshire said, that the labourers of that county, who used to have plenty of bread, meat, and beer, now went to plough with *cold potatoes in their bag*, and had nothing *but water to drink*! What! did Mr. Denison DO nothing in consequence of this? Did he make no motion for the House *to inquire* into the cause of this horrible change? Not he! Never opened his lips upon the subject; but, wrapping himself up in his tenfold garment of gold, jogged to Epsom at the next county meeting, turned up the whites of his eyes, and protested his anxiety to render the freeholders of the county all the service in his power! Either he has known what the people have suffered, or he has not; if the latter, he is too *ignorant* of our affairs to be intrusted with the management of them; if the former, he, having made no effort to lessen our burdens, is *too cold and unfeeling* a man to be intrusted with anything connected with our welfare, our peace, and our happiness. He

is a *money dealer*; he has no feeling in common with us, who must live by the land, or not live at all; his trade can flourish *only as long as we be loaded with taxes*; he knows, that to take off the taxes which press us to the earth, would *break up that system* which enables him to roll in endless riches. And, accordingly, during all the years that he has been in Parliament, he has *never made a motion for lessening those taxes*. This is a "*tried man*," then!

But he was once "*tried*" in a very particular manner; and from the result of this *trial* you will judge. A number of *farm-labourers at BARNES*, in this county, petitioned the House of Commons, in 1830, complaining, that the taxes, which they were compelled to pay on their malt, hops, soap, sugar, tea, tobacco, and wearing apparel, were squandered away on pensions, on sinecures, on German soldiers and their wives and children, who lived in Germany, spending the taxes, thus taken from the petitioners and their wives and children, and that the parsons and tax-gatherers made the farmers so poor, that they were unable to pay their people sufficient wages; and these labourers ended their petition by humbly praying, that the Parliament would redress these crying grievances, *and especially, that it would be pleased to repeal the taxes on malt, hops, sugar, soap, tea, and tobacco*. Nothing could be more *humble* than the language of this petition; nothing more in order or more pertinent than its *prayer*. The petition was communicated in the most respectful manner, to Mr. DENISON, with a request, that he would be pleased to present it, he being a member for the county in which the petitioners lived; and what did he do? What did he do on this *trial*? Why, he *declined* to present it; *did not like* to present it; *wished not* to present it; at last, he *refused* to present it; and, *it was*, therefore, carried to Mr. PALMER, who presented it *without hesitation*, as it was his bounden duty to do! This is a "*TRIED MAN*," is he? Better have a man that has not been tried. Better have anything than a man like this, unless he *will now pledge himself to the*

repeal of the malt, the hop, and the soap-tax, and to the abolition of tithes.

Besides all this, there is Denison's *double-dealing* with regard to Mr. LEECH. His crafty adherents got Mr. Leech to come out to *stand with Denison* against Sumner; and, Mr. Leech in that address, in which he yielded to the pressing invitation, gave us to understand, that he was a candidate *with Denison*; and he called upon the people to *support Denison as well as himself*, and thus to unite against the notorious Tory, Sumner. But now, mark! While the crafty money-monger was thus setting on foot underhandedly a mode of *getting split votes with Mr. Leech*, he was, at the same time, *carrying on an independent canvass for himself*, telling all those of whom he asked votes, that *he asked only for ONE vote*, never mentioning Mr. Leech; never mentioning Leech *in any of his bills*, or in *any of his canvassing cards*; while Mr. Leech, in all his bills and cards, has been *canvassing for Denison as well as for himself*! This is so low, so dirty, so vile a trick, that, every man who has promised his vote for Denison, upon the ground that he was a *joint candidate with Leech*, is, by this foul conduct of Denison, *clearly absolved from that promise*, because having given the promise on the understanding that *both were to be voted for all the way through*; and that Denison *wished* for Leech to be elected *along with him*; having given the promise upon this understanding, the promise *does not hold*, when it is proved that Denison wishes to be *elected himself*, though to the *exclusion of Leech*; and this exclusion; the success of this foul scheme of Denison, is to be prevented only by your *voting for LEECH, and not voting for Denison*. Sumner's supporters are all tax-gatherers, pensioners, placemen, half-pay-people, parsons, and others *who live on the taxes and the tithes*; these and their stewards and other dependants, and the renters under them; these are the supporters of Sumner. They have *no fear of Denison*, because they know that he *WILL NOT* vote for the *abolition of the tithes* and for the *repeal of the taxes*. But they

know that LEECH will, and therefore their object will be to *keep out Leech*; and if they find that SUMNER is safe, they will *split with Denison*, in order to effect this object; and the selfish MONEY-MONGER will *split with them in exchange*, in order to secure his own seat. The only way, therefore, for us to *make sure* of Mr. Leech, is to give him, and *him only*, our votes; and I do beseech you all to attend to this.

But some may say, "*If we do not choose DENISON, we shall let in SUMNER.*" But, as things now stand, the chances are, *that you will keep out Leech, and let in Sumner too!* It is Mr. Leech that we want; and a great deal better for us would it be to have *him and Sumner*, than to have *Sumner and Denison*. With Leech and Sumner we have a *good* and a *bad*: with Sumner and Denison we have two *tried men*; one that has proved himself *bad*, and the other that has proved himself *good for nothing!* In short, if you suffer Denison's underhanded tricks to prevail, this part of the county of Surrey will have done all that it can possibly do to prevent the Reform Bill from producing any good; all that it can possibly do to do injury to the country at large; all that it can possibly do to cause the county of Surrey to be covered with everlasting disgrace.

Thus, my friends, countrymen, and neighbours, have I offered you along with my great respect and regard, and with that frankness and plainness which were called for by the pressing importance of the case; thus have I offered you my opinions upon this subject, and also the reasons upon which these opinions are founded; and having thus discharged my duty, it only remains for me to express my confident hope, that you will have the resolution honestly to discharge yours; in which hope, and with the most anxious wishes for the prosperity and for the maintenance of the honour of my native county, I remain

Your faithful

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—Be pleased to observe, my friends and countrymen, *FIRST*, that

our first object is, to return Mr. LEECH, for these reasons: That we have all known him from our infancy; that we have his seventy years of benevolent life as landlord and kind neighbour, and of *goodness to the poor*; that we have, in his character, in his invariable conduct, and in every other circumstance that can give us assurance, the certainty that he will do everything in his power to redress our grievances. It is, therefore, our first object to secure the return of Mr. Leech. SECOND, it is our duty to reject SUMNER, who has invariably shown that he is an enemy of our liberties, and that he has no desire to better our lot, or to enable us to better that of our poor neighbours. THIRD, if we must choose between the rejection of Denison and the rejection of Leech, *our duty to ourselves and to our neighbours* calls upon us to reject Denison, he being a man on whom we cannot rely. Therefore, my advice to you, offered with great respect to you and with every kindly feeling towards you, is this: that at the nomination at the election at Guildford, if not before, you put to the three candidates the following questions:

I. Will you vote for the total and entire abolition of tithes, in England as well as in Ireland, leaving it to the House of Commons and the other two branches of the Legislature, to settle upon what provision, short of tithes, shall be allotted to the clergy?

II. Will you vote for the absolute, entire and complete abolition of the taxes on malt, on hops, and on soap?

My advice to you is, not to vote for any man who will not pledge himself upon these two points; who will not answer YES, without any hesitation, to both of them; and next, my advice is, to consider well *whether voting for Denison be likely to endanger the election of Mr. Leech*, and if, upon consideration, you are of opinion that your voting for Denison *may endanger the election of Mr. Leech, not by any means to vote for Denison*. All the circumstances considered, it will be infamy to us not to return Mr. Leech. It will be to show a want, either of common *discernment* or of common in-

tegrity, to prefer a mere MONEY-MONGER, whom we know nothing at all of, except that he has represented us *twenty years*, and has done nothing for us; to prefer this man merely because he has a great heap of money (which, in fact, he has got *out of our toil*), to our neighbour, to the very best landlord, the very kindest friend to the poor that is to be found in the whole county, or in the whole of England itself! This would be infamy indeed upon our heads; our children would blush for the conduct of their fathers; to have it said of the people of Surrey, that, when all the millions of Englishmen were faithfully doing their duty, the county of Surrey was so base as to sell itself to the *breakfasts and dinners* of a money-monger!

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

THIS matter grows hot. The enraged DON and his man have had the folly to make an attack on Mr. PLACE; though he really appears to have gone as far as possible, in order to save them. The consequence of this attack has been natural enough. Mr. PLACE repels the attack, and is compelled to expose the "chaise-horse" and the HOBBY to shame. "Dear DE VEAR" answers Mr. PLACE, and insinuates the base calumny which his employers had not the courage to utter. Mr. PLACE replies, and proves DE VEAR and his masters to be both liars and fools. They are, however, about to receive their just reward; they are about either to be pelted from the hustings with *cabbages and turnips*, or to show that they are afraid to meet the people whom they pretend to represent.

"Cast your bread upon the waters," is a precept which I have constantly kept in view, during the whole of my political life. I have been casting my bread, in the case of these two false fellows, for nearly *fifteen years*. This is a great many *days*, certainly; but the bread has appeared again at last. This instance of the fruit of perseverance ought to be a great encouragement to all those who are apt to shrink

from the duty of assailing powerful adversaries. The rule is, "Keep truth constantly on your side; **KEEP ON**; and you are sure to prevail in the end. I here insert the letters before mentioned: they are full of interest; and my readers, in particular, will be delighted to see the greatest and basest of all my calumniators dragged down into the very dirt by those who have hitherto supported him. Major CARTWRIGHT should have lived to see this day: he should have lived to read Mr. PLACE's letter. And then to have seen, and read again, the letters which I addressed to himself from LONG ISLAND, upon the subject of BURDETT's treachery. The MAJOR stuck to him two years too long. I told him, in the presence of Mr. FITTON of ROYTON, who recollects it very well, that *he must give the fellow up first or last*; and that the sooner he did it the less cruel would his mortification finally be. This was in January, 1817; and, the MAJOR did not give him up until January, 1819; and then he was compelled to proclaim him hypocrite, political traitor, and everything else that was bad in public life. I shall here publish again this letter of Major CARTWRIGHT. The people of WESTMINSTER ought now to read it with attention. If they do, they will make amends by their present conduct for their senseless conduct in the time that is past. I beg all my readers to read this letter of Major CARTWRIGHT with attention. He addressed it to the people of WESTMINSTER, and he published it at that time. I beg my readers to read my introduction to the address of Major CARTWRIGHT. I republished the *Major's address* on the 24. of December last; and I put this introduction to it. I beg my readers to look at the motto to this present *Register*; and they will see how right I was with regard to the fate of this fellow in case of a parliamentary reform taking place. About this day week (next Tuesday), he will be very nearly in the plight to which I said I would bring him, fifteen years ago. Let him, when he goes to bed next Tuesday night, reflect on his conduct towards Mr. PAULL, and on his still more infamous and base ingrati-

tude towards me. Let him then think of the nothingness of his twenty thousand acres of land, and calculate how much more it is worth than the six by two feet which are allotted to the miserable paupers upon his immense estates.

WM. COBBETT.

A LETTER
TO THE
ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,
FROM
FRANCIS PLACE.

GENTLEMEN,

Few, who were not actually public men, have, in relation to public matters, been more abused than I at times have been. To be abused was, I knew, the penalty I incurred for my interference; and as I incurred the penalty knowingly, I had little reason to complain; and I never have complained. Every one who chose has written of me to please himself; and every one who chooses may please himself in the same way.

I address you—not in defence of myself, for that I should scorn to do—but to prevent your being imposed upon and misled in a matter which I, as well as many of you, think of importance.

Sir John Hobhouse, in his speech at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Monday, the 26. of November, is reported to have said—and my inquiries have satisfied me that he is correctly reported—that, “From the letter of the Colonel (Evans), it appeared that he, on the Friday (the 16.), had given his pledge to stand, and it was not for two or three days afterwards the pledges were demanded from him (Sir John). It was a mere *trick*, not of the Colonel's, but of some of the electors, for whose enmity he was not aware of having given cause. He would ask the meeting from how many of the electors of Westminster did they think this demand originated? From 500?—No. From 50?—No. From 10?—No. But from *one individual*, whose letter he then had in his pocket, in which he says to the deputation, ‘*Mind you ask him before the public meeting, and be sure you pub'ish his answer.*’”

It is my intention to prove most

clearly, and put beyond all doubt, the fact, that Sir John wilfully misrepresented me for the purpose of deceiving you, than which I know nothing more disgraceful.

It may be necessary, in consequence of rumours carefully disseminated, for me to say, that I am not, and never was, a dangler at the heels of great men; never was a frequenter of great men's houses, but have always avoided them. In no great man's house have I ever sat down as a guest—in no one even as an ordinary acquaintance, save only in those of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse; and in neither of these even, unless called to it by unavoidable business. That during the twenty-five years I have been politically acquainted with Sir Francis, I have not been probably twenty-five times within the doors of his house; and during the fourteen years of my political acquaintance with Sir John Hobhouse, I have not been in any apartment of his fourteen times. That, excepting in a public room, I never ate or drank with Sir Francis, and but once with Sir John, at breakfast, when I met some gentlemen from Lancashire, to promote the repeal of the duty on printed calico. Standing thus, then, not under the slightest obligation to any political man, I may, I think, be allowed to adopt as independent a tone, and claim to be permitted to act as freely, as any other person whatever.

Sir John Hobhouse thanks me for my interference. He tells you this in bitterness of heart—the consequence of his own ill conduct. He is conscious that he deserves to lose his seat, and he knows well enough that in refusing the pledges, he has risked the throwing it away for ever.

He tells you that Colonel Evans gave his pledge on the Friday, and that the deputation was a trick of mine out of enmity to him. God knows I have no enmity towards him, and he too, knows it. He knows me too well to believe I can have any enmity towards him. I know not what Sir John means by Col. Evans being pledged on the Friday: I have no knowledge of his being pledged

till the Monday, more than twenty-four hours after Sir John had seen the deputation, and refused to answer the reasonable questions they asked him. Sir John did indeed know that Colonel Evans had not been pledged on the Friday, for he told the deputation he knew all that had been done; and I have since learned that there was no meeting on the Friday, nor on any preceding day. Sir John perverts the truth to make a point in his case. I do not know how Colonel Evans could be pledged until the Monday evening, but I do know that several of the highly respectable electors who took part in the proceedings, as well as Colonel Evans himself, anticipated Sir John's acceptance of the four propositions; had he done so, the matter must have ended there, and neither pledging nor nominating of Colonel Evans could have taken place.

I believe the simple facts to be these: it was provisionally agreed on the Saturday evening, that if Sir John rejected the four propositions, Colonel Evans should be nominated; I know positively that no other step was taken by anybody until after the return of the deputation on the Sunday from Sir John, and that Colonel Evans gave no pledges until the Monday evening.

The whole case may be shortly stated thus: for several years past many electors who had to transact business with Sir John, were displeased with his deportment towards them, and with his conduct respecting business in his hands; their complaints continually increased, and dissatisfaction prevailed to a considerable extent. Sir John was not ignorant of these circumstances; they were well known to me, and my communications with him were perfectly candid; he could and did receive them as often as he pleased; and so he did on some occasions those of a common friend. He was not ignorant that he risked the loss of his seat. In 1830, he had great apprehension of losing it, and although when he accepted office, he ran no risk of his re-election, he was forewarned that he might not be returned to the new Parliament.

The office he holds is the most obnoxious of any public office to the people; and circumstances occurred which from time to time, continued to lessen him in the opinion of his constituents; about three months since, several electors from two of the parishes, and a few days afterwards, others from another parish called upon me, and invited me to become a candidate for the City and Liberty, assuring me of the support of those with whom they were connected, and of the probable chance there was of success. These invitations I declined.* Similar applications were made to Mr. Hume, and were also declined by him. Of these and other such symptoms, Sir John was not ignorant; and it was impossible for him either to misunderstand or to disregard them. The electors in several places occasionally communed together on the subject, and the desire to have a representative not encumbered with office—one to whom access could be easily and conveniently obtained—one who would not consider his prompt interference in such public matters, as might be thought necessary, a burden—one who would never neglect such public matters—became more and more evident. Within the last month many electors called upon me and expressed their desire to nominate another candidate, I did not think these demonstrations would lead to any nomination, but at length men began to take part in them, whom I knew were not likely to trifle with anything they took in hand: and the matter began to assume a serious aspect—all appeared to fear that Sir John would not be an active useful man for the people; some proposed that all the leading pledges, about nine in number, should be put to him: others again could not persuade

* Offers were made to me from two other places, at one of which I have little doubt I might have been returned free of expense: reasons of a private nature made the acceptance of so very handsome an offer ineligible; yet, the gabbling old lady, the *Globe*, who is better acquainted with my affairs than I am myself, has discovered that the nomination of Colonel Evans is only a *ruse* to prepare the way for my becoming a candidate for Westminster.

themselves that the Secretary at War would be the independent member for Westminster they wished he should be. It was alleged—1. That Sir John's being Secretary at War was a conclusive objection. That it was useless to have any conference or to put any questions to him; and that the proper mode of proceeding would be to oppose him at once. I did not approve of these notions. 2. That from just apprehension that Sir John would not be an efficient representative, it was proper to come to a clear understanding with him before any thing of a decisive nature was done, and in this opinion all whom I saw at length concurred.

It was now certain that opposition to Sir John would be made, unless he gave such pledges as might be deemed necessary; and the question was—what pledges were necessary? That many pledges have in other places been demanded—that many candidates have voluntarily given pledges, you all know. It appeared to me, that in the case of Sir John, considerable allowance ought to be made; and the numerous pledges, which some had thought necessary, were reduced by me to four; and these were such, and such only, as Sir John had himself volunteered; such, as he would be expected openly to maintain as member for Westminster—such, as an honest man, he would be desirous to maintain, and such as the Government, if it really meant fairly by the people, could not object to permit him to maintain. To these four reasonable propositions, the electors whom I saw, agreed to limit their request; and to these, the electors who afterwards assembled at the Salopian Coffee-house, limited them. Never having assisted in any way to return any man for Westminster on his own account, but solely on public grounds, and to promote reform; it could not have been expected by Sir John, to whom my opinions were well known, that so far as I interfered, I should depart from the line of conduct I had followed for upwards of twenty-six years; and he ought to have been satisfied with the pains I took to limit the questions, and to have believed that

there could be nothing personally hostile to him in the proceeding; and I cannot even now persuade myself, that he does really believe there was any such feeling, notwithstanding he has so unqualifiedly asserted the contrary.

But it is said, why should any question be asked, why any pledge demanded of Sir John—he has been in Parliament twelve years, and his conduct ought to be taken as a sufficient pledge. It has been seen, that his conduct was not such as to satisfy a very large proportion of highly respectable and intelligent reformers, his constituents. That this was so is beyond all dispute; it was occasionally declared in many places—was talked of in the club-houses, by friends and foes.

It had come to my knowledge in ways which did not permit me to doubt, that Ministers were desirous to avoid taking steps towards enabling the people to reap any of the advantages they reasonably expected from the Reform Bill. The bill was to be allowed "to take its own course." In plain language, was to be a dead letter. I had heard enough in conversation with Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse, to satisfy me, that their notions corresponded with those of the Ministers, and no further changes seemed likely to be promoted by them; that this was a correct inference is now proved by the fact, that not one word in reference to any sort of reform whatever, has escaped from the tongue or the pen of either of the baronets. No, we were to sit down, quiescent and contented, until the termination of the next Parliament, when, if the bill remains as it is, every borough in the kingdom will be utterly corrupt, and every election a contest of the purse.

Under these circumstances, I felt it my duty to go along with the electors as far as I have stated; there was no disguise, no sort of concealment, and Sir John might have learned from me, from a common friend, or from any one of a pretty large number of electors, every thing that passed.

During this period, application had been made to Colonel Evans to become a candidate, and, after much inter-

course to which I was not in any way a party, it was agreed, that a meeting should be held on the evening of Saturday, the 17th November, for the purpose of ascertaining how far they who might choose to attend, could concur in any mode of proceeding.

About two hours before the meeting was held, several electors, one only of whom was known to me personally, being desirous to obtain my opinion on certain points, in writing, sent me a note, to which I replied by letter. The letter was lost by the person intrusted to carry it to the Salopian Coffee-house; and this obliged me to write another from memory, which, as will be seen, differs in no essential particular. On the morning of Monday, the 19. the last letter was brought to me by Mr. Warburton, in an open envelope; it had been picked up, opened, and sent to Sir John Hobhouse, who gave it to Mr. Warburton for me, and copies of both the letters with a note, were sent to Sir John, as follows, viz.—

Monday, 19. Nov., 1832.

SIR JOHN,—Mr. Warburton brought me the letter you put into his hands; Colonel Jones and Mr. Carpué were present when he came.

Mr. Warburton is acquainted with all the political matters in which I have for some time past interfered. Colonel Jones came to "put me to the question," in consequence of some reports he had heard at Ridgway's, which he thought were derogatory to me. I know not why I should have any secrets on political matters, and I have none; at least, none of my own. I therefore, in the presence of the other gentlemen, gave full answers to Colonel Jones's questions, and such matters of proof as I have by me. His questions related to Westminster and to you, and Mr. Warburton will tell you his opinion* on these subjects. If you are satisfied—well; if you are not, I cannot help it.

I send you a copy of the letter you returned by Mr. Warburton. You have seen that it was directed to "*Mr. Michie or the Chairman*," and was consequently intended to be read to the company, if either Mr. Michie, the chairman, or any one of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, chose to read it; the letter was sent to the Salopian Coffee-house at eight o'clock in the evening, and was lost

by the messenger. On learning this, I wrote another from memory, as I had not taken a copy; and I now send you a copy of both letters. "Politics make no friends," and he who acts honestly, and on his own opinions, can never hope long to please anybody; this is my case, and as it is unavoidable, I am contented it should remain so.

Yours,

FRANCIS PLACE.

Letter which was lost.

17. November, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—You and your friends ask me:

1. "If I concur with them in thinking that Sir John Hobhouse should be questioned?"—I answer, I do.

2. "If he should be questioned without delay, or if it should be done at a public meeting?"—I answer, to-morrow morning, at whatever place he may be, either in town or country.

It is also my opinion, that the questions and answers should be published as soon as possible. Everything done by anybody relating to the electors should be communicated to them as was done formerly, and their acceptance or rejection of everything proposed should be asked.

I hear that Sir Francis Burdett, in a letter read from him last night, said, that none but fools asked for pledges, and none but rogues gave them.† True, he was not asked for pledges, yet he has given more than any other public man. Sir John Hobhouse was not only asked for pledges, but was most particularly questioned, and he pledged himself as far as was requisite; if, then, what Sir Francis says be correct, we are all fools, and he and Sir John are rogues.

Sir John has done four things, which I consider fundamental, as including all manner of details; and if he does not pledge himself to promote them, I will not vote for him, no, nor for any man who will not: they are—

1. Vote by ballot.
2. Repeal of Septennial Act.
3. Repeal of taxes on knowledge.
4. Repeal of assessed taxes, on account of their gross and shameful inequality.

I can see no reason why Sir Francis should now refuse, if he does refuse, to do as he did in former times—tell the people—that is, promise the people—that is, pledge himself to the people—that he will endeavour to procure for them certain things; and as to Sir John, his very situation as a Minister of State makes it not only absolutely necessary that he should pledge himself explicitly, but that, as an honest man, he should desire to do so. No man

* Mr. Warburton's opinion, expressed before Colonel Jones and Mr. Carpué, was all that any honourable man could desire should be said of his conduct by such a man as Mr. Warburton.

† This, as I am assured, was the fact; and as the letter was intended for publication, it was returned to Sir Francis by Messrs. De Veau, Thurston, and A'Beckett, to be altered in this and some other particulars, and it was altered.

ought to consent that any one should be his master for **SEVEN** years, instead of being the people's servant for **ONE** year, without making terms with him.

I dislike Mr. De Veare's proceedings exceedingly; they are not such as an honest man should have anything to do with,* and if anything could just now induce me to come out, these proceedings would. I am not, however, inclined to take upon myself the management of another contested election; there are plenty of intelligent men, younger than I am, and some of them should take the labour, the loss, and the obloquy, as I have done.

Yours, very truly,
FRANCIS PLACE.

To Mr. Michie, for Messrs. A. Michie,
Arbor, Green, Wilson, Redman, &
and Savory.

Addressed,
"Mr. Michie, or the Chairman."

Letter written to supply the place of that which was lost, read at the Salopian Coffee-house.

17. November, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—You and your friends ask me:

1. "If I concur with them in thinking that Sir John Hobhouse should be questioned?"—I answer, I do.

2. "If this should be done by a deputation or delayed until a public meeting is held?"—I answer, to-morrow morning, by a deputation to him wherever he may be, either in town or country, and the questions and answers should be made public as soon as possible. Whatever is done, should, as formerly, be made known to the electors, that they may either concur in, or disapprove of the proceedings.

I am told that Sir Francis Burdett, in a letter which was read last night at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, said, "That none but fools demanded pledges, and none but rogues gave them." It is true that no pledges were demanded of him, he had earned his fame before he came to Westminster; not so Sir John. Sir Francis, without being asked, has given more pledges than any other public man. Sir John was not nominated until he had fully pledged himself. If, therefore, what Sir Francis now says be correct, we are all fools, and he and Sir John are both rogues, but it is not so.

Sir John has made four distinct things his own by his advocacy of them, and I will neither vote for him, nor for any other man, who refuses to promise to promote their accomplishment; they are,

1. Voting by Ballot, all-important Ballot.
2. Repeal of the Septennial Act.

* To prevent cavilling, I beg to be understood as alluding to Mr. De Veare's political proceedings. In his social relations, and as a tradesman, he is a most respectable man.

3. Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge.

4. Repeal of the Assessed Taxes, on account of their unequal and consequently unjust distribution.

I care little about details, as these four or even the two first of them, will enable the people to obtain all they can reasonably desire. Sir John's situation makes it the more necessary that he should unequivocally, and as an honest man, desire to have a public opportunity to do so. It is but little after all that is asked; it is no boon; nothing but the means of quietly promoting good government by destroying bad government in a legal way. It is too much of any man to desire people to make him their master for **SEVEN** years, instead of the people's servant for **ONE** year, without agreeing on the terms.

I dislike the proceedings of Mr. De Veare exceedingly; they are such as an upright man should have nothing to do with, such as, if I were not just now resolved to remain at home, would induce me to go out and help to manage another contested election, but there are many intelligent men, younger than I am, who should spend their time, incur the loss, and bear the odium as I have done.

Yours truly,
FRANCIS PLACE.

To Messrs. Michie, Arbor, Green,
Wilson, Redman, and Savory.

It will not, I think, be easy for any one who has read these letters, to conceive the possibility of more perversion in so few words, as in those which have been quoted from the speech of Sir John Hobhouse.

1. That Colonel Evans was pledged on the Friday, qualified by the pitiful subterfuge, "it appears by his letter," the letter being actually dated "*Sunday*." Can Sir John think such conduct as this will pass unnoticed?

2. Sir John told the deputation on the Sunday, that he knew all their proceedings correctly, and, consequently, he knew that there could be no pledging on the Friday; he knew that no meeting was held till the Saturday evening.

3. Sir John knew, from the very nature of the case, that if any pledge was given on the Saturday, it could only be conditional. His emissaries were at the meeting, and he must therefore have known, that in the opinion of many, his acceptance of the pledges was expected, and that the business would end there.

4. Sir John says that I wrote to the deputation and instructed them what to do, when he knew that no deputation was

appointed, and it was uncertain that any would be appointed.

Parliamentary men, and especially men in office, frequently take liberties with truth in a way unknown to other men; but few, even of such men, would have ventured so openly to outrage truth and decency, as Sir John has done in this instance.

What must you, the electors of Westminster, think of Sir John when you look back at the quotation from his speech, and there read that the demand for pledges from Sir John was a *trick* of "one individual," whose letter he had in his pocket, in which he says to the deputation, "Mind you ask him before the public meeting, and be sure you publish his answer." No man can mistake the meaning of these words—no one mistake the affectation of mystery respecting the letter—the letter sent to him by myself, with the proffered means, through Mr. Warburton, of the knowledge that by me he had been handsomely treated, and had only not been preferred by me to my public duty. Had he followed a plain honest course, he would have told the truth—the whole truth; he would have scorned the use of falsehood, been above misrepresentation, and instead of using words as a quotation from the letter, which it does not contain, he would have read the letter. Why then did he not read the letter? Let any man who has read it answer the question. The words used by Sir John admit of but one interpretation, that of mean base fraud; he intended them to have that meaning and no other. The words in the letter have precisely the contrary meaning to those he used. They are, "It is also my opinion that the questions and answers should be published as soon as possible." And why be thus published? The reason follows, "because, that any thing done by anybody relating to the electors, should be communicated to them as was done formerly, and their acceptance or rejection of every thing proposed should be asked." Is this compatible with base trickery? Is it not contemptible trickery in Sir John to act as he did, and has he not deserved the exposure of his trick-

ery? He knew well enough there was no trickery in any part of my conduct, yet has he had the folly and effrontery to pretend there was, to make a mystery of the contents of the letter, and for a bad purpose to quote as a passage, words it did not contain.

With Sir John I have been pretty closely engaged in some public matters, sufficiently disagreeable; yet even after the conduct I have been compelled to expose, I cannot persuade myself he will pretend that, in any one instance, I ever gave in to a single act for which any man might not take credit to himself.

With this statement of facts before you, with conduct on the part of Sir John, so highly disreputable, amounting to a tacit avowal that from him you are not to expect any assistance in the work of quiet legal regeneration; with conduct which proves that he no longer considers himself bound to comply with any wish of yours, however reasonable, or to attend to any interest of yours, which, from any cause at any time, may not be equally agreeable to himself and to Ministers; will you place those interests in his hands to be disposed of as he chooses for seven years, without the smallest power of control, without any of calling him to account, be his conduct whatever it may?

What was good for the people in 1819 is good for them now; what Sir John recommended then, should be the rule now; what he deprecated in the Whigs then, he is now practising himself to the very letter. There is one difference only between those whom he then so properly reprobated and himself, and that is, that they never treated the electors as their dependents, and never pretended to treat them with such perfect indifference as Sir John does now.

The electors must be much changed for the worse if they do not assert their own dignity, and reject the man who has so shamelessly deserted and insulted them.

FRANCIS PLACE.

30. Nov. 1832.

P. S. Some of the most active partisans of Sir John Hobhouse, are diligently propagating a report, that the

opposition to Sir John has been got up by me, in consequence of his refusing to procure for me the office of Official Assignee under the new Bankruptcy Act. The fact is this, I was solicited, in the handsomest manner, to accept the office; but, as it was incompatible with my other pursuits, I declined it. Sir John Hobhouse was acquainted with the circumstance, but he was in no way concerned with it.

F. P.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 4 Dec. 1832.)

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR—The committee for conducting the election of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir J. Hobhouse trust that your sense of justice will induce you to give insertion to the enclosed address to the electors of Westminster, having this day inserted a letter which contains a severe attack upon one, at least, if not on both, of the present members.

THOMAS DE VEAR, Chairman.

December 3, 1832.

A letter signed Francis Place has appeared in the *Chronicle*, and is now circulated as a pamphlet, containing a charge against Sir John Hobhouse, which those who do not know the writer may think it necessary should be refuted. The accusation is spread over fifteen pages, but the basis of it is contained in the first page, and is as follows:—"Sir John Hobhouse, in his speech at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Monday, the 26. of November, is reported to have said (and my inquiries have satisfied me that he is correctly reported), that from the letter of the Colonel (Evans), it appeared that he on Friday, the 16., had given his pledge to stand, and it was not for two or three days afterwards the pledges were demanded from him (Sir John). It was a mere trick, not of the liberals, but of some of the electors, for whose enmity he was not aware of having given cause. He would ask the meeting from how many of the electors of Westminster did they think this demand originated? From 500?—No. From 50?—No. From 10?—No. But from one individual; whose letter he had in his pocket, in which he says to the deputation. 'Mind you ask him before the public meeting, and be sure you publish his answer.'"

Having giving this in this pamphlet as an extract from Sir J. Hobhouse's speech, and having satisfied himself of the correctness of the report, Mr. Francis Place, proceeds to found a charge of untruth, conveyed in the coarsest language, against Sir John Hobhouse, by stating that Colonel Evans did not enter into an engagement to stand on the Friday, and that his standing was only provisionally agreed upon on the Saturday. Now, what is to be thought of Mr.

Francis Place, when it is proved, by appealing to the *Times*, the *Chronicle*, and the *Morning Herald*, and it might be added, to all whom Colonel Evans's supporters would allow to hear Sir John Hobhouse, that he (Mr. Place) had put into Sir John's mouth words which he never used: and that this person, who says he had "satisfied himself of the correctness" of what he attributes to Sir John Hobhouse, could not have looked into either of these papers, or if he did look into them, could not find a single phrase to justify his slander; the *Times* gives an accurate report, the *Morning Herald* does the same, the *Morning Chronicle* omits that part of the speech altogether, but does not give one word of Mr. Francis Place's correct report. In the *Morning Herald* of Nov. 27, we find as follows:—

"It was not true that the opposition to him (Sir J. H.) arose from his refusing to give pledges. The opposition, according to a letter written by Colonel Evans, had been settled on Saturday night; the gallant Colonel had accepted the offer of being put in nomination on the Saturday night, and the pledges were never proposed to him (Sir J. H.) until the Sunday morning."—*Extract from Sir J. Hobhouse's speech.*

The report of the *Times* is to the same effect.

"It is not true that the opposition to me has arisen from my refusal to take the pledges: it began before that refusal occurred. It was on the Saturday night that it was settled (as appeared from the letter of the gallant Colonel himself) that he should stand in opposition to me; and the pledges were never put to me until the following Sunday morning."—*Extract from Sir J. Hobhouse's speech, Times, Nov. 27.*

It will be seen that, by the substitution of Friday instead of Saturday, and by the insertion of two or three days, instead of the following day, Mr. Francis Place has ingeniously contrived to put a falsehood into the mouth of Sir John Hobhouse, for the sake of afterwards accusing him of that crime. After the exposure of this forgery (where the mis-report given by Mr. Place is found we know not), it will be scarcely necessary to reply to any other portion of this libel. But, besides the main invention on which Mr. Place depends for producing the intended effect with the electors of Westminster, his letter contains two or three other fictions, which it may be as well to expose. He declares that even on the Saturday night it was agreed upon (only provisionally) that Colonel Evans should stand, and that his coming forward depended upon Sir John Hobhouse's answers to the questions put to him on Sunday.

What says Colonel Evans?

Here is his letter:—

"MY DEAR SIR FRANCIS—For some time past various communications have been made to me by electors of Westminster, expressive of a desire to bring me forward as a candidate

for its representation in the next Parliament. Last night a meeting was held on this subject, when, it having been determined to put me in nomination, measures were taken to carry that determination into effect; and I, having concurred to the wishes of the electors, am now a candidate, without, as I fully understand, being in any way opposed to you. I hasten to communicate this to you, and remain, yours, &c. &c.

“D. L. EVANS.

“To Sir Francis Burdett,
“Sunday, 6, Waterloo-place.”

The words are positive that the arrangement was made on Saturday—not provisionally—but an actual determination to nominate Colonel Evans the night before Sir John Hobhouse was asked a pledge. There is no doubt that Sir John's refusal to pledge was mentioned as adding to the Colonel's chances. And it is repeated, that the Colonel's letter to Sir Francis Burdett states the fact broadly that the determination to nominate him (Colonel Evans) and the consequent measures were agreed upon on the Saturday. Sir John Hobhouse called this a trick. We repeat that it was so, and when Mr. Place wrote the letter which was picked up in the street, and which, when sent to Sir John, was returned, unread by that gentleman, to the writer, through Mr. Warburton, he knew that Sir J. Hobhouse would give no pledges, for he had said so in his address to the electors of Westminster, published a few days before; so that the specifying four questions to which answers were to be given, was neither more nor less than, as it was called by Sir Francis Burdett, “a poor contrivance” to injure Sir John Hobhouse on these four particular points with the electors.

Another of the tricks was to request Sir John Hobhouse to be a member of Mr. Hume's committee, which it was well known he could not, with the slightest regard to personal character, concede to; accordingly, his refusal has been made another charge against him.

Again, Mr. Francis Place complains of Sir John Hobhouse not having read his (Mr. Place's) letter to the meeting, and states that it would have disproved his assertions of the pledge deputation originating with him. Fortunately, that precious document has been published, and we are quite content to abide by it. Messrs. Michie and others ask Mr. Place, “Shall we demand pledges from Sir John Hobhouse?” Mr. Place answers “Yes,” and bids them go about it directly, stating to them what these pledges ought to be.

They go accordingly and advance these very same pledges, and now Mr. Place has the amusing effrontery to pretend he did not send the deputation, and may wash his hands of the pledge trick.

But Mr. Place, not content with dealing thus *honestly* by Sir John Hobhouse, tries his hand with Sir Francis Burdett's letter. Here also he says what is unfounded—he states, he hears that Sir F. Burdett, in a letter read from him last night, said that “none but

fools asked for pledges, and none but rogues gave them,” and adds, in a note, “This, as I am assured, was the fact; and as the letter was intended for publication, it was returned to Sir Francis by Messrs. De Veau, Thurston, and A'Beckett, to be altered in this and some other particulars, and it was altered.” Now, upon referring to a copy of Sir Francis Burdett's letter, taken before it was returned to Sir Francis to be altered, according to Mr. Place's informant “in this and some other particulars,” we find no such remark as that “none but fools asked for pledges, and none but rogues gave them.” So much for the accuracy of Mr. Place's informant.

We cannot conclude without stating that we have heard of the report alluded to by Mr. Place's postscript, namely, that he (Mr. Place) had got up this opposition to Sir John Hobhouse, because that gentleman refused to procure for Mr. Place the office of official assignee under the new Bankruptcy Act. It probably originated in the same quarter as Mr. Place's false report of Sir John Hobhouse's speech.

(To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.)

SIR—Reluctant as I am, and ever have been, individually to obtrude myself on the public, I cannot remain silent under an imputation, which, though having the semblance of an attack upon my public conduct, is, in fact, one upon my private integrity. I allude, Sir, to a handbill published by the friends of Colonel Evans, headed, “Twelve Questions for the Electors of Westminster,” &c. The eleventh of these runs thus: “Who cares not a fig for the electors of Westminster, so long as he is supported by the contemptible little faction of electors and non-electors, the rump of Lisle-street, who manage matters very snugly, and never publish or exhibit their accounts?” Surely, Sir, the publication of this bill cannot have received the sanction of Mr. Place, because, after the close of my account as treasurer of the election of 1831, in the following note: “The foregoing account has been examined by us, and the documents of the treasurer compared therewith, and found to be correct. Signed—Francis Place, D. Newton Crouch, dated September 13, 1831.” And also in a statement to the electors of Westminster, printed and circulated September 14, 1831, giving a succinct account of the elections of the preceding 24 years, in the following notice:—Mr. De Veau having laid his accounts and vouchers, before auditors, who have examined and attested the same, the said accounts and vouchers now lie for the inspection of subscribers, at his residence, 44, Lisle-street.” I beg to conclude by stating, that those documents now lie at this committee-room for the purpose of examination.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,
THOMAS DE VEAU.

Central committee-room, 43, Covent-garden, Dec. 3, 1832.

(From the Morning Chronicle of Dec. 5.)

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR—A paper is inserted in your journal of to-day, purporting to be an address from the committee of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse, in which a passage is quoted from my "Letter to the electors of Westminster," and pronounced to be a "forgery." The best reply to this calumny is the statement of a fact. On the evening of Monday, Nov. 26. I received a copy of the *Sun* newspaper; it contained, what to me, who am well acquainted with newspaper matters, seemed a very excellent report of the proceedings at the meeting held that day at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. In it I read the words I copied into my letter. I did not, however, copy them until I had made inquiry; not, as is insinuated, from casual hearers, who, amidst the shameful uproar, might mistake Sir John's words, but from men of character accustomed to such scenes, whose station enabled them to hear, and on whose accuracy I can depend; on their assurance, I am satisfied the words I quoted were used by Sir John. So much for the forgery.

Another accusation is conveyed in these words:—"A letter signed Francis Place has appeared in the *Chronicle*, and is circulated as a pamphlet, which those who do not know the writer, may think it necessary should be refuted." The inference is, that they who do know the writer will not think any refutation necessary. Men who think meanly will seldom hesitate to lie boldly.

Mr. De Veaz is the tool used on this occasion. He is a good-natured man, easily made use of by those who will take the trouble to operate on his vanity; he, poor man, is made to represent me as not worthy of belief; yet, in a letter signed by him, and inserted in your paper, he says I audited and certified the correctness of his accounts as treasurer of the Westminster election in 1831. True, I did so, and so I will those of the present election, if he will lay them before me, and nothing improper should be found in them. But mark the inference of the charge he has made, and the consequence. Mr. De Veaz, who says I shall not be believed by those who know me, tells you that my certificate was all that was necessary as an assurance to the electors of Westminster for his honesty and the correctness of his conduct. So much for my not being worthy of belief.

The remainder of the complaints, lamentations, insinuations, and accusations of the committee of the two baronets, may be safely left to the unprejudiced readers of my "letter to the electors."

FRANCIS PLACE.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S EXPOSURE OF BURDETT.

MR. COBBETT's introduction to Major Cartwright's address, containing the exposure of Burdett, which introduction was published in the *Register* of 24. December, 1831.

The recent shuffling and cutting of this once-noisy "*patriot*," whom CANNING (in whose back the once-noisy blade stuck his knees in 1827), aided by GILLRAY and WRIGHT, once exhibited as "*Sixteen-String Jack*;" this obsolete "*patriot's*" recent miserable shuffling, with the POLITICAL UNION, to put himself at the head of which he was, it is now very clear, *sent* by the Ministers, for the purpose of making it, like himself, *useless*; this shuffling, which has, at last, shaken off from him even the base *wealth-worshipping* tribe, has, it seems, reminded a gentleman in the country, of the shuffler's vile treatment of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT; and the gentleman has written to me to know in what part of the *Register* it was that *I exposed that vile treatment*. It was *not I*, but the *Major himself*, who did it in a most complete manner; and this exposure I republish below. YOUNG MEN ought to know the whole history of this fellow's shufflings, that they may despise the wealth-worshipping wretches that still fawn upon him. A reformed Parliament puts an end to him; his shuffling upon a motion made by some one, *to sweep the pension and sinecure lists clean off the paper*; his shuffling upon a motion to "*TEAR THE LEAVES OUT OF THE ACCURSED RED BOOK*;" either of these will *finish* him. Oh! my God! how he dreads reform! Never did lazy, shirking, straight-backed Scotch bailiff so dread a *spade*, as this crafty, shuffling "*patriot*" dreads reform. The reader will see, that the Major exposed the shuffler in an *Address to the Electors of Westminster*, which he published in a pamphlet while I was in *Long Island*, which address was republished in the *Register*, in order to send the shuffler down to posterity in his true character and colours. The Major had been so fearful, lest an *open breach* with

the SHOY-HOY should injure that cause in which he had so long laboured, that he had *clung* to him long after his falsehood became evident to us all. Upon this I had remonstrated with the Major, that his hopes of reclaiming the SHOY-HOY were vain; that he *must come to an open breach with him at last*; or, *abandon the cause of reform himself*. My prediction was pretty soon verified, as the YOUNG MEN are now going to see; and herein they will see, too, how Westminster has been by this SHOY-HOY, aided by a villanous RUMP COMMITTEE, degraded *below* any rotten-borough in the kingdom; for, what rotten-borough ever yet was so base as to call "*its representatives*" two fellows whom the people, promiscuously assembled, had pelted off the hustings with *cabbages and turnips*! Reader, look at the conduct of this *putrid Rump*! They tell the SHOY-HOY that "*nobody but the Major* is thought of," as his colleague; and, when they find that he will not have him, they *tack instantly about*, and support a creature of the Shoy-hoy's nomination *against the Major*!

ADDRESS

TO THE

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,

BY

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

(First published on the eve of the late Westminster election.)

February 4, 1819.

GENTLEMEN,

WHILE lately at Tunbridge Wells, I addressed to the Duke of BEDFORD, and to the public, a series of seven letters, as a sort of winding-up, if possible, of the long controversy of more than forty years' continuance, in support of such a constitutional reform in the representation of our country, as, it hath been abundantly demonstrated, is *alone* in strict accordance with that liberty which God bestowed *universally* on man; but which it has ever been the endeavour of the corrupt and tyrannical to monopolize to themselves, and otherwise to violate, for the oppression of their fellows.

It will readily be seen, that a principal

desire in these discussions has been, to attract the attention of the Whig aristocracy and their followers, among whom are chiefly to be found that class of persons, who, by a whimsical misapplication of language, call themselves *moderate* reformers; but whose errors, in fact, in the present advanced state of knowledge, are among the greatest obstacles to a recovery of our country's freedom and prosperity.

While so occupied, as aforesaid, I learned the loss we had sustained by the decease of the able and virtuous *Sir Samuel Romilly*, and that a few of my friends thought that, all circumstances now considered, I might be once more nominated to fill the vacancy in your representation so unhappily made, free from the difficulties which had unexpectedly started up at the general election. I was also informed how, in consequence of what occurred on the 17. of November, at the Crown and Anchor meeting, they were discouraged from naming me.

I am not aware that, after this, I should so soon again have taken up my pen, had it not been for a singular concurrence of circumstances. On the 17. of December, at the same instant, came to my hands, a *Birmingham Argus*, of the 12., containing "*Observations on the propriety of a public meeting, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to adopt Major Cartwright's BILL*;" and a *Statesman*, containing a "*speech of Sir Francis Burdett, delivered at Liverpool*." At the same time there lay on my table the three preceding *Registers* of *Mr. Cobbett*, all of which had been addressed to me personally, relative to what he termed *Sir Francis Burdett's* "*backing out*;" to the baronet's conduct towards me in the matter of the last Westminster election; and to his apparent courtship of the *moderate-reforming Whigs*.

The reflections which all these circumstances have generated in my mind, including the newspaper report of the proceedings at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 13. of July, and again on the 17. of November, make the topics of the present address; in which

will be ultimately found, a COMPARISON between the *Birmingham observations* with *Sir Francis Burdett's* on the two days aforesaid in *Westminster*, in a third speech on the 4. of December, at Liverpool.

Although it is a principle with me, to refrain as much as possible from aught that is calculated to divide the friends of liberty, as well as to bear as much as possible of injurious treatment to the same end; yet, forbearance in an extreme must ever do more harm than good; and even division may benefit that cause, if by the parties divided it be made a right and honest use of.

In the *Political Registers* above mentioned, my conduct, relative to the great question of parliamentary reform, is touched on, as liable in some degree to *doubt* as to its propriety, in consequence of a supposed partiality, and improper "clinging" on my part to *Sir Francis Burdett*. Where thus some are ready to blame, because a man does not speak all he thinks, while others may be offended at his speaking freely, the task, in a case like mine, at the present time, is of some difficulty. But whatever opinion may be formed of my endeavour to keep the line of rectitude in a situation thus delicate, should but the public, and your representative, the baronet himself, receive from my observations a useful *warning*, I shall be so far content.

In the first place, anxious that the enlightened and sincere friends of public freedom, whose good opinion, beyond all things on earth, I most value, should not be induced, by Mr. *Cobbett's doubts*, to entertain unfavourable notions of the correctness of my conduct, I must presume that, had he not been so distant as he is, those doubts would never have been entertained; and, from what I now conceive that I am bound to say, will undoubtedly vanish.

For the tenderness shown by me to the baronet, in my address to you on the 11. of July, the aforesaid *Registers* themselves furnish abundance of apology, in attributing it to an anxiety not to injure the cause of freedom by speaking more plainly.

In the baronet's own words at *Liver-*

pool, I may even plead that "the sacrifice of a long-entertained opinion is 'difficult';" but the baronet, by his conduct on the whole, for some time past, has, I acknowledge, in a considerable degree, weaned me from an opinion with respect to himself, which I had very fondly entertained; and that conduct has in particular been such, of late, as to have placed me in a situation, in which to refrain from plain speaking, with regard to certain facts, as well as to suppress apprehensions for the public, which from those facts receive no small light, would savour too much of torpor where a great national interest is at stake, and a public duty is concerned. At the same time, I trust, it cannot be doubted, that no one will be more gratified than myself, should events prove me in error; and, indeed, that I may be an instrument towards that very proof, is not the least of the motives under which I now write.

In the second place, when I contemplate the juncture of a *new* Parliament under very *new* circumstances, as well as the present political aspect of all the civilized states in the old world and new, and ruminates on the signs of the times:—and when, in particular, I reflect on the critical state of that vital question—*parliamentary reform*—on which hangs the fate of my country; and believe I see danger in the conduct and language of one looked up to as a leader; can it be more than will be expected of me, to state the grounds of that belief, although that leader should be *Sir Francis Burdett*?

And thirdly, considering the cause of personal dissatisfaction given me by the party of whom I am to speak, it behoves me to keep a guard on myself, that I may neither injure the cause of reform, nor my own reputation, by language which could be interpreted as disregarding the public interest while gratifying a private feeling.

Still hoping after all I had observed, and the treatment I had experienced, that to support the baronet's election was to serve the cause of reform, it accorded with my notions of duty to give him, at the general election, my vote. And, I

presume, that the whole series of my letters to the Duke of *Bedford*, as yet only in part made public, will evince that *personal* considerations do not warp me either to the right hand or to the left, from my right to onward course, and that those letters will serve as beacons and finger-posts for directing on his way the political traveller in search of the principles of representation; so as that he may be secure against the attempts of false guides to lead him astray; provided only he have strength of mind, for preferring sound argument to hollow sophistry; solid demonstration to empty declamation.

I have already noticed the coincidence, respecting the *Birmingham observations* and the *Liverpool speech*, which coming on me at the same moment, excited a train of serious reflections. These opposite documents, when the speech at *Liverpool* was viewed in *connexion* with the two speeches at the Crown and Anchor, presented to my mind's eye a contrast as strong as that of frost to fire, darkness to light; prompting me to a COMPARISON, which may be of use to the friends of constitutional reform, by putting them on their guard against being misled. Should my remarks prove no incentive, they cannot become impediments, to performances truly patriotic; a reflection which reconciles me to an unpleasant task.

As an additional motive for exhibiting the *drift* of the documents, in a COMPARISON of one with the other, it was on a moment's reflection obvious, that it was of far more importance to guard against any evil to be apprehended from errors in the *author of the speeches*, than from errors in the *author of the review*, on whom in the foregoing letters to the Duke of *Bedford*, it will be found much attention had been bestowed.

That *reviewer* had no constitutional name that could give any false weight to his errors; the *baronet* has a great one for giving weight and currency to his. The *author of the review* had no reputation for knowledge in the science of representation; the *baronet* had much. The *author of the review* had no

character for a lofty exemption from faction, or for integrity as a patriot: the *baronet* had long stood high in these respects. Although of late his mysterious conduct had staggered the faith of observant persons; yet his having at length acceded to, and actually professed the doctrines of, *universal freedom* and the *ballot*, still enables him to keep possession—whatever may be the solidity of his titles—of the post of *parliamentary leader* in the business of *radical reform*.

If the mystery I have noticed did in reality proceed from a hope of making complete proselytes of the political pharisees of our country, how little soever we may acknowledge the wisdom of it, or how little soever we may in any view of it be able to approve of it as far as possible and as long as possible, it may be allowable in the liberal minded to put on it the most charitable construction. Time, which has cleared up greater mysteries, will clear up this.

Before proceeding, however, with comments on others, it is proper, according to what I have premised, to notice what is objected to myself. Mr *Cobbett* is extremely liberal of praise, for the services which, in his opinion, I have rendered the public, and the disregard I have therein shown to my own fair ambition; which disregard, he thinks, I have, however, carried to a blamable extreme; that, in short, respecting the line where sacrifices of this kind ought to end, I had "overstepped the mark, long and long ago." Here I might farther quote and argue to some extent in my own justification; but that I shall rather leave to my actions. Mr *Cobbett* imputes to me that I still call Sir *Francis Burdett* "our leader;" whence he infers that I "cling" to the baronet somewhat improperly. It is true, that in addressing certain friends of reform, assembled on the 18. of August last, I certainly did so call the baronet, because he had taken a leading step in Parliament, towards the introduction of a BILL for a radical reform; and sincerely do I wish he may not compel me to cease calling him "our leader."

Should leaders err, they ought to re-

ceive counsel from such as are able to give it. The moving of propositions, which constitute the intended preamble of a *BILL*, entitles us to expect the *BILL* itself. A new Parliament has been a fortnight assembled. Ministers have made their motions. Opposition have made theirs. But the anxious friends of England's freedom have not yet observed that their *LEADER* has given any notice of a motion for leave to bring in a *BILL* for constitutional reform, infinitely more important than aught in contest between the ins and the outs !

I do not feel that I have any need to apologize for the extreme reluctance I had to saying, on the 11. of July, to my fellow-citizens, all I then thought of the conduct of Sir *Francis Burdett* ; but enough, I think, was said to show that there was necessarily an end to any confidential intercourse between us.

The 12. of the questions which make part of my address is as follows :—
“ In proposing to the electors of Westminster a new man, altogether unknown in the field of reform, as the *personal friend of Sir Francis Burdett*, what was the inference likely to be drawn ? What the effect actually produced ? ”

To which question this is the answer :—
“ It seemed to warrant an inference, that in respect of the *leader* and *lieutenant* ABOVE MENTIONED, between whom there had been *so much co-operation*, there had been *no friendship*.”

No human being could be supposed so dull as not to see in this passage my conviction that the description of the *new man*, so given by the committee, was, in fact, the baronet's own description, as a distinction between that *new man* and his *old reforming associate*.

On a private account, I have no pretence for taking exception to that distinction ; of free and familiar as our *political* intercourse had for some years been, I never felt that I had the personal friendship of Sir *Francis*. Ours had not been a private friendship, but a political connexion ; and on *political* grounds it had, as I thought, entitled me to a very different treatment than, at

his hands, on that public occasion—an occasion so very important to the cause of reform, and consequently of freedom—I experienced.

That the baronet's "*personal friend*" was likewise a fox-hunting companion, I well knew. But still I persuaded myself that the baronet's patriotism had been of the same kind as his, who, on a similar occasion had said, " I have no fox-hunting vote to bestow on any one ; neither have I a vote for party, nor for connexion : no ; nor even for sacred friendship. To my friend I will give my purse, my hand, my heart ; but I will not give him that which is not mine. My vote I hold in trust ; my vote belongs to my country ; and my country alone shall have it."*

In the hope of representing *Westminster*, it did not become me to court the favour of the baronet, by the most indirect hints of wishing for his countenance, and I was proud enough to imagine it impossible that HE, of all men, should be the person to defeat my just and natural expectations.

For awhile previous to the election, I understood it to be a prevailing sentiment, that he who more than forty years ago had successfully *vindicated the legislative rights of the commonalty*,†—he who had been mainly instrumental in the enlightening of those whose petitions for parliamentary reform had not been scantily laid on the table, but had covered the very floor of the House of Commons ; and he who in all ways had been indefatigable in the cause, and had, in particular, for several years, been in close connexion and co-operation with Sir *Francis Burdett* ; was considered as having claims on his fellow-citizens, the electors of *Westminster*, so far outweighing any that would be opposed to them, that the baronet's name and his, as nominees for the representation of the

* From an election speech at Lincoln, in 1796, published in "The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External," p. 13.

† The work was entitled, *The Legislative Right of the Commonalty vindicated*. It was published in 1776.

city,—names so long united in the public service ought by no means to have been put asunder.

It was thought that the union of those names was so natural, so congenial with public feeling and public expectation, that it would call forth a support so unanimous and so ardent, as to cause an *undisputed return*; and to this day nothing has occurred to invalidate that opinion.

During the period alluded to, I could not walk the streets without having evidence of it. I remember, in particular, the salutations at different times, to that effect of *Sir John Throckmorton* and *Mr. Richard Sharp*; the latter, at that time, and I believe now again, in Parliament; and both, as I understood, members with *Sir Francis*, of Brookes's club, in St. James's-street.

I further learned that *Sir Francis Burdett*, having been waited on by *Mr. Cleary* and *Mr. Henry Brooks*, of the Strand, relative to business of a different nature, the baronet asked those gentlemen, "Who was thought of, to be put in nomination with him, for representing the city?" when the answer he received from *Mr. Henry Brooks* was this:—"Oh, Sir, no one is thought of but the old Major."

Considering the hold which "the old Major" then had on the affections and the confidence of the truly enlightened and sincere friend of constitutional reform, such news, if news it were, was of a nature, it might have been thought, to have gladdened the coldest heart in the coldest bosom of any *one belonging to that class* in the community: but it gladdened not the heart of *Sir Francis Burdett*!

Considering the obvious interest of that reform, and the plain-speaking dictate of honest policy, that the happily favouring circumstances for that great question should have been seized on with avidity, and promoted with ardour, while *Westminster*, true to her reputation, ought to have surpassed her sister cities of the metropolis in kindling up in the cause a patriot fire, whose rays should have diffused life and hope to the remotest borders of the land; was it

to have been expected that any man calling himself a constitutional reformer, could have been found, who was capable, of not merely throwing cold water on the kindling fire, but even of throwing down an apple of DISCORD, for defeating the proposed joint nomination?—But such a man was found in *Sir Francis Burdett*!—In *Sir Francis Burdett*, who, a second time within five months, joined in a concerted plan of operations for defeating the hopes of his quondam associate in the cause of reform, and who, on the 17. of November, harangued, with such art and emphasis on the value of UNANIMITY!

On receiving the information of *Mr. Henry Brooks*, the baronet perceived the hour for activity was arrived. It quickly produced a letter to the father, *Mr. Samuel Brooks*, naming three gentlemen, any one of whom might be considered as acceptable to the baronet, and worthy of being put in nomination with himself; in which letter, "the old Major" was neither named nor noticed.

The three so recommended, were *Mr. Fawkes* (whose determination, by the way, against going into Parliament, during the continuance of the present system, had been repeatedly declared), *Mr. Kinnaird*, and *Mr. Hobhouse*.

The baronet's fiat thus issued, all was instant alertness for *Mr. Kinnaird*, as the "*personal friend*" of *Sir Francis Burdett*. We know the rest. We know that on that occasion *Westminster* did not add to the phalanx of *radical reform*. We know that even the baronet was but second on the poll. And now we also know, that although in *June* it was but most incomprehensibly assigned as the baronet's reason for not naming as *Mr. Henry Brooks* had done to him, "the old Major," in his recommendatory epistle, that he "THOUGHT the *Major did not wish for a seat in Parliament*;" he (the baronet) in *November*, as a new reason for the exclusion was unfortunately become necessary, had accordingly discovered a new one—but not a whit less incomprehensible than the former one—namely, that although there appeared no bar whatever to the introduction of another "*personal*

friend," another reformer of new-born pretensions, "it was impossible that the Major should be elected!"

But I must return to the recommendatory letter of the baronet to Mr. *Samuel Brooks*. On its contents being communicated to me by the committeemen, who had seen it, I felt that I had been very ill dealt with, and that it was, indeed "impossible" that a political connexion in the sacred cause of constitutional reform could any longer subsist between one who "thought" and acted as the baronet had done, and one who thought and acted as I thought and acted.

I therefore immediately wrote and dispatched my servant with a note, expressing my feelings as follows.—

"To Sir Francis Burdett.

"I find that, after sacrifices to public liberty which have not, in this age, been made by many; after a fidelity to the state, which had been surpassed by none,—and after vital services to the cause of parliamentary reform, which have been exceeded by few,—there are persons among whom I have acted, who oppose the confiding to me a trust, in the execution of which, there are those—and not a small number—who are persuaded, circumstanced as I have long been, and continue to be, I might be enabled to advance the cause in which I have long laboured, and with some credit, more than perhaps any other individual.

"I also learn that, for the trust in question, a preference by the opposing persons is now given to gentlemen, who, for years past, and years which our cause made years of trial—years in which the opposed person has done so much, these preferred gentlemen, whatever may be their patriotism, their talents, and their virtues, have done nothing.

"Seeing these things, I have nothing, thank God! to lament for myself, but much, as I conjecture, shall I have to lament for my country, in which such things are possible.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

"*June 2, 1818.*"

Considering the auspicious crisis to which the cause of constitutional reform was brought,—considering that to bring it to that crisis, had cost a *two-and-forty years' controversy*, and that in that controversy, from first to last, mine had not been the least prominent part,—considering the nature, the object, and the intimacy of the political intercourse between the baronet and myself,—and considering the honour which is ever supposed to govern men co-operating in so sacred a public cause,—considering, I say, all these, could less on the occasion under consideration, have been expected from *Sir Francis Burdett* to me—and, may I not add, to our country, for which I thought we were jointly labouring, than a manly frankness and an open dignified conduct?

And considering, moreover, that for the eight years during which I had been a citizen of *Westminster*, I had been second to no man in sustaining and elevating her reputation for services to reform and public freedom, I would ask why, if all the baronet had in view were fair and honourable, I was to be exclusively kept in the dark, until the plot for excluding me were fully ripened, and the name of one of the gentlemen he recommended was placarded for nomination and support in conjunction with his own, and as his "*personal friend*"—a gentleman who, although likewise a citizen of *Westminster*, had never once appeared when she had so distinguished herself as aforesaid by her services to reform and public freedom?

If a true interpretation of the former conduct, when the baronet "THOUGHT" the Major did not wish for a seat in "Parliament," were wanting, it is now supplied. We see the old reformer again pushed aside, to make way for that other gentleman of new-born pretensions, whose name stood last in the aforesaid letter of the baronet to Mr. *Samuel Brooks*.

In the apprehensions to be entertained from such facts, and from the mysterious conduct of the baronet for two years past, or more, as well as from his public speeches since the election, I may possibly be wrong; and no man more ar-

dently than myself wishes I may prove so.

Should there be any ready to suspect me of a deficiency in charity, let this sentiment be put in the scale against that notion of others, who, misinterpreting patience and forbearance, impute to me a facility of being too easily duped by professions. To the former class of persons, I say, in the words of the old Lord *Chatham*, "In an aged bosom confidence is a plant of slow growth." To both, I observe, that having long dealt in strict *demonstrations* as *standards* of right and wrong in political principle, I am not easily prejudiced either against an enemy, or for a friend.

After what I have already noticed respecting Sir *Francis Burdett*, and the *doubts* which his conduct has excited in the minds of myself and many others, it will be right that I should so far account for those doubts, as to show that I am not writing from spleen, but from a desire, on the one hand, to guard the public from a misplaced reliance on serious and unremitting exertions in the cause of reform, which may not take place, and, on the other hand, to furnish the baronet himself with a salutary warning of what may happen to his reputation, if he do not take care to prevent it.

Notwithstanding the declarations which have been made respecting *annual Parliaments*, *universal freedom*, and the *ballot*,—objects which are unquestionably necessary to be obtained for establishing our freedom—it is but too apparent, that it will be difficult to reconcile the late conduct of the baronet with any very rooted attachment to those objects: especially when the tenor of his public speeches shall be duly attended to.

The baronet's predilection for *annual Parliaments* is not, as we know, many years old; and moreover that it rests, not on the true sound foundation of inherent *demonstrated* right, which is indefeasible and *immutable*; but—on the unsound basis of history, of ancient statutes and the practice of our ancestors, all which are properly *changeable*, as our expedience may require. And it is not a little remarkable, as I shall presently

show, that for the *change* which did take place, by departing from annual Parliaments and for continuing in that departure, the baronet, in his last public speech, furnished the adversaries of our freedom with an argument which, fallacious as it is, they will quote as of great force; and which *their own ingenuity never before hit upon*.

Then, we are further to consider, that the baronet's belief in the doctrines of *universal freedom* and the *ballot*, had not a many months' possession of his mind prior to the *general election*. If, in the simplicity of my nature, I had indeed given him credit for a fruit-bearing sincerity, of attachment to the doctrines of our political salvation, and should in the end prove deceived, although it may show that I had not sufficiently profited by that scripture in which it is written, that seed sown on stony ground, for want of root soon withers away; yet if I be not wholly incorrigible in error, and if *experience* have not been quite thrown away upon me; now, that I am brought, by what has recently passed, to my recollection, and called on to put other good confiding Christians on their guard, I may possibly be of some use.

Allow me then to state, that in essentials towards reform, the late Duke of *Richmond* went considerably further than Sir *Francis Burdett* has yet gone. That very able and very energetic nobleman, who was a complete working man of business, not only tendered in Parliament an actual BILL for *universal freedom* and *annual elections*, but he likewise published that BILL to the world, as well as his famous letter to Colonel *Sharman*; unanswerably proving by close *logical argument* and *demonstration*, the truth of the principles on which that BILL was founded;—a mode of proceeding and of *pledging* the party, not hitherto adopted by the baronet.

With the facts before our eyes, of these proceedings of the Duke of *Richmond*, who, however, afterwards sat in the same cabinet with that political tiger, Mr. *Pitt*; would not *experience* be useless, might I not, without uncharitable imputations, be permitted to

warn the nation against believing the *impossibility* of the baronet himself becoming a changeling?

Here, if circumstances have taught me, that it is my duty to speak, I must nevertheless claim to stand in that respect perfectly apart from a powerful writer who has dealt largely in accusation of the baronet, for his want of sincerity as a constitutional reformer. The accusation of that writer must stand or fall, as supported, or contradicted, by facts and evidence.

It is not, however, to be supposed, but that while that powerful writer, as well as Lord *Cochrane* and myself, had free communication with the baronet, his lordship and myself, and perhaps others, heard from the complainant frequent observations to that effect. But in whatever degree I felt the force of his observations, I also felt a desire to be instrumental, if possible, towards the baronet's acting as the enlightened and virtuous expected from him, in the great cause of parliamentary reform.

I therefore continued a perfectly friendly *political* intercourse with the baronet, until a sense of what was due to personal honour compelled me, as hath been explained, to free him from a political connexion he seemed desirous of dissolving.

It will be recollected what extreme anxiety was felt by the radical reformers on the approach of the parliamentary session of 1817, when deputies from an immense number of petitioning communities assembled in London, in the ardent hope of a grand effort being made in Parliament, by means of a *bill*, which it is understood was to be brought in by Sir *Francis Burdett*.

The unparalleled distress of the nation, which distress was by that time universally seen to be a direct consequence of the House of Commons not representing the people, but having been metamorphosed into an engine of their oppression; had given rise to numerous petitions, in which it appeared that the effective power of the House of Commons was considered as concentrated in an *oligarchy*, whose barefaced usurpation and insufferable tyranny were up-

held by a corruption as notorious as it was infamous.

The suffering people, agonizing under their miseries, looked, as they had a right to look, for *such a bill*, and their eyes, as well as the eyes of all sincere reformers, were universally turned on Sir *Francis Burdett*. This was, of course, the case of Mr. *Cobbett*, who, in the meeting of deputies, had moved a resolution of high compliments and entire confidence in Sir *Francis Burdett*, although at that time the baronet did not approve of *universal freedom*, which was the unanimous sentiment and principle of those deputies. The resolution was not at first altogether acceptable, but it was so judiciously worded, and so ably supported by Mr. *Cobbett*, that, according to my recollection, it was voted unanimously. When the baronet failed, on the opening day of the session, distinctly to undertake the bringing in a *bill*, Mr. *Cobbett* was greatly irritated; as may be seen from the hasty note he wrote to me on the occasion, as follows:—

“January 28. 1817.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Sir *Francis* has anticipated Lord C.,
“and had given a notice RELATIVE
“TO ‘*parliamentary reform!*’ Lord
“C. has gone over * to see the *precise*
“terms of the notice; but, at any rate,
“he is resolved not to be driven from
“the *bill* in the end.—Thus, you see,
“no good, and as much harm as he can,
“is at our service! “W. C.”

Whether the irritation of Mr. *Cobbett* have, or have not, since hurried him sometimes beyond the just line of censure on a public character, I have no need to remark; but certain, however, it is, that in his *Registers* which have appeared subsequent to the 17. of November—the memorable nomination day for filling the *present* vacancy for *Westminster* (written of course long before—with uncommon force of language, Mr. *Cobbett* has told the public why, in his judgment, which events have shown to have been a prophetic kind of

* His Lordship then lodged on the terrace, in Palace-yard, opposite the door of Westminster Hall.

judgment, it must be a prime object with the baronet, that I, of all men, should *not be placed in Parliament.* *

Independent of any other person's opinion, it, however, belongs to me to show, that notwithstanding my willing co-operation with Sir Francis, subsequent to the time aforesaid, always in the hope, and always striving, that such co-operations should be serviceable to the cause of constitutional reform, on true legislative principles, according to the improved knowledge of the age, I was neither blind, nor accessory, to the baronet's omissions. In cabinet consultation with him, or with any man, I never concurred in projecting modes of reform, with which, in the forum, I could afterwards find fault.

Even after I was acquainted with the insult on my understanding, as well as on the common sense of all who knew how absorbed I was in an anxiety for the reform, in the pretence that it was "*thought I did not wish for a seat in Parliament;*" such was my repugnance to injure in any degree the cause of liberty, by *then* exposing that declaration, or publishing a written one of 2. of June, that I withheld all public mention of either; and likewise voted for the baronet's own election. Whether, in that, I did, or did not, according to my

intention, serve the cause of freedom, now depends on him for whom that vote was given.

But now, when the double-dealing of June has been proved by the double-dealing of November, longer silence would not only be personal meanness and insensibility, but a deficiency in public fidelity. In June, it was "THOUGHT," forsooth! that an anxious and indefatigable reformer "did not wish" for an increase of means for promoting his object, "ten-times tenfold!"

In November, when that pretext could no longer serve, another was as readily coined; and a most extraordinary one it was. Sir Francis Burdett, as chairman of a meeting for the purpose of a nomination, formally declared, that "he knew, indeed, of only one individual "whose pretensions to the support of the "meeting were *paramount* to those of Mr. "Hobhouse, and that was his *venerable friend*, "Major Cartwright. But he was thoroughly "convinced that it would be *impossible* to "INSURE the Major's election for Westminster."

When in June, the baronet opposed his "*venerable friend*," by playing off against him one of his "*personal friends*," how, I pray, was that *personal friend's* election "INSURED."

Short, indeed, were his memory, did he not recollect the consternation caused by that experiment; which even for a while put in jeopardy his own return, and which placed him on the pull below his colleague! Was it not the shock given to public feeling on that occasion, which "INSURED" the "*personal friend's*" defeat?

With this recent experience of the fallibility of his own judgment, respecting the inclinations of the *Westminster electors at large*, what are we to think, when in the same breath, he proclaims the "*paramount pretensions*" of his "*venerable friend*," gives it as his opinion that he cannot succeed,—and yet ventures on recommending another, and a still newer "*personal friend*" than the former, whose nomination proved so unfortunate, and with pretensions he thus acknowledges to be *inferior*?

Here, gentlemen, allow me to ask you a plain question.—Were we now going to another *general election*, and the baronet's *own return* not yet INSURED, would he, with a recollection of the June experiment on the patience of the electors, impressed on his mind, now venture on an exact counterpart of that presumptuous experiment; by starting a second "*personal friend*," against one whose pretensions he himself tells you are "*paramount*?"

Surely, nothing but the circumstance of his own seat being now *safe*, could have inspired this *aggravated insult*, this *repetition* of an offence, before so deeply felt!

* "I saw" what the baronet had done "for the express purpose of keeping *you* out."—Dec. 5, p. 324.

"The baronet dreaded *you*, as an associate, above all men living," &c. p. 325.—"And he resolved, that if he could avoid it, you should not be his companion."—p. 325.—"He had, by the intrigues of his *Rump*, caused you to be kept out of Parliament."—Dec. 12. p. 358.

"It was this *division*, created solely by the baronet's dread of you, and, indeed, his hatred of your *teasing, baiting, goading* on to action, that emboldened the Whigs to come forward." (a)—p. 359.

"They well know, that if the baronet had not, set his *Rump* to intrigue for Kiunnaird, you would have had no opposition."—p. 370.

"There is not a man in the kingdom, who does not clearly see, that *you have been* excluded by the *wishes* of the baronet."—p. 368.

(a) These words do not convey a correct idea of my conduct. Contenting myself with an inflexible adherence to self-evident and demonstrated principles, I ever left them to operate as they might; but never harassed the baronet with personal importunities.

How truly contemptible is crooked policy ! The whole is of a piece. All littleness, darkness, and double-dealing ! Can aught that is great, noble, generous, and truly devoted to the freedom of our unhappy country, spring from such a source ? It may ! For if we should hold our peace the very stones would immediately cry out.

I am not one of those readily-desponding mortals, who, when *divisions* occur,—for *divisions* must needs be, but woe unto them by whom they come,—fearfully infer that freedom will suffer. No. To its ultimate triumph, *divisions* are in truth as necessary as the fan or the thrashing floor, for dividing the chaff from the sound and solid grain !

What pitiful manœuvring ! In *June* we have one manœuvre : in November another. In *June* the obstacle is a "*thought*:" in November it is a "*belief*:"* The election of the person of "*paramount pretensions*," it was *believed*, could not be *INSURED* !—Could not be *INSURED*. Good God ! Was ever before such language addressed to a *public nomination meeting* of a few hundred inhabitants of a city containing *fourteen or fifteen thousand electors*—a city claiming a proud pre-eminence for patriotism and independence—and then having a representative to choose ?

Was such a city, through such a meeting, ever before, in the same manner, at the same moment, and by the same orator, told of two persons, one of whom had for more than forty years steadily marched onward for the goal of reform, without having even once taken a suspicious step ; and was moreover a well-known fellow-citizen ;—the other, however amiable and promising, a youthful and new acquaintance, whose march was yet to begin, where such a conclusion was *come* to as that of the baronet ?

What orator before ever so made his distinction between two competitors for confidence, in a trust of the highest importance to his auditors and the state ; and in the same breath declared, that, although one of them had "*paramount pretensions*" to support, he recommended the other, and earnestly prayed their "*unanimity*" in his favour !!!

How luckless hath been that persevering reformer's "*wish*" for better means of promoting his object ! Most unfortunately, that "*wish*" happened to be *unknown* to a brother reformer, who had the *best means of knowing it*,—to one, who must have "*thought*" his *venerable friend* with *paramount pretensions* to a seat in Parliament, the essence of inconsistency, not to have entertained that "*wish*."

But, as ill-luck would have it, in summer that "*wish*" becomes the victim of a "*THOUGHT*;" in autumn, when the *thought* has passed away, the throat of the "*wish*" is cut by a "*BELIEF*;" and such a

BELIEF ! Does not this talking about *believing* and *wishing*, bring to mind the old adage on the proueness of men to *believe* as they themselves wish ?

But no matter ! At all events we can, at the worst, divert ourselves with the tricks played before us. If we cannot turn them to use, they may serve us for sport. But it is the proper end of farce to treat us with a laugh at folly, and the exposure of double-dealing, while it leaves behind a little moral instruction. And have we not been feasted in both ways, and with that benefit ?

When, last summer, it was intended to deck untried inexperienced *youths*, in the spoils of long-tried fidelity, the veteran reformer was discovered to have the crime of being "*OLD*;" this winter, when *versatility* is thought to be coming into fashion, he is, it seems, accused of the sin of "*INFLEXIBILITY* !" †—inflexible, indeed, would be his risible muscles, were they not moved by such exhibition of the tricksters !

To conclude : I have now performed a task not at all to my taste. I should infinitely have preferred a continuance of a friendly political connexion, long maintained, and, on my part, with the utmost fidelity, to what has taken place ; for that connexion in its latter period, afforded me a pleasing prospect of being shortly placed in a situation to have given me, for promoting the cause of radical reform, for the salvation of our country, ten times ten-fold means.

But that connexion having, by the other party to it, been put an end to, I have thought it right to submit to you, who have a great interest in knowing the truth, the foregoing facts and reasonings.

To you it must be left to judge, how far Mr. *Cobbett*, in his writing, prior to a possibility of his having any knowledge of the *second act*, in the Westminster election drama of 1818, was justified in his opinion respecting the *motives of Sir Francis Burdett's* conduct towards myself ; and how far that deep-sighted person has shown himself a prophet, with regard to the close of the baronet's political career.

It will, however, be allowed, that I have not kept a malicious silence, indulging a secret wish, that Mr. *Cobbett's* prophecies may come to pass, for exposing and disgracing one by whom I feel myself to have been ill-treated ; but that I have bestowed on the party as wholesome a warning, and as sound advice, for the public good, and his own reputation, as could have been given him by his best "*personal friend*," under a sense of the highest obligation received at his hands.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

† So he was informed by a correspondent who heard the accusation.

* The word reported is "*convinced*." But whatever strength this might be intended to give to the expression, it was not possible to be more than *belief*.

THE LOWEST THING THAT THIS WORLD EVER HEARD OF.

THE poet talks of a "*lower deep in the lowest deep.*" Here we have it. The Whig faction was in the "lowest deep" before it took in HOBHOUSE and sent him to move a flogging bill, and when it got the support of the shuffling BURDETT. But, if the following report, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle*, be true, it has found a "*lower deep in the lowest deep.*" BURDETT and HOBHOUSE having been hooted off from their own dunghill at the Crown and Anchor; *having been afraid to attend at a general meeting of the candidates to be pledged to the repeal of the house and window-tax*; and having been most famously assaulted for their non-attendance, fell upon the following scheme, in order, if possible, to be able to dupe the electors of WESTMINSTER once more. They got a parcel of their own stupid partisans, living in the parish of St. JAMES, to solicit an interview with LORD ALTHORP upon the house and window-tax. The "*noble*" Lord gave his consent to the meeting! And, curious to relate, the COUPLE of famous baronets went up before "*my Lord*" with the deputation, to urge the necessity of taking off these taxes, and thereby to *obtain a claim for being re-elected and trusted!* But, for God's sake, read the report; and then hear me again.

VISIT OF THE DEPUTATION FROM THE PARISHES OF WESTMINSTER TO LORD ALTHORP, UPON THE SUBJECT OF THE ASSESSED TAXES.

Last night, at a little before nine o'clock, a meeting of the rate-payers of St. James's, Westminster, assembled at the Saddler's Arms Tavern, in the Quadrant, for the purpose of transacting some routine business, but chiefly to receive, from the delegates of that parish, a report of the result of the interview which the deputation, appointed on Tuesday night to wait upon Lord Althorp, had yesterday with that nobleman.

MR. BAWDEN was called to the chair.

MR. BOWEN, one of the deputation, stated to the meeting, that nearly twenty gentlemen waited upon Lord Althorp that morning, at his office in Downing-street, and were met there by the representatives of Westminster, Sir F. Burdett and Sir John Cam Hobhouse. The

deputation was received with *very great courtesy* by his Lordship, and Mr. A'Beckett, of Golden-square, commenced by stating the necessity that existed at the present moment for the Government to take the subject of the abolition of the assessed taxes into its most serious consideration. Lord Althorp said the subject should most assuredly have his *serious attention*, and would unquestionably be a matter for *grave deliberation with the whole of his Majesty's Government*. There were, however, so many taxes of which the public were demanding the immediate remission—for instance, the taxes on knowledge—that it was impossible to say to what extent the Government would be prepared to go in the abolition of the house and window-tax, of which the deputation complained. Mr. Wyld (of St. Martin's parish) then read to his Lordship the resolutions which were passed at the meeting of the delegates at the Quadrant Hotel, on Tuesday evening, the sentiments contained in which appeared to make *considerable impression upon the noble Lord*. Mr. Wyld added, that it was the firm impression of a great majority of that class of the inhabitants of Westminster, whose opinions were generally considered of weight in public questions, that the assessed taxes should, and indeed *must be abolished*. Sir J. C. Hobhouse (Mr. Bowen continued) then addressed Lord Althorp, and used, in *strong terms*, every argument that could be urged in *favour of the abolition of the house and window-tax*; and not only enlarged upon the necessity, but expressed his firm conviction that *it must be taken off*. He reminded the noble Lord that he (Sir J. C. Hobhouse) had twice made a motion in the House of Commons in furtherance of the wishes now so loudly and universally expressed by the people, upon the subject of these taxes; and on each of those occasions he had been honoured by the support of his Lordship's vote. (Cheers from the meeting.) Lord Althorp SMILED, and said he believed the right hon. Baronet was quite right. He certainly had given those motions his support. Sir J. C. Hobhouse then again urged the subject upon the attention of the Chancellor of this Exchequer, observing that he had a double claim to his support at this juncture, and concluded by giving it as his opinion that an equalization would not satisfy the public; but that there must be a *total remission of the house and window-tax*. (Hear, hear, and loud cheering from the meeting.) Mr. Bowen went on to inform the meeting that Mr. Brown, of St. James's, next proceeded to address Lord Althorp, and declared it as his firm belief, founded upon extensive means of knowledge, that nothing but the total repeal of this tax would satisfy the country; and that whether the Ministers thought proper or not to propose to a reformed House of Commons would compel them to abolish it. There was, in fact, no question upon which the people were more determined. His Lordship would recollect,

that previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, placards were stuck up in the windows of most of the houses in Westminster, stating the determination of the inhabitants *to pay no taxes until that measure became a law*; which demonstration of feeling had a great effect in assisting the bill in its progress; and he (Mr. Brown) was sure, that the *same expression of feeling would appear again*, if any reluctance were shown to bring about the remission of this odious tax. *Sir Francis Burdett also spoke on the subject, and repeated his former expressed opinion, that the house and window-tax was grievous and abominable, and must be repealed.* (Hear, hear, from the meeting.) Lord Althorp said, that with all his willingness to relieve the people, he would ask, if he remitted a certain portion of the taxes upon a sudden demand, whether he must not put on *some new tax* to meet the exigencies of the country? To this Sir F. Burdett replied, "*No, you must retrench: that is the only means of saving the country.*" (Cheers from the meeting.) The interview here terminated; and the general impression amongst the deputation was, that Lord Althorp seemed to think the subject must at an early period be taken into earnest consideration. The report of the deputation was received with much applause, and the meeting separated.

Reader, how often have I said, "As the end approacheth, there will be everlasting choppings and changings in the Ministry: the fellows that carry on the concern, will get to be lower and lower, in character as well as in talent, till at last it will become so very low a thing, that no man will have anything to do with it, unless he be in *absolute want of the necessaries of life.*" Well! Is it far from this now? Here is a parish deputation, that takes hold of one Minister, and drags him up before another, and makes him tell that other that he must take off the taxes; and here is that other Minister, flatly told by the deputies of a parish, that they will *refuse to pay taxes*, unless these particular taxes were taken off; and here is this threatened Minister promising, that "his Majesty's Government" will take the matter into their *grave* consideration. And then, away go the parish deputies to their electioneering meeting, and relate what was past, and hold it forth as a reason for the people's re-electing BURDETT and HOBHOUSE. This is something quite new. Something that we have never heard of before; but, though

that would seem impossible, we shall see things a great deal lower than this before the end comes. The struggle will now never be given up till we have **CHEAP GOVERNMENT**: both the factions will strive against this as long as they can, because they cannot wallow in taxes and tithes, and we have *cheap Government* at the same time. If the two factions were *wise*, they would yield, at once; and then, the frame of the Government, and all private property, would be safe. But the danger is, that they will not yield at once; but, on the contrary, puffed up with habitual insolence, and surrounded with power, which they look upon as invulnerable and immortal, will defend taxes and the tithes, inch by inch. And, if they do this, I now warn them that their peril is extreme, and that they will bring upon themselves, and upon the frame of the Government along with them, *that which I do not care fully to describe*. I would fain hope that they would take this warning into their serious thoughts; if they do not, let them bear in mind, and let my readers bear in mind, that the fault is not mine; and that I have done all that I can do to prevent so terrible a catastrophe. I am for destroying none of the ancient and good institutions of the country. Very few of them remain: I am for restoring such as have been destroyed or impaired. But, I am for **CHEAP GOVERNMENT**; and to obtain **CHEAP GOVERNMENT** shall be the incessant object of my efforts.

ALDERMAN SCALES.

The following letter was sent by Alderman Scales to the editor of the *Times*, who declined publishing it.

"44, Aldgate, 30. Nov. 1832.

"SIR,—Either from ignorance or a desire to misrepresent, you state that I, Mr. Pearsall, and Mr. Wakley, got up the meeting of yesterday. As far as I am concerned, your statement is untrue; nor do I to this moment know who did get it up, except that that highly public-spirited man Mr. Nicholson of Fenchurch-

street was the principal promoter of it—I very much regret I cannot share that honour with him.

“You are under another mistake in supposing I had read the *Times*, since you traduced me by publishing ex-parte falsehoods against me, and refused to publish my letter in refutation of them, because I threatened to horsewhip you, as all concealed assassins of a man’s private character ought to be treated.

“I repeat, you are under mistake in supposing I ever read your Paper. I treat your Paper as Jude Turton treated Nan Swindell, a notorious impure, at Chesterfield, in Derbyshire. ‘Nan’ said Jude, ‘where wilt thou be at nine o’clock to-night?’ She replied, ‘Either at the bottom of the Market-place, or at Pin-alley Corner.’ ‘O!’ said Jude, ‘because where thou art there I will not be.’ And as I consider your paper far more poisonous to society than a thousand Nan Swindells ever were, where your paper is there I will not be.

“You must be taught to treat the public with respect, and not to brand them, even before you have seen them, with every species of low abuse, or the ‘first journal in Europe’ will soon be known as the worst journal in Europe.

“I am, Mr. Editor,

“Yours very sincerely,

“MICHAEL SCALES.”

“To the Editor of the *Times*.”

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOV. 23, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

FULLER, W., Southover, Sussex, tanner.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDERSON, J., and J. Perry, Worcester, painters.

BILL, J., Broseley, Shropshire, butcher.

BRASS, P. W., King-st., Hammersmith, oilman.

BURTON, R., Berkeley-place, Clifton, Gloucestershire, victualler.

CARTER, H. C., Tooting, Surrey, linen-draper.

COCKIN, R., Doncaster, Yorkshire, maltster.

CREWE, S. and E., Burslem, Staffordshire, innkeepers.

DEAN, J., Liverpool, tailor.

DRUCKER, S., Old City-chambers, Bishopsgate-street Within, merchant.

ESCUDIER, J., Albemarle-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.

GEARY, N., New Bond-st., stay-manufacturer.

GRAHAM, W., Rosemary-lane, Whitechapel, victualler.

HAXBY, W., Hunmauby, Yorkshire, lace-manufacturer.

HAYLES, C., Portsmouth, grocer.

HANSON, T. G., Aldgate, woollen-draper.

LEWELLYN, W., Argoed-mills, Moneythus-lovne, Monmouthshire, miller.

PINWILL, W. T., and J. H. Pleace, Exeter.

SHAW, J., Great St. Helen’s, general dealer.

SHEPHERD, H. J., Beverley, Yorkshire, dealer.

SNUGGS, C., Mint-st., Boro’, cabinet-maker.

THOMAS, W., T., and J., Narrow-street, ship-owners.

TOBIN, E., Rathbone-place, dealer.

WHEELDON, R., Birmingham, victualler.

WILLIAMS, J., Fleet-street, stationer.

TUESDAY, DEC. 4, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

MAUD, W. and R., Andover, common brewers.

BANKRUPTS.

BUTLER, W., Little St. Thomas Apostle, painter.

COLES, W. jun., Mincing-lane, broker.

DAUBNEY, T., Portsea, Hampshire, grocer.

FENTON, W., Woodhouse, Leeds, farmer.

GOUDE, H., Leicester, and Harper-street, Red Lion-square, seedsman.

GREEN, R., Bristol, hosier.

HENSMAN, B., Queen-street-place, money-scrivener.

HENWOOD, N., Penzance, Cornwall, victualler.

KETTLE, J. O., Southampton-street, Strand, tailor.

LEAR, F., Kingswood-hill, Bitton, Gloucestershire, tallow-chandler.

PEAKE, T., Shrewsbury, grocer.

PINNEY, B., Stafford-place, Pimlico, picture-dealer.

REDGRAVE, W., Grosvenor-street West, Pimlico, wire-worker.

SHAW, B., Rochdale, Lancashire, hat-manuf.

SIMS, W., St. Ives, and Penzance, Cornwall, grocer.

SPARROW, H., Wolverhampton, iron-founder.

TUNNICLIFF, T., Slleby, Leicestershire, lace-manufacturer.

WHITBURN, R., Esber, brewer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 3.—There was a good supply of wheat to-day from Kent and Essex, but scarcely any from the Suffolk coast. Early in the morning a few of the first runs were taken off by the millers at an advance of 2s. per qr. above the quotations of this day so-nigh, in expectation of orders for purchasing for Yorkshire when the post came in, but as no demand of that kind took place, the trade became exceedingly heavy,

nor could any further progress be made in sale at any improvement on the terms of last Monday, except for a few superfine picked samples, which sold 1s. per qr. higher. Free foreign wheat is 1s. per qr. dearer, but did not go off freely at that advance. This check in the wheat trade has had its influence on the price of flour, which was expected to have been established at the contemplated advance of 5s. per sack, but it still remains an unsettled point, and the only improvement as yet realised is 2s. per sack, making 50s. the selling, instead of the nominal price.

Barley was heavy sale, at a decline of 1s. per qr. on the finest malting, and from 1s. to 2s. on the stained and inferior descriptions, although the supply was small.

White peas were in demand and 1s. per qr. higher.

Oats fully supported the quotations of last week, but were not free sale.

In beans, grey peas, and other articles, there is no alteration.

Wheat	62s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 33s.
Barley	27s. to 29s.
fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
Boilers	43s. to 45s.
Grey	36s. to 38s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 40s.
Tick	33s. to 35s.
Oats, Potato	20s. to 24s.
Feed	18s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 48s. per cwt.
Sides, new ... 50s. to 53s.
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to —s.
Bless, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to 86s. per cwt.
Carlow ... 86s. to 92s.
Cork ... 82s. to 84s.
Limerick ... 82s. to 84s.
Waterford ... 78s. to 84s.
Dublin ... 78s. to 80s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 90s.
Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 60s.
Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.
Edam ... 48s. to 50s.
Gouda ... 42s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 66s.

SM' THFIELD.—Dec. 3.

This day's supply of beasts was great; but with the exception of its embracing a greater number of good Herefords than we have seen here since April, in great part of middling and inferior quality: of sheep and calves moderately good: of porkers but limited. The trade, with even the primeest description of

meat, was by no means brisk; but with each kind of middling and inferior quality very dull, at but little, if any, variation from Friday's prices.

Full three-fifths of the beasts were about equal numbers of short-horns, Irish and Devonshire (principally) steers and heifers, and Welch (for the most part North Wales) runts, principally from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Huntingdonshire: the remaining two-fifths about equal numbers of Hereford, Staffordshire, and Wiltshire oxen, steers, and heifers, with some cows, small Scots, chiefly from our western and midland districts, and Town's-end cows; with a few Sussex beasts, &c.

At least three-fifths of the sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced cross; about a fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents and Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters; with a few Herefords, polled and horned Norfolks, horned and polled Scotch and Welch sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 3,252; sheep, 18,650; calves, 132; pigs, 230.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 7.

The arrivals this week are short for the season of the year; but the market is dull, and prices rather lower.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fr.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
Cons. Ann. }	—	83½	83½	83½	83½	—

TO THE ELECTORS OF LAMBETH.

GENTLEMEN,—I attended at the Meeting at the Horns last Thursday evening, for the purpose of laying my sentiments before it as a householder in Lambeth, who is regularly rated in the books at 35l. a year, who has paid all his taxes up to April last, and holds the receipts, and who, not having found any of the candidates that have started for the representation of this borough to his mind, has promised his vote to none.

But, gentlemen, as I do not belong to any Political Union, and as I could not own myself a friend of Mr. Wakefield—a gentleman of whom I know nothing—I was informed that my sentiments would not be heard at that meeting, of which I do not in the least mean to complain, but proceed to address you in

print, as well as my brother reformers all over the kingdom—a right which, I presume, no man can deny me, nor take offence at.

Gentlemen, I consider our country in such a state of distress and peril, that it is our bounden duty at this momentous period to look out for the wisest heads and the honestest hearts, to save us from confusion and ruin.

I am not given to form my judgment of men from what they may say to us now; I like to look back, and see what a man has said or done before he had any thought of obtaining our votes, and before reform came into fashion.

Gentlemen, I will tell you candidly why I do not approve of any of the candidates that have hitherto offered themselves.

In the first place, I am a little suspicious of any man that offers himself for such a post. I think it entirely an affair of the electors, and not of the elected. I consider Lord Palmerston is out of the question. I would not vote for Mr. Hawes, because, to my knowledge, he has, upon more occasions than one, availed himself of the odious provisions of Sturges Bourne's bill to overpower the rate-payers of his parish, and therefore I think little of his present professions. I am in great doubts about Mr. Tennyson; because, when he sat as the representative of his nephew's rotten borough of Bletchingley, he not only did not vote for the resolution moved by the Marquis of Blandford on the 24. June, 1829—"That there exists a class of boroughs, commonly called close or decayed, in which the returns of members to Parliament are notoriously capable of being effected by the payment of money in the way of purchase, and frequently are so effected; and also another class of boroughs, in which the elective franchise is vested in so few electors, that the returns are capable of being effected by the payment of money in the way of bribes to individual electors, and frequently are so effected;" but Mr. Tennyson did everything in his power to swell the majority of 114 to 40, upon the motion of Mr. Secretary Peel, that "no such boroughs existed;" and Mr. Tennyson voted in that majority, as may be seen in the *Mirror of Parliament*;" therefore I fear he is but what may be called a humbug reformer.

With respect to Mr. Moore I do not know enough of his pretensions to think that he is the properest man for us to select in these eventful times. I have also heard what I do not like about the expenses entailed on our parish when he was chairman of the Church Building Committee.

Now I will tell you of a man for whom I and thousands of my brother reformers, either in Lambeth or in any other part of the country, may be proud not only to give him our votes, but to subscribe any five, or ten, or twenty shillings a year to pay him the wages of attendance, according to the good old law, and according to the value of money at the present day, and without which, it is my opinion, that we shall never have a man we can truly

call our own; nor will such reforms as all our institutions require, without destroying any of them, be safely and effectually accomplished by the House of Commons. The gentleman I mean to recommend, is a reformer of forty years standing, who took an active part in that great question in his early days, and has done the same of late.

This gentleman was the framer of that famous and invaluable Bill of Reform presented to the House of Commons in November, 1829, by his friend, the Marquis of Blandford, who in my opinion did himself immortal honour by consulting, and taking the advice of such a learned, experienced, and uncompromising reformer. It does not take one particle from the merit of the noble Marquis, but, in my eyes, greatly increases it; for he is a man possessed of the highest talents, and must have well considered all the great provisions of his bill, before he brought it forward, and it is as much his act and deed as any he ever signed. Now, gentlemen, I will tell you in the words of the Political Council of the town of Birmingham, what this famous bill did for the people, and then you may contrast it with the bill of the Ministers.

"And this council considering further, that the Marquis of Blandford's bill does in fact restore to the people all those great constitutional rights, privileges, and protections, which their forefathers possessed, but of which they have themselves been wrongfully deprived, and more especially that it

"1st. Dismisses all placemen from the House of Commons, agreeably to the great constitutional act of settlement, which placed the present family on the throne.

"2d. That it repeals the Septennial Act, and gives back to the people their ancient and undeniable right to triennial or more frequent Parliaments, recognised and secured by the great constitutional act, the 6th of William and Mary, cap. 2.

"3d. That it abolishes the qualification of property, as fixed unconstitutionally by the act of the 9th of Queen Anne, cap. 5., and restores the ancient undeniable right of sitting and voting as a citizen or burgess in the Common House of Parliament to every individual among the common people, who may be lawfully chosen a member of that body.

"4thly. That agreeably to the ancient and undeniable laws of the land, it renders it imperative on the citizens and burgesses of the House of Commons to be in general real citizens and burgesses, resident within the places they represent, and consequently acquainted and identified with their wants, feelings, and interests.

"5thly. That it secures the fidelity of such citizens and burgesses, by putting in force the ancient constitutional law, which provides that all of them shall receive a certain, known, definite, and reasonable payment from their constituents for good purposes, instead of an uncertain, unknown, and enormous payment for bad purposes, from the Government.

"6thly. That it makes effectual provision for breaking up the rotten boroughs, and transferring the elective franchise to the great towns and districts now unrepresented, or inefficiently represented.

"7thly. That it makes provision for greatly diminishing the enormous expenses with which electors of members of Parliament are now generally attended.

"8thly. That it makes provisions for securing the elective franchise to every householder in the United Kingdom," the only condition being that he be assessed to any tax, and willing to be assessed to the wages of attendance, and then he might vote at the place nearest to his residence.

The Council not only unanimously pledged themselves to this bill, but an immense meeting of their townsmen did the same, and afterwards signed and presented their "petition of right" to the House of Commons, in which they insisted upon all these provisions, and demanded them accordingly.

Why the Council should have thrown this bill overboard, and have adopted the Ministerial Bill through thick and thin, and actually carried it, when they might have as easily carried their own bill; and why they should have thus set the example to their townsmen of their departing from their ledges to this bill, as they have lately done under the new union they have framed, I cannot tell. Sure I am they have thereby lost the weight with the public they once possessed, and have deterred me, for one, from ever joining any Political Union.

Who the gentleman is that I thus recommend, and what are the many other things he has done to entitle him to the gratitude and confidence of his countrymen, may be the subject of a future communication.

My opinion is, that the mantle of immortality for a good Reform Bill, such as shall satisfy the country and save us from all the horrors of a convulsion has yet to descend upon the shoulders of him who deserves to wear it, and that the present bill must be amended by the adoption of all the great provisions, honesty and simplicity of Lord Blandford's Bill; and who so proper to effect this object as the man who drew it, and he who brought it before Parliament? I have no desire to put myself forward in this affair, and would rather see it taken up by more able and influential men; but I have left my address with the editor of this paper, and I refer to my advertisement in the same.

G. R.

Lambeth, November 10. 1832.

P.S. Those who agree with me that the learned Gentleman above spoken of is a proper person to be put in nomination for our borough may send me a line to that effect, addressed G. R., at the Horns, and I will wait upon them when and where they may appoint, to concert such measures as we may think proper.

41, LONG ACRE.

MATHEWS'S CHEAP CANDLE MANUFACTORY.

CANDLES.		s.	d.
Finest Wax Candles, per lb.	1	9	
Palace Wax ditto	1	8	
Wax Pieces ditto	1	6	
Sperm or Composition, plaited wicks..	1	5	
Old Store Moulds, with wax wicks....	0	7	
Best Store dips ditto	0	6	
SOAPS.			
Old Brown Windsor, per lb.	1	4	
White and Palm ditto	1	0	
Mottled, per 112 lbs.....	70	0	
Best Pale Yellow	64	0	
Good ditto	60	0	
OILS.			
Genuine Sperm Oil, imperial gallon ..	6	0	
Best Pale Seal	3	6	
Common Lamp	3	0	

Starch, Blue, &c. &c.

Finest Sealing Wax, 4s. per lb.

J. M. begs to state that there are no two-priced articles kept or sold at his shop. The above are warranted first quality and for Cash only. Delivered in town, and carefully packed for the country.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats	16	0	
Figured 'ditto ditto	18	0	
Valencia ditto	12	0	
Barogau Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 78.—No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.



TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Manchester, Sunday, 9. Dec. 1832.

IN the *thirty-one* years, during which I have been writing and publishing this *Register*, I never was so much at a loss to know *what to begin* about, as I am at this moment. The public have their ears open to nothing but matters relating to the ELECTIONS; and my readers, in particular, are only anxious to know what is to be the result of the elections at MANCHESTER and OLDHAM; and, those elections will be begun, and will not have been ended, before this *Register* will have come from the press; and, moreover, the result of those elections will have been communicated to the whole kingdom before the *next Register* can have come from the press. In this state of things, to write about the elections would be like bawling to the blasts; and, therefore, about them I can say nothing.

There are, indeed, other matters of vast importance, my opinions upon which I should offer to my readers, but they will be pleased to consider amongst what circumstances I am now placed. The zealous and anxious electors of *two important towns*, justly claiming, between them, every moment of my time and every particle of my attention. I claim no indulgence at all on account of *any feelings of my own*; for, that is

now going to happen which *I have been anticipating for a quarter of a century*; that is going to happen which I have not only been at times thinking about so long, but of which I have been thinking, for years, of all the necessary consequences, down to the most minute detail. I have long thought, for more than twenty years I have thought, that EVENTS would, if I had life and health, make me a member of the Parliament. In 1821 I told BROUGHAM this, in my *Register*; and, in 1823, I told my Lord GREY the same thing. So that I am not at all taken by surprise; I am not at all taken unawares; I have long fixed in my own mind that which I would do in such a case; and I am as much prepared for doing it as a shoemaker is prepared for his work, when he has taken measure of a man to make him a pair of shoes; and I feel no more anxiety as to my capability to perform the thing, than the shoemaker does when he sits down and takes the awl and the waxed thread into his hands. All, therefore, that I have to urge in the way of apology for not discussing any important subject in *this Register*, is, that every moment of my time, for five days now to come, belongs entirely to the electors of MANCHESTER and to those of OLDHAM.

I should like to make some observations on the conduct of the two factions with regard to this WHIG WAR. I will insert, another time, a letter to the *Morning Chronicle* from its PARIS correspondent who signs himself O. P. Q. It is in *praise of my own foresight*, to be sure; but that is no reason why I should not communicate it to my readers. This gentleman quotes a passage from a *recent Register* of mine, briefly stating what I had written on the subject in the fall of 1820; but bare justice to myself, as well as to my readers, would demand the republication now of the whole of what I wrote upon the subject immediately after the last French revolution; and I should do this justice to myself

and my readers, but not having the volumes of the *Register* within my reach, I cannot give my printers proper directions for inserting the part which I should like to have inserted.

My readers will, however, recollect that the moment the old BOURBONS had been put down, I saw the policy which we ought to pursue with regard to BELGIUM. I soon discovered and said, that LOUIS-PHILIPPE would prevent the French, if he possibly could, from deriving any benefit from the expulsion of CHARLES. In 1832 he stands proved to be that which I, in 1830, said he would prove himself to be. For that reason, as well as for the others that I then mentioned, I wished to see the French *march to the Rhine at once*. The Belgians were ready to receive them; were impatient to receive them; were never to be made to like the man that was then called their King, and to whom their country had been given against their will. Besides this, the despots had given their country this King for the purpose, chiefly, of preventing any portion of the enslaved people of Europe from recovering their freedom. It was, therefore, manifestly the interest of all the people in the world, who wished for freedom to prevail, that the French should go to the RHINE. For ourselves, it was our particular interest; because it would have put an end to all those subjects of quarrel about *Hanover*, which have been such a curse to England, and to which we owe no small part of our enormous debt and taxes. Ah! but this did not suit the Whigs; and yet they did not dare attempt to maintain the authority of the Dutch fellow in Belgium. So that they contrived with TALLEYRAND to stick up *one of our pensioners* as a King of Belgium, and then to send a fleet to *fight for him*, to keep him upon his throne. How long they will be able to keep his throne for him, I do not know; but I will bet my Lord GREY a trifle, that *he does not keep his pension for him* another clear year after the 25. of March next. However, I must leave this matter for the present. It is now *Tuesday*, and having to be at the opening of two elections to-morrow

morning, I must now cease to write about this matter.

My readers will want to see (it is now *TUESDAY* morning) in the next *Register*, and I shall want to have recorded in it, the proceedings at, and the result of, the *London and Suburbs elections*. I therefore direct my printers to take these Cities and Boroughs in the following order: LONDON, WESTMINSTER, MARYBONNE, FINSBURY, TOWER HAMLETS, SOUTHWARK, LAMBETH, and GREENWICH. I direct them to take these names, and, under each, give an account of the names of the candidates for each, and specifying particularly those who have been chosen. I request them to give, under each head, as large a portion of the proceedings as there will be room for, and to take care that the most interesting matter be preserved. I wish them to give a very full account of the *Westminster Election*; for this is the *touchstone*: this is the *criterion*: here is the *proof*, the real proof, that it is impossible for imposture to succeed any longer! In the *Standard* and in the *Sun* of Saturday evening last, I read, that on the first show of hands, the "chaise-horse" and his hobby had scarcely a hand held up for them, while EVANS had *a forest of hands*! I read that these base fellows were covered with every species of opprobrium; that they were saluted by showers of *decayed vegetables*, and *handfuls of that mud*, a supply of which was so much wanted for them in August, 1830. "God! thou art just," thy ways are inscrutable; but, in some way or other, sooner or later, punishment is sure to overtake cool, premeditated, intentional wickedness. This BURDETT, once, in conversation with me, *laughed* at this notion of mine, that wickedness brought in time *its own punishment*; and he mentioned the instance of SHERIDAN, as a proof of the contrary. SHERIDAN had several years to live after that, and SHERIDAN *verified* my notion; for he almost died without a penny-piece to lay upon his eye-lids; and was shunned and scorned, even by those who had been the companions of his days of successful imposture.

And, now, old *chaise-horse*, did you think of my doctrine, when the mud saluted your carcass, on the hustings at COVENT-GARDEN, on the 8. of December, 1832? The paper says, that a part of the mud fell upon one of *your friends*: I wonder what prime fool that was! Some base dog, I will warrant him, whose piety consists of sincere adoration of twenty thousand acres of land. But I must stop writing, and leave my printers to follow my instructions as above, and to be sure to get the best and fullest accounts of the proceedings at WESTMINSTER, and especially of the peltings and hootings of the old *chaise-horse* and his donkey. In the first *Register*, which I wrote against the "*chaise-horse*," and which was written in Long Island, I told him, that I had made him, and that I would *unmake* him; that he was as much my creature as the wooden god in the fable was the creature of the carpenter; that I had made him, in order that he might do what I should pray him to do; and that, now, finding him good for nothing, as the man found his wooden god, I would, as that disappointed man had done, take my axe, edge and poll, and chop him and knock him to pieces. It has been a long job, owing to the extreme cunning of the fellow, and the extreme baseness of the well-dressed rabble of WESTMINSTER. Nevertheless, he was destroyed as many as six or seven years ago. I was quite sure, that I could have aroused the people, and put him out at the general election in 1826. I told this to several gentlemen whose names I could now cite. The "*chaise-horse*" heard of it, and then he wrote to Colonel JOHNSTONE, telling him that he would subscribe towards the expenses of the election at PRESTON! He renewed the promise afterwards verbally to Colonel JOHNSTONE; and he had the baseness never to subscribe one single farthing! The "*old chaise horse*" knew that there was nothing but a sheet of brown paper between him and destruction. After the pelting off the hustings in 1830, it was clear that anybody might have bundled him out of WESTMINSTER; still, however, he thought he

could humbug the people along with *this reform story*. To their everlasting honour, he has not been able to do it. However, it signifies not a straw which way the *polling* goes. If he get elected now, it will be as MELLISH and MAINWARING used to be elected against him: it will be as SHERIDAN was elected against PACLE; and he will creep about for the rest of his life, always covered with the people's contempt, and occasionally covered with mud. Many, many most delightful times of exaltation have I had; but, to see this vile slanderer of my character; to see this crafty and remorseless enemy of mine; to see him actually covered with mud by the people of one great town of England, at the very moment when I am receiving the cheers and the blessings of the people of *two of the greatest towns in England*! To see this, to be thus situated, and to have the eyes of the whole of this nation fixed on us at the time; to behold this, is to feel triumph such as no man in this world ever before felt; and, let all *young* men of England; let every *young* man of this whole kingdom, fix his eyes upon this object: let him see the intrinsic nothingness of twenty thousand acres of land; let him never despair of success, if he boldly exert himself and keep truth for his guide. I have brought down this sublime political impostor, though propped up by all that baseness which produces an adoration of wealth: I have brought him down to a state in which he can be an object of envy only to unfortunate creatures that stand in need of the necessities of life; and, now, at this very moment, he is of no more real value than any twenty spits of earth, or any quantity of earth of the weight of his own body, dug out of his "*twenty thousand acres of land*!"

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. It is now Tuesday evening, [and I have just read Colonel EVANS's speech, which I admire exceedingly, for its good sense and sound principles.

LONDON AND SUBURBS ELECTIONS.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, Sat., Dec. 8.)

[CITY OF LONDON.]

Saturday being the day appointed for the nomination of the members to serve in Parliament for the City of London, the Guildhall, in which hustings had been previously erected, was opened at eleven o'clock, and was soon tolerably well filled.

Sheriffs HUMPHREY and PEEK opened the business by inviting the candidates to come forward. Mr. Lyall, who was first, was received with considerable marks of approbation and some disapprobation. Mr. Grote, who followed, was well received, the approbation being general, and but few marks of disapprobation. Sir John Key was also received with great cheering and waving of hats. Aldermen Wood and Waithman, particularly the latter, did not appear such general favourites. The Crier opened the Court by calling on the people to attend. The Sheriffs were sworn, and the acts against bribery and corruption were read.

Mr. Sheriff HUMPHREY said that the electors were then called upon to perform a solemn and sacred duty, and he hoped that they would calmly and patiently hear every one of the candidates and their friends. It was important for themselves that they should show themselves worthy of the new rights some of them had received, and it was due to all to preserve the decorum of the Court.

Mr. WM. SMITH, late M.P. for Norwich, begged leave to nominate Mr. Alderman Wood as a fit and proper person to represent the City of London in Parliament. (Cheers, and some marks of disapprobation.)

Mr. EASTHOFF, late M. P. for St. Albans, seconded the proposition with the greatest pleasure. (Cheers.)

Mr. WESTON came forward to nominate Mr. Alderman Waithman. (Cheers.)

Mr. PRENDERGAST seconded the nomination.

Mr. STEVENS had great satisfaction in proposing Sir John Key for their choice. (Cheers, waving of hats, and applause.)

Mr. WILLIAMS felt great pleasure in seconding the proposition.

Mr. HOARD proposed Mr. Scales. (Waving of hats, and considerable tumult.)

Mr. TYARS seconded the nomination.

Mr. SOLLEY, who was received with great cheering, nominated Mr. Grote.

Dr. BIRKBECK seconded the nomination.

Mr. WARD came forward to nominate Mr. Lyall, but was saluted with such a storm of hisses and cheers, and noise, that he was for considerable time unable to proceed.

Mr. BLANCHARD seconded the nomination.

Mr. Alderman Wood wished to address himself to the new constituency. He hoped as he

had given them the opportunity of exercising their qualification, that they would exert it in his favour. To the gentlemen of the Lavery he expressed his gratitude for the many favours he had received at their hands. If he thought he had not fulfilled his duties, (Off, off,) he would not show himself there on that day. He would not be a candidate, if he did not conscientiously believe that all his votes in the House of Commons, and his attention to his duties were given in accordance with the views of the electors. (Off, off.) To the new voters he could not be a stranger; and he had devoted his time and exertions to obtain the franchise for them. (Cheers, and "Enough") He had nearly done. He would only promise them this, that if they could find a man more attentive to his duties in the House of Commons than he was, and who would vote more in accordance with their principles—who was more ready to remit taxation, which he knew was heavy—when they found any such man, he would be ready to give up his seat. (Cheers, and bravo, Wood.) He would not hold his seat one hour after he was told by a majority of his constituents assembled in that hall that he had not done his duty. (Cheers and bravo.)

Mr. Alderman WAITHMAN came forward, but was received with much noise. When he could be heard, he proceeded to say, that he had frequently on those boards had to claim their attention to individuals; and he regretted exceedingly that everybody should not now be heard, as he was certain that to pay calm and great attention to every speaker was the best way to add to the dignity of their proceedings. (Cheers.) It would be idle in him to go into a history of his past life. He would only say that he had been for forty years before the public and it was twenty years before he asked or sought for any office; and he therefore could have now no improper motive for his exertions. (Cries of Oh! and cheers.)

Sir JOHN KEY came forward amidst great cheering. He appeared, he said, before the new constituency with feelings of the most lively gratitude. No one was more deeply impressed with the sense of obligation to the reformers of the City of London, or with the importance of the responsibility of a representative of such a body, than he was. He had no personal gratification to satisfy. He had no personal object to gain. He should, upon all occasions, in a private or public capacity; support, to the utmost of his endeavours, the rights and privileges of his fellow-citizens, and oppose the system by which the country was overwhelmed with distress. (Cheers.) It was the benefit of the constituency alone he wished to seek by going into Parliament. A gentleman on his left seemed to doubt his veracity. Let that gentleman stand forward and state the grounds upon which he questioned the declaration. (Cheers.) If he (Sir John Key) was returned, he would do all he could to secure the independence, not of his fellow-

citizens alone, but of the whole community. He would advocate the interests of no party, nor join with any one body for the purpose of overpowering another; but he would exert all his energies to advance the interests of the whole of the British people. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SCALES came forward amidst disapprobation, and some applause. He said that he and the electors would be soon better acquainted. (Hisses and laughter.) The time would not arrive when he should be afraid to meet the constituency—no, never. He had been accused of coalescing with other candidates. That he must deny. He coalesced, to be sure; but then it was with the people he coalesced; and if the meeting would, for a short time, allow their prejudices to lie dormant, he would convince them that he and they were just fit to meet together. (Cheers and laughter.) He was independent of all parties; he was not the nominee of the Court of Aldermen, nor of any faction, but he was the nominee of the citizens of London (Laughter and applause, and groans.) His conduct and principles were before the people. He knew they approved of them; and he knew that if those who had promised to vote for him failed not to perform their promises, he would not only be elected, but he would be at the head of the poll. (Laughter.) His only object in going to Parliament, was to have the opportunity of redressing the wrongs of the people. He was the advocate of the opinions of the constituency, and was determined to mend or to end the corporation of the City of London; aye, and the corporation of every other city too. (Laughter, and cheers and hisses.) He was aware that there were gentlemen present who were attached to the good things which they acquired by being appendages to that body, and who would, of course, with difficulty resign them; but, for his part, he had benefited by poor living. (Laughter.) His poor living had given him great health and strength; and he should go into Parliament with power to do his duty, and the conscience to do it well. (Cheers.) The citizens of London were, he believed, determined to send into Parliament no person who would not support the abolition of the taxes which pressed so cruelly upon the poor. The taxes must be taken off the shoulders of the poor, and placed upon those of the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Devonshire, and the rest of the rich, or the reformed Parliament would be good for nothing. Where was the man who knew the poor so well as he did? He lived by the labour of the poor, and he never had forgotten, and never would forget them. He wished for the suffrages of the citizens of London for one year and no more, and at the end of that period he would resign his trust into their hands. (Laughter, and cheers, and hisses.) He was not disposed to be a servant for seven or for three years. He did not see why he should be shackled, and he never would appear as the truckling nominee of a corporation. He would go to Parliament as an inde-

pendent man, or he would go home. (Laughter and applause, and cries of "Go home!")

Mr. GROTE came forward amidst loud cheers. Encouraged as he had been by the kind welcome with which his name had been received, he felt his heart elevated when he approached them to tender his services as their representative in the first reformed Parliament. (Cheers.) He was a new and untried man, and he came before them as a legislator in an improved era, as the offspring, the progeny of the Reform Bill, and as the champion of that great measure, which he believed to be a measure of help, of salvation, and of reserve, if ever there was one in the history of mankind. (Continued cheers.) A fair representation had been a phenomenon in the history of this country, but there was now a real representation, the voters for which were the *elite* of all classes. He had recognised the great evils under which the country had so long groaned, in the wasteful expenditure of the national wealth; and he now sought to turn the current of extravagance away, and to substitute such a frugal expenditure as would satisfy the wants of an oppressed and impoverished nation. (Cheers.) He sought for a righter us education, and for an improved legislation in every department of the state. (Cheers.) He now committed his case to their judgment, fully trusting that they would do justice by all the candidates, and choose those best fitted to promote both the national welfare in general and the prosperity of the city of London in particular.

Mr. LYALL came forward, but such was the yelling throughout the whole time he was speaking, that he could not be heard, except by those just beside him.

Mr. Sheriff HUMPHREY inquired if any other candidate was to be proposed, and no one answering, the six candidates were proposed to the meeting.

The show of hands for Mr. Grote, Sir John Key, and Aldermen Waithman and Wood, was immense, particularly for the two former, but very few were held up for Ald. Scales and Mr. Lyall.

The Sheriffs declared the election to have fallen on G. Grote, Esq., Sir John Key, Bart., R. Waithman, Esq., and M. Wood, Esq.

A poll was demanded on behalf of Mr. Lyall and Mr. Scales, and the Sheriffs appointed the polling to take place on Monday morning at nine o'clock.

Monday. At four o'clock the poll closed, as follows:—

Grote	5,482
Wood	4,847
Waithman	4,761
Key	3,770
Lyall	3,500
Scales	354

On Wednesday morning the Sheriffs met at nine o'clock, in order to cast up the books of the poll clerks who had attended at Guildhall to receive the votes of the liverymen, and

also of those who attended at the fourteen stations to receive the votes of the inhabitant householders who have been enfranchised in consequence of the Reform Bill.

The Sheriffs announced the following to be the state of the poll :—

Mr. Grote	8,412
Alderman Wood	7,488
Alderman Walthman....	7,452
Sir John Key	6,136
Mr. Lyall	5,132
Mr. Scales	569

The Sheriffs then declared Mr. Grote, Alderman Wood, Alderman Walthman, and Sir John Key, to be duly elected to represent the City of London in the ensuing Parliament.

Mr. GROTE said, if ever a human being standing before his fellow men, had reason to be proud and gratified, assuredly he was the man. Four days ago he stood in that spot an anxious candidate for their suffrages, and he was now honoured by a commanding majority of a great body of electors, by being elected to a situation of the greatest trust and responsibility. He now stood there filled with greatest felicity at the great triumph conferred on him, by the honour done him by the electors—an honour, which perhaps, was unequalled, and certainly could not be surpassed. But what were all the titles which the caprice of courtiers might withhold or grant—what were they all in comparison to the unpurchased suffrages of an enlightened body of his fellow-citizens. (Applause.) Their approbation was the true certificate of merit (cheers), and it was for him a great triumph, as it was their testimony to his virtue and patriotism. He assured them, that from the bottom of his heart he felt the great, the unexampled distinction—he believed he might really call it unexampled—because never before had so many votes been bestowed on any one person (Hear.) He believed, that no other man had ever so many. He was grateful for the honour, and felt the magnitude of the obligations the honour occasioned. He felt seriously and religiously the responsibility of the great and mighty power they had placed in his hands. He assured them solemnly and sacredly, that he should feel himself eternally disgraced if he did not apply to the full extent of his abilities the power they had intrusted him with for their benefit. (Applause.) He was aware of the kind of mission he had received, and knew that it was one not to be paralleled, and he promised to devote himself most assiduously to fulfil it, and preserve that confidence they had placed in him. He was firmly resolved to devote his conscientious service to the full measure of his faculties, and to the utmost of his energies, to protect their rights and particularly to protect the rights and promote the happiness of those who stood most in need of protection, because they had the least power to protect themselves (Cheers.)

Mr. Alderman WOOD had said yesterday, that he was so pleased at being elected, that

he did not care much how he was on the poll, and to-day it turned out that he was second. Fourteen years ago he had been at the top of the poll, and, taking into the account the enlarged constituency, he was glad to find that as large a number of the old constituency voted for him now as when he was placed in that honourable situation. The new constituency accounted for the 2,000 which Mr. Grote had headed him on the poll. He was satisfied with his situation, and accepted it as a proof that the electors were satisfied with his conduct in Parliament. As the other candidates had said, he had re-appeared before them, and they had done him justice by again returning him to Parliament. He could assure them that whatever promoted the interests of the great body of the people should find in him a steady supporter. On that principle he had always, and he always should vote. (Cheers.) He was a reformer of forty years' standing. He thought that it would not be long before he should have to appear before them again, when he might hope, if they approved of his conduct, that they would renew their confidence. He would only express the gratitude to those active friends whose exertions had ensured his success, and return his sincere thanks to the electors at large. (Cheers.)

SIR JOHN KEY expressed feelings of the deepest gratitude for the honour and responsibility conferred on him. He could not boast forty years' public service—not having seen forty years, and was, therefore, placed in a disadvantageous position; but if he had only half the age of the two candidates who last addressed them, and only half their experience, had he not a double reason to be proud of the honourable place which the independent electors had awarded him? He was doubly proud, because no influence had been used in his favour; and he had only to thank the zeal of the honest and disinterested electors. In his short life, however, he had, in a time of difficulty, manifested some zeal and energy in their cause; but he could not boast of that, for he had only done his duty. It was to their public spirit and patriotism, and not to any patronage, he was indebted for his success. He prized his situation, as a manifestation of their confidence; and he would devote all the energies of his mind to uphold their rights, liberties, and independence.

Mr. LYALL was called for, but he was not present, and nobody spoke in his behalf.

Mr. Alderman SCALES came forward, and was received with loud cheers, cries of "bravo!" and some hisses. After silence was obtained, he said he would take the opportunity of addressing them, if they would not interrupt him by calling "question, question!" He could speak to any question they pleased, but let him not be interrupted; and, as the other speakers had discoursed of a variety of topics, he hoped he might, without the call of "question!" The first election he had ever seen was at Huntingdon,

when he was twelve years of age, when Lord Sandwich's candidates were chaired up the Castle Hill. (Cries of "Off," and "Go on.") The people were all intoxicated, and the first candidate said, "Now, my lads, be ready, and when I give you the signal, do you shout; I shan't make any speech, but do you, my lads, make a great shout, and cry, he is first." So they shouted, and the election was over. (Laughter.) He, perhaps, should be much better pleased, at least some gentlemen would, if such were the proceedings of the City of London, and that the electors only shouted for their favourite candidate "He is first," and required no speeches. He must say that he had long been an admirer of Aldermen Waltham and Wood; he had stood forward to support them, and raise them to their present situation; but after being chained to their chariot wheels for twenty years, was not he to be allowed to mount for himself? (Laughter and bravo.) As Mr. Grote properly said the honour of their approbation was superior to any thing a court could be tow; and for every honest man their applause was far more valuable than anything a monarch or a minister could give. (Cheers.) Was he then to be blamed when other men looked for that, that he aspired to the same honour? He had obtained honour from his fellow-citizens; but it had been snatched away. He prized such honour as dearly as Mr. Grote, and though it had been snatched away on this occasion, he did not repine; he was yet strong, and he should yet ensure victory and achieve conquest. He had at first thought that the Court of Aldermen, when he saw them only from a distance, must be persons of extraordinary magnitude and power (laughter), and that it would be so nothing very terrific to attack them; but now he had found the truth of the advice which Mentor gave to Telemachus:—"When danger is at a distance, treat it (said he) as of great consequence; when it is present, treat it with contempt." So he had treated the Court of Aldermen with great respect when at a distance, but when he got near it he treated it only with contempt. (Cheers.) Before he had done he hoped to make all the citizens comprehend it as well as he did, and then they would treat it as he treated it. Before many days were over they would see those very rights which belonged to the citizens, and of which the aldermen had deprived them, made subject of discussion, and then they would see in what estimation the new representatives held the rights of the people. (Cheers; No, no.) Public opinion would assist him in destroying them, and that would be found too strong even for a Court of Aldermen. One candidate now made a boast of not canvassing the electors, but he had formerly canvassed them—he had canvassed the electors for and with that candidate, and though he was now able to repudiate that practice, was another candidate to be censured for adopting it, who was not so well known as the worthy alder-

man, and had not the same means of making himself known to his fellow-citizens? Some of his kind friends had cautioned him against the expense; he could assure them that the expense was not so great as they suppose. It had cost him twice as much to conquer one select vestry: but he had conquered it. (Cheers.) His friends would give him advice, but not give him a penny. The expense was limited; he could save it in a year from the expense of his household: and if he were obliged to curtail, it would only be a lesson of practical reform. (Cheers, and laughter.) He did not make money to hoard it, but to use it. He had enough, he had more than enough—he had too much—

"Poor and content is rich, and rich enough;
But riches endless are as poor as winter

To him that ever thinks he shall be poor."

He shoud never be poor, because he always meant to be content, and to live within his income. (Cheers.) His friends further said that he was not fit for an alderman, (laughter,)—that he had not sense enough—not gravity enough (loud laughter)—that he could not look the character. (Renewed laughter.) Why then, he would get stuffed (roars of laughter); and they should soon see him with a

"Fair round belly with good capons lined."

(Roars of laughter.) Again, those who admired him as an alderman, said he would not do for a legislator. They would vote for him as an alderman, but not to go into Parliament. Why not? Did they imagine that one person was the whole House of Commons? He should be but the 658th part of the legislature, and it could not be imagined that he was going to make all the laws of the kingdom. If that were the notion—if they thought he was to be the Lycurgus of the empire, he begged to decline the honour. (Laughter.) He remembered when a very young boy reading "Burns's Poems," and he had almost learnt them by heart. One passage had made a very strong impression on him. It was this—

"To catch Dame Fortune's golden smiles,
Assiduous wait upon her;
And gather gear by every wile
That justified by honour:
Not to hide it in a hedge—
Not for a train attendant;
But for the glorious privilege
Of being independent." (Bravo.)

That was the use he would make of his money. It should make him independent. For that did all rational men save when they were in health, and by that were they enabled, when any public services demanded a sacrifice. He was not such a greenhorn—being fifty years of age; he was not so ignorant of the laws and customs of England—having this independence—that he might not aspire to be a legislator. Many of them did not know half so much of the wants of the people of England as he did. Mr. Lyall talked of representing

the mercantile interest; but he believed he knew more of commerce than Mr. Lyall did; and, he would undertake to teach Mr. Lyall and any half-dozen merchants the nature of commerce. He had travelled over England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; he had been on the continent, and he had crossed the Atlantic, carrying his own goods to the market. He knew that the English merchants were no longer those high and honourable characters they were forty years ago, when they were the admiration of their own and of foreign countries. (Cheers.) He hoped the time would soon come when he should be able to develop his opinions, and he was satisfied that he should prove to them that he was not ignorant of the cause of England's distresses, and the means of remedying them. With respect to the two aldermen he would add, that there was a time when they wooed the goddess Liberty, but now, when she opened her arms to them, they had become coy. They cried forbear, and turned away with repugnance. That they turned away he did not regret; but why should they caution the people against her embraces? They told the people to bear their burdens; now he had read Scripture, and knew that God's chosen people did not bear their burdens. The Israelites rebelled when the Egyptians required them to make bricks without straw. He would not detain them longer than to thank them for the attention they had bestowed on him. (Cheers.)

Thanks were given to the deputy returning-officers in the different districts, and the court was dissolved.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

The hour appointed for the nomination for Westminster was twelve for one o'clock. Long before that time a dense crowd had assembled in front of the hustings erected opposite St. Paul's Church, Covent-garden. At one o'clock the candidates and their friends made their way to the hustings. Sir F. Burdett and Sir J. Hobhouse were received with universal disapprobation by the crowd, and were pelted with all sorts of garbage, while Col. Evans was welcomed with the loudest cheers.

The HIGH BAILIFF then read the precept, and went through the usual forms; but owing to the constant clamour and noise kept up by the mob, the whole passed off in dumb-show.

Mr. GEORGE LYNDON came forward to propose Sir F. Burdett, as a fit and proper person to represent the city of Westminster in Parliament; but he was received with such a storm of groans, hisses, and other marks of disapprobation, that though he continued to speak for some time, not a single word he uttered could be heard.

Mr. MARCHANT, in seconding the nomination of the hon. Baronet, made a similar ineffectual attempt to be heard.

Mr. DE VEAR then came forward to propose Sir J. Hobhouse. We understood him to say that he had the high gratification to nominate as their representative the old and tried

friend, Sir J. C. Hobhouse. (Tremendous uproar, and cries of "Off, off.") He had come forward to propose him for the sixth time as a candidate for their representative. For fourteen years Sir J. C. Hobhouse had faithfully performed his duty towards them; and during the whole of that period he had fulfilled every promise, and had acted up to every profession which he had made when he first came before them. (Cheers from the hustings.) It was said that he had joined the Administration; true, he had done so; he had joined an administration which was pledged to carry the great measure of reform; and in his opinion the support which Sir J. Hobhouse had given to the Government gave him additional claim upon their support. His past conduct proved that he was the most fit and proper man to represent them in Parliament, and therefore he felt great pleasure in putting him in nomination. (The uproar throughout the whole of Mr. De Vear's speech was so great as to prevent its being audible to any but those in his immediate vicinity; the same observation also applies to the speech of the gentleman who followed him.)

Mr. POUNCEY seconded the nomination.

Dr. BAIRNBRIDGE in coming forward to propose Colonel Evans was received with loud cheers and buzzes from the crowd in front of the hustings, and during the whole of his address he was listened to by both parties with attention. He said, it more especially behoves the electors of Westminster at this particular period to be exceedingly cautious in the selection of those who are to carry forward to its ultimate results the changes that are calculated to flow from the Reform Bill,—above all, that great amelioration in the condition of the working classes which is to be effected. (Cheers.) A most unmerited outcry has been lately raised against those who have thought it their duty to exact pledges from candidates, as if there was anything novel in the practice; and the most unjust epithets, such as "Revolutionists" and "Destructives," have been applied to them for so doing. Now, I ask you, what would the gentlemen and tradesmen of Westminster gain by violence or the destruction of private property? (Cheers.) It is to prevent this that we, having now a legitimate channel, seek for a legitimate redress of our many grievances. The proprietors of nomination boroughs have always exacted pledges from their representative. The Crown always exacts pledges from its servants, for from the premier down to the commonest custom-house officer and exciseman, pledges are taken. Every officer in the army, before he receives promotion, though he may have served for twenty years, is called on to give pledges. Will it be said, then, that we have no right to demand pledges from our representatives? (Cheers.) It is the same in the navy, and in every other department of the state; in all pledges are exacted. If the Duke of Wellington should return to power to-morrow (universal groans), which I need not tell

you is not a very probable thing, he would be bound to renew the pledges which he formerly made. The King himself is obliged to pledge himself on taking his coronation oath. All members of Parliament, before they take their seats in Parliament, are obliged to give pledges; they are obliged to give pledges to the King, and why should they not submit also to give pledges to the people? (Cheers.) Why should they refuse to give pledges to the people, when they give pledges, and upon oath, too, to the King? The people having seen that pledges have been uniformly exacted by the Government from their officers, and from the members in the House of Commons, are determined on following so laudable an example. After reminding the electors of the professions contained in the gallant Colonel's address, he concluded by proposing Colonel De Lacey Evans as a fit and proper person to represent this city in Parliament.

Mr. SIMPSON seconded the nomination.

The HIGH BARRISTERS then put the names of the candidates in succession to the meeting, and called upon them to decide as to their selection by a show of hands. About 50 were held up in favour of Sir J. Hobhouse, probably 100 more in favour of Sir L. Burdett, and an immense majority held up their hands on the announcement of the name of Colonel Evans.

The HIGH BARRISTER—I have only to declare, that to the best of my judgment, the show of hands has been in favour of Sir F. Burdett and Colonel Evans.

Mr. DE VEAR, on the part of Sir John Hobhouse, then demanded a poll, which was granted.

Sir F. BURDETT accordingly came forward amidst some cheers, mingled with hisses and *shouts of mud*. Gentlemen, (said the non-Baronet), I cannot refrain from expressing to you the gratification and the triumph that I feel at the consummation of that great measure which, since I last had the honour of addressing you from these hustings, has become the law of the land. (Pettings.) I congratulate you upon that great event, that glorious triumph of those public principles for which I have myself so many years contended,—years that I am almost ashamed to say, and which my arithmetic is hardly sufficient to enable me to enumerate,—years during which I have fought the great battle of public principle with you, electors of Westminster and at your head; and having done so—having, in times of danger, and doubt, and difficulty,—when there were few to cheer, and still fewer to support me, in the then apparently hopeless contest, fought the good fight, and fought it, I trust, with firmness and with spirit (cheers); now that the field is won, now that the mighty triumph is achieved, I am as ready to descend amongst you to fight in your ranks the battle for the public happiness, and to do whatever I can for the public advantage, as I have shown myself to be in the more distinguished but more onerous station in which by your favour

I have been hitherto placed upon these hustings. (Loud cheers. A voice in the crowd—"Will you give a pledge?") I shall speak to that gentleman presently, on the subject to which he alludes, for I perceive that he appears to be a man of sense, and that of course he is likely to listen to reason; but, pursuing the observations which I have just been making, I beg to say that I shall be as ready, if such shall be your will, to descend into the ranks and there to fight the same good cause with you that I have hitherto fought in the proud and eminent situation in which you have hitherto placed me, in the front of that battle which we have at length so gloriously and peaceably achieved. (Cheers.) In whatever rank any portion of Englishmen may please to place me, I trust that I shall be always found ready at all times to do my duty to my country. (Cheers.) Therefore, first of all, and before anything of an acrimonious kind is mentioned (and no observations of that kind shall come from me), allow me to express my sorrow at and to deplore what has taken place to divide and distract the popular interest in Westminster. (Hear, hear.) I do not think that any one can justly or fairly attribute that division to any portion of my conduct. (Don't cry Daddy.) Gentlemen, it shall be always to me a source of no small gratification that I contributed my share to the triumph of that great public principle which we have at length achieved, that the right of voting has been extended to those who had been hitherto so unjustly deprived of it, and for whose rights we reformers had been so long contending and attending in vain, that we have at length succeeded in routing out the rotten nomination boroughs from Parliament, and that the power of representation has been intrusted to the great bulk of the community, in the confidence that they will select men of talents, integrity, and honesty, to send as their representatives to Parliament. (Cheers.) You are now assembled to perform that important duty, and I am satisfied that you will discharge it as becomes the electors of Westminster. I come now to the subject of pledges, to which the gentleman below me called my attention awhile ago. The nominator of my opponent has attributed to me the expression that "none but fools asked for pledges, and none but knaves gave them." Now, I beg leave to say that I said no such thing. What I really did say was, that pledges might be exceedingly good for knaves, and that they would be very attractive, no doubt, for fools. (Hisses and pettings.) That is what I really said on the occasion to which allusion has been made. I suppose that, whether a man be an honest man or a knave, as long as his interest is the same with yours, you may safely trust him. But what do you do with your pledge? You may easily make a knave take a pledge that an honest man will pause before he swallows, but the moment your respective interests happen to clash together,

the knave will unquestionably prefer his own to yours, and what security have you then that he will redeem his pledge? An honest man would do the thing without a pledge, and you get no security but a sham security by exacting a pledge from a knave. You would not lend a knave to-morrow 5s. upon the most solemn pledge that he would return it next week, while you would lend it at once to an honest man without any pledge at all. The fact is, as I have just said, pledges are but sham securities, merely affording the means of deceit—they are, in truth, mere “spruzes to catch woodcocks,” and foolish woodcocks too. (A laugh, and cries of “Hear.”) Would any of yourselves give a pledge that you would adhere to the same determination that you at present entertain with regard to all those great and important and multifarious topics to which allusion has been made, after you had heard them discussed, sifted, and canvassed, in every possible shape and manner? (An individual in the crowd, “Yes.”) A gentleman in the crowd answers “Yes.” Now I can only say, that for my part I pretend not to the possession of that enviable degree of wisdom, penetration, and foresight, and that I am not able to call to mind all the various relations and complicated points of those several vast and important subjects, so as to have in my power to say that I have made up my mind altogether upon them in every view and in every possible respect, and that no discussion that might hereafter take place with regard to them would in the slightest degree alter my opinion or change my judgment. We have had, indeed, similar public pledges made in our time. The Duke of York pledged himself in the House of Lords, and in the way, too, that the scoundrel of my opponent seemed so much to like, for he pledged himself by an oath against the religious liberty of a portion of the community. But everybody looked upon the Duke’s pledge as an absurdity, as in fact it was, for no honest, sensible, or upright man, whose mind was open to the conviction of truth and the effect of reason, would pledge himself unalterably to any particular thing. The gentleman who proposed my opponent, talked of the pledges taken from officers in the army. Now, the pledge that was taken from the officers in the army, the navy, and other departments, was upon oath, and it was that they would faithfully and obediently do their duty. I have no hesitation to take an oath to that which I have hitherto done, and which I will do without an oath. I have done my duty, and I now appeal to you without fear. I have no fear as to the result of this contest, but let that result be what it may, I shall still, in whatever situation I may be placed, endeavour to the utmost of my power to promote and advance those great interests which will be brought under the consideration of the public. (Applause mingled with disapprobation.) It would be needless for me to detain you longer, especially as many of you seem to think that the present is not a

meeting, which indeed it can hardly be considered to be, for the purposes of political discussion. I shall only say that now, as formerly, if you shall again place me in the proud situation of your representative, I shall go to Parliament firmly determined to discharge my duty faithfully and honestly, and with more hopes of success and greater prospects of good than I ever had when sent there before; but that, on the contrary, if your choice should not fall upon me, I shall content myself with working with you for the common good of all, and that in whatever situation I may be placed, or in whatever way I may hereafter be called on to act, the prosperity, the happiness, and the well-being of my country shall be my most earnest wish, my first and my last object. (Cheers, and mud.)

Colonel Evans then presented himself to the meeting, and was hailed by the crowd immediately in front of the hustings with great applause. He commenced with observing that he had entertained the highest personal respect for his two opponents, particularly for the hon. baronet (Sir F. Burdett), but that if he should allow his mind to be misled by feelings of a personal consideration, he should deem himself unworthy of their respect, and of the honour of being their representative. He had not heard all that the hon. Baronet had just stated to them; but the hon. Baronet had commenced with stating what was unfounded in fact,—namely, that he (Colonel Evans) was the hon. Baronet’s opponent; the contrary was the truth, the hon. Baronet was his (Colonel Evans’s) opponent. (Cheers.) The hon. Baronet in his writings had hinted at their being both misled by knaves, so that by possibility they were in danger of being misled by his (Colonel Evans’s) knavery. He could assure them that he felt no gratification in triumphing over the remarks of his opponents, but at the same time, as the attack had been made, he must do justice to himself. On the subject of pledges, who had been more prolific than the hon. Baronet during his whole career? And was not this the first time, after twenty-six years’ experience, that they had heard any such sentiments respecting pledges as those just delivered by him? Had they ever heard the hon. Baronet say heretofore anything like what he had uttered on the present occasion on the subject either of fools and knaves, or of pledges? (Cheers.) Possibly he might be a knave, but great as were the former celebrity and just renown of the hon. Baronet, he took the liberty to say that there was not one act of his life that exposed him, more than the hon. Baronet, to the charge of knavery. (Cheers.) Let it be granted, if his opponents so willed it, that they might be knaves who thus appealed to the public: then must the hon. Baronet in particular, as he had been much longer before the public, be a much bigger knave than he was. (Cheers and laughter.) In coming forward as a candidate, he had done so in compliance with the opinion of a great body of the elec-

tors; in complying, he considered that he had only done his duty. To show, however, that he had not rushed headlong and heedlessly to the goal, he had declared that he would not consider himself irretrievably pledged to come forward till the electors should learn his general sentiments, and having heard them, should then deem him worthy of their support. For that purpose he had attended several meetings in different parts of the city; and the satisfaction he had on those occasions given made him decide on thus appearing before them for their siff ages. (Cheers.) The mover and seconder of his nomination had anticipated many of the remarks that he should have otherwise deemed it his duty to make, but still he felt it to be requisite to trespass on them. He and his supporters had been designated destructives. A short time ago the hon. Baronet had trounced the imprudents (in a speech at Bath, it was stated on the hustings) — in milder language, but not very agreeable when coming from such a quarter, nor boasting an authority much admired in Westminster. The authority for the word was not good. Lord Castlereagh had told the people that they were ignorantly “impatient” of taxation; and now, after his glorious career, the hon. Baronet had thought proper to adopt the language of Lord Castlereagh, and designated the people to be impatient. (Cheers and hootings.) But that description was not strong enough, so they were now called destructives. If the sentiments he held, and those who thought with him justified the language, then he could only reply, as he had observed respecting the charge of knavery—that if he were a destructive, both the hon. Baronets had been much greater destructives than he had ever been, or was likely to be. (Hear, hear.) He, however, owned himself to be a destructive. His resolutions were violently destructive as regarded the sinecure list, and the list of pensions not deserved. (Cheers and laughter.) He was perhaps still more violently destructive respecting the house and window-taxes. (Continued cheers.) He was also very destructive touching the taxes on knowledge, deeming them to be impediments to improvement of every sort, and more inimical to the cause of liberty than the bayonet, or the knout of Russia. The word “pledge” had been alluded to now, and during the progress of the contest, in a manner that surprised him, for he hesitated not to declare that both his opponents had pledged themselves on a variety of important questions chime-deep, particularly in writing, as well as on those hustings, respecting the shortening of the duration of Parliament; then how could they have the assurance to declare that now they would give no pledge? Heretofore its necessity was their eternal theme, but now they would give no pledge on the subject. Nor were they less pledged on the subject of the ballot,—a question, by the way, on which he was also violently destructive. Was not its necessity rendered every hour more ap-

parent? Had not the seconder of his nomination given a striking illustration of its necessity in the instance of a gentleman (Mr. Fenn, the bookseller, alluded to by Mr. Simpson) who had been threatened by the Treasury or the Home-office with the loss of the Government custom, unless he voted against Colonel Evans? (Cheers.) And yet Lord Althorp is, or was, pledged to the ballot. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if he were here a destructive, he only followed the example of the head of the Government in the House of Commons. (Cheers and laughter.) He was also a destructive as regarded the tithes (loud cheers); and he would undoubtedly vote for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords. (Continued and tremendous cheering.) He would vote for a much more equal distribution of church property, for the more equalized and adequate remuneration of the working clergy, and for the stopping off the monstrous revenues of the fat and idle prebendaries. (Cheers.) He would also vote that justice should be done to Ireland. (Cheers.) Much was said about the repeal of the Union; but he would take the liberty of saying, if real union between the two islands were desired, that could only be established by doing justice to the one, and then withdrawing the army now there, which might be easily done if the union were confirmed by justice. (Loud cheers.) He was likewise very destructive as regarded the corn laws, and he hoped they would speak to their opponents on this subject. Were they aware that the corn laws imposed a tax of 12,000,000*l.* a year on the working classes? Nor was that tax all the effects of the monopoly. It prevented the introduction of wheat; not to trouble them with details, it imposed difficulties in the way of the free importation of whatever was produced by the land; and the tax hence accruing did not go into the exchequer. Again, the sugar duties were doubly objectionable; first, they contributed to the encouragement of the abominable slavery; and secondly, they imposed a tax on them producing 2,000,000*l.*, and all for the purpose of continuing that same detestable slavery. (Hear.) As they now knew his sentiments on most subjects, perhaps they would not deem it necessary for him to detain them much longer. (“Flogging?”) Flogging! He had voted for the abolition of flogging in the army, therefore his sentiments on that subject were tolerably well-known to them. (Cheers.) After the carrying of the Reform Bill he had done his utmost to effect reductions in the army and in the military departments, but unfortunately in all his efforts he was opposed by the right hon. Baronet. (Hootings.) There were some opinions which he ought to express on matters that peculiarly interested the electors of Westminster. On the subject of the Vestry Bill, it would be unnecessary in him to deny the great exertions of Sir J. C. Hobhouse; but it was, nevertheless, the opinion of many of the electors that he might have opposed some parts of it far more

energetically. (Hear.) The qualification established by the Vestry Bill was peculiarly objectionable; it was "fixed at 40*l.*, which was 400 per cent. higher than the qualification to vote for members of Parliament." (Hear.) It was absurd as well as unjust; and such had been its operation in St. John's, Westminster, in particular, that there were very few houses rated so high as to give the requisite qualification for vestrymen. (Hear.) But there were many other objections to that bill. In St. Martin's, the old select vestry levied about 40,000*l.* a year; and so defective had been the operation of that bill towards the power which it was meant to destroy, that the parishioners as yet had only been able to cut down 1,200*l.* a year of that sum; so defective was that bill, that St. Martin's select vestry could still levy without the slightest control on the part of the parishioners. There was another local grievance—the Grosvenor Act. It might not be much felt by most of those present; but it was peculiarly grievous and burdensome upon the outer ward of St. George's parish. (Hear, hear.) There were many instances of hardship under it, of proceedings and warrants in consequence of the power which it gave. Two particular instances, however, had come to his knowledge, which he deemed it right to mention. Of all the warrants that had been issued for refusing payment of the rates, somehow or another only two of them had been enforced, and it so happened that those two were enforced against two of his committee—they only had been distrained upon. (Hootings, and cries of "Shame.") Now, that was not exactly, he submitted, the sort of privity of election of which his opponents used to approve. He would not deny that the hon. Baronet had been more polite to his constituents than he used to be—therein there had been great improvement; but he understood that seven or eight applications to the right hon. Baronet to get some relief against this act had met with small success; he was represented to have usually replied,—“You have only to get me a fund of money for a bill to repeal that act.” In all other respects the right hon. Baronet had turned a deaf ear to the applications, but now he condescended to enter into some correspondence on the subject. His letter, however, was curious. In it he said—“Though decidedly averse to specific pledges as to votes on great public questions, I, of course, hold that on all matters of local interest the constituency ought to command the representative.” Were they, then, to infer that on all great measures the representative was to command the constituency, but that on local matters he was not averse to listen to the constituency? (Hear.) Was it not evident that the right hon. Baronet was decidedly averse to the constituency giving any command on great measures? (Hear, hear.) There was another subject of considerable importance—the new police. Heretofore the watch cost St. George's 4,000*l.* a year, now it

was 18,000*l.* It might be called, that as it was an aristocratic parish, it could afford to contribute towards watching Whitechapel. If it were wholly aristocratic he should not, perhaps, very particularly complain; but that was not the fact,—it was like other parishes having a mixed population, therefore that advance of tax was serious. He objected that the cost for the new police was under no local control; the local authorities had no power to superintend the expenditure or the conduct of the police, and, indeed, the police were hardly civil to those authorities. He owned he had never looked on that force with any very favourable eye; he had always viewed it as a species of French gendarmerie, and deemed it peculiarly objectionable, inasmuch as it was under the control of the Minister, through the Home-office, without the intervention even of the magistracy. He was prepared to support an amendment that would give the parishes some authority in the employment and payment of this force, because such a force might become a nuisance rather than a benefit to the people. (Cheers.) He had deemed it requisite to touch on those points in some degree in self-defence. When he first presented himself to their notice he endeavoured to avoid passing any comment on the conduct of the other candidates, because he thought it was rather the duty of the electors to say how far the hon. Baronet had done their duty; but the consequence was, that the right hon. Baronet in particular assumed that because no fault was complained of, none could be found; and they asked him how he could have the presumption to come forward when he could not prefer complaints against the hon. members. Further, he was dared to state objections to the right hon. Baronet. Having been challenged in the proof, he preferred his grounds of complaint, and hoped he had done and should continue to do so fairly. He also hoped that the challenge of the right hon. Baronet would be his justification, and in return he challenged the right hon. Baronet to show that his conduct had been correct. He charged against the right hon. Baronet, that after having been some time in office he had failed to fulfil the promises he had made in his constituents. Did not all remember how he had attacked the barracks, calling them internal fortresses to overawe the people, particularly on the occasion of the new barrack in the King's-mews, at Charing-cross? When that barrack was commenced the right hon. Baronet denounced the Government for building another fortress in the heart of Westminster. What had been his conduct since? Had he denominated that internal fortress? No; quite the contrary: he had not only not denounced it, but had allowed another internal fortress (that in the Birdcage-walk) to be commenced under his very nose, and close to his office. (Cheers, and hootings.) Again, he had, on two occasions in particular, denounced most eloquently, and much to his honour, the system of corporal punishment in

the army: he declared this flogging to be a moral as well as a physical evil; a national grievance; as something not to be borne by Britons; maintaining, and as truly as eloquently, that the number of lashes affected not the argument, that whether the punishment was one lash, or 1,000 lashes, the moral degradation was the same. (Immense cheering, and uproar.) He used those very words, or he (Colonel Evans) much mistook. (Cries of, "He did," and uproar.) He (Colonel Evans) had moved that the practice be suspended for one year, by way of experiment, an experiment that, as a military man, he declared to be perfectly practicable, most proper, and very desirable: but the right hon. Baronet, the eloquent denouncer of flogging as a moral, as well as a physical evil, opposed even that motion. (Cheers, uproar, and "Oh! the inconsistent rascal," an exclamation that caused much laughter.) But did he content himself with merely opposing that motion, which was so consistent with humanity and good policy? No, for he was the very man to bring in the law, the Mutiny Act, for perpetuating that punishment. (Tremendous hootings.) He should be delighted if the right hon. Baronet could answer these things. There was another subject on which he had committed himself over and over again—the expenditure for the army, which had been constantly and justly attacked, because it was the largest branch of expenditure. The right hon. Baronet had not only supported every motion for reduction before he was in office, but had expressed opinions beyond the individual now addressing them; he said, if any one would propose to reduce the standing army altogether, he would support the proposition. He (Colonel Evans) certainly was not prepared to go so far; but perhaps he was a knave. (Cheers.) He, however, had moved to reduce the army, but only by the number that had been added to it by the right hon. Baronet's colleagues since their accession to office. That he also opposed, exclaiming "Look at the state of Ireland! Look at the condition of foreign affairs!" (Cheers, laughter, and yellings.) When the right hon. Baronet brought in the Mutiny Act, which he thought settled his political character for ever, and when he opposed all reduction of the army, he took occasion to say "I can't abolish flogging; I can't do these things; I am only Secretary at War." (Laughter and uproar.) If Lord Althorp, when pressed to reduce the assessed taxes, were to say, "I am only Chancellor of the Exchequer, don't trouble me with such requests," what a pretty state they would be in; and what a pretty doctrine this was! He, however, would take the liberty of telling the right hon. Baronet that he who formed a part of the Ministry was responsible for the conduct of that Ministry. (Cheers.) Having been challenged to state wherein the right hon. Baronet had failed in his duty, he had thus answered, and he would add, that he knew of no instance in the political life of any

public man that displayed so many short turns, transgressions, and tergiversations as that of the right hon. Baronet. (Uproarious cheering.) He might turn the matter into something like ridicule if he were to contrast former professions with modern practices—if he were to describe the right hon. Baronet's metaphors; but he would limit himself to the duty of answering the challenge that had been given. (Hear.) He would conclude with stating that he should be happy to answer any questions that might be put to him; and he presumed that the right hon. Baronet would do the same, and answer him. (Cries of "He won't," "He can't.") However, before he concluded he wished to answer one charge that had been repeatedly preferred against him in the public prints—namely, that the sole ground of his opposition was that Sir J. Hobhouse was in office. That was not his sole ground, as he thought he had that day shown; although he considered that the constituency of Westminster had some claim to additional privileges, it having surpassed other constituencies by its enlightened and independent conduct. (Cheers.) He did not make it an absolute maxim that office should not have been accepted; but the question here was, whether Sir John had not joined the Government to the sacrifice of those principles and professions which he formerly held. (Loud cheers.) He maintained that if Sir John joined the Government without giving pledges that he would not compromise those principles, the professions of which secured his return, he placed himself at the mercy of the Minister, and forfeited his claim to the confidence of his constituents. He considered Sir John to be in that predicament; so much so, that he viewed him as the member for Lord Grey rather than for Westminster. (Loud cheers.) However, the right hon. Baronet was an eloquent man, and perhaps might be able to show that all these statements and opinions were falacious, and that in serving Lord Grey he had not withdrawn from obedience to their commands and instructions. (Hear.) Previously to the present day he had attended ten meetings of different portions of the constituency of Westminster, and on all those occasions his sentiments and proffer to become a candidate had been received with almost unanimity. He would add that there were strong grounds for being most sanguine about the result (cheers); he was glad to hear it, because the cause was theirs, not his; the most triumphant result was anticipated. (Continual cheers.) Another reason for participating in his triumph in this contest, besides the manner in which he had been everywhere received, was, because they would resent the insult that had been put upon them. He was sorry that the insult had been put upon them, but having been given, he doubted not that they would do their duty. (Cheers.) He doubted not that the two days of polling, Monday and Tuesday, would show that none opposed him except those who

would be content to wear the livery of the right hon. Baronet, and to have insult and opprobrium cast upon them. (Cheers and uproar.) His object in appealing to them was just. If sent by them to the Commons' House, he should have a larger opportunity of doing good than he could possess if returned for any other place. If he should have the honour of representing them, he should not only sedulously attend to his duties in the house, but to them and the consideration of their wishes. (He then bowed, and the close of the speech was hailed with loud and long-continued plaudits.)

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE (who was stationed near the centre of the hustings and the High Bailiff) then essayed to address the vast and angry multitude, but the attempt was immediately greeted with every species of noise, roarings, yellings, thieves' whistles, and other discordant sounds, that might be harmony when understood, but which most effectually prevented the right hon. Baronet from being heard. He waited patiently enough for some time for the subsiding of this storm, but it increased rather than diminished, and was occasionally varied by the throwing of *handfuls of mud, cabbage leaves, pieces of stick, &c.*, none of which, however, curiously enough, touched Sir John; those in his immediate neighbourhood were the recipients! Finding it useless to wait, he attempted to speak; but though nearly all, if not all, he said is here reported, it is requisite to premise that the few observations were heard only by those who remained close to Sir John, in spite of the numerous, and not always the most *fragrant and slightly muscled* that were hurled towards him. He commenced with exclaiming—Gentlemen,—Is it your pleasure to hear me or not? (More virulent uproar, as it was seen that he was speaking.) If it be not your pleasure to hear me, be so good as to signify it, because, in that case, I certainly shall not detain you, or occupy myself with useless efforts to get you to do that which is just—to hear your old representative reply to those charges that have at last been preferred against him. Shall it be said, is it your will that it shall go forth throughout the civilized world that you heard Colonel Evans's numerous charges against me, and would not—will not—hear my reply? (Louder yells than ever from the crowd.) After having waited a long time, gentlemen, for the accusations which my late gallant friend and ally threatened to make against me, he at last appears with his bill of indictment of very many counts and charges. Many of them are very singular as coming from a reformer, and all are singular as coming from my late gallant friend and ally. The last time I stood on these hustings—some ten months ago—this Colonel Evans moved thanks to me for the manner in which I had conducted myself in the House of Commons as one of the representatives of Westminster. (Continued uproar.) However, it now appears that the gal-

lant Colonel must have entertained at that time very different opinions of me, although he then moved thanks to me, expressed confidence in me, and eulogized my political honesty. (Uproar, but cheers from those near him.) I lament to find that my late gallant friend can bring forward charges against me with so little attention to facts in some cases, and in others where the charges are totally unfounded. For instance, he speaks of me as if I had perpetuated the system of flogging in the army, the act itself, as he well knows and ought to have told you, being passed for one year only. How could Colonel Evans prefer such a charge against me when he knows that, recently as I had joined the Government, I succeeded in getting the punishment reduced one third? (Tremendous uproar, with showers of mud, which for a time induced Sir John to pause.) He resumed. Gentlemen, you will not frighten me,—you will not intimidate me,—of that be assured. I am not to be driven from my purpose by such disgraceful conduct on the part of the friends, not of reform, but of confusion. I have stood something for you before now, and I will stand something for your sakes again. (*Uproar and mud.*) I grieve to behold conduct so discreditable to Westminster. I am on my defence, and you will not hear me. I know not whether you consider this to be the best way of showing what is to be expected from a reformed constituency. I can assure you it does you little credit, and the cause great harm. (*More mud.*) I hope the gallant Colonel now congratulates himself on this result, on the scene now before us. (Roars of yells from the crowd.) Behold the consequence of his opposition? (Tremendous uproar.) I see you are determined to persevere in preventing my defence from being heard; it is, therefore, useless in me to attempt to obtain a hearing; but be your conduct what it may,—and on this occasion it is little creditable to you,—I shall persevere in the performance of my duty towards you and the country. If supported by you, and eventually again returned to Parliament, I will persevere in the performance of my duty towards you, in spite of the discreditable course now pursued towards me. It, however, this should be the last time that I am to appear before you, if I am to be deprived of my late seat for Westminster, I shall bow to the decision, and not feel ungrateful for the confidence you heretofore reposed in me. I will not recollect the present day. (Cheers from the hustings, answered by increased uproariness outside the barriers.) Whether I find myself in or out of Parliament I will endeavour to convince you of my mistake. My appeal is, will you reject an old friend for a new ally,—a friend who has struggled with you long, always honestly and zealously, and sometimes successfully? Are past services nothing against promises for the future? Will you turn round upon an old friend of reform in the hour of reform's triumph, and thus give to the country a spectacle—not of

ingratitude, I will not say that, because it becomes not me to boast of any little good that I may have rendered to you and to the cause,—but a spectacle of caprice, of waywardness, of reckless love of change, if I be not now supported by you? This spectacle, after all, I think you will not present to the country for the sake of the character of Westminster; I hope not. If, however, I should be rejected, and Colonel Evans returned, and if he, as your representative, shall do his duty by you, I will stand by him (Cheers from the hustings, and from those near the barriers answered as usual by uproar beyond them.) And if it be his lot to toil for you for fourteen years as I have done, he may rely upon this, I will not then be the man to trip up his heels. (Cheers from the hustings, answered as usual.) Such being the scene before me, seeing how hopeless it is to persevere to be heard, I think I shall best consult the wishes of all by abstaining from further attempts to be heard, and appealing to the result of the poll, on Monday and Tuesday next (cheers and uproar), to prove, whether Westminster will show the spirit, the good sense, and above all the consistency, for which it has been so long and so justly distinguished. (Cheers, and mud.)

THE HIGH BAILIFF, as soon as some silence could be restored, announced that as a poll had been demanded on the part of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, it only remained for him to adjourn till Monday. The polling would commence at 9, and conclude at 4; and on Tuesday morning, it would begin at 8, and finally close at 4 o'clock.

Thanks having been voted to the High Bailiff, the meeting separated soon after 3 o'clock.

Colonel EVANS proceeded to Morley's Hotel, Charing-cross, attended by considerable crowds, and he there, from the steps of the hotel, again addressed the electors.

SHOW OF HANDS.—The High Bailiff excited some surprise by announcing that the choice of the electors had fallen on Sir Francis Burdett and Colonel Evans, because it was the impression with many that more hands were held up for Sir J. C. Hobhouse than for Sir Francis Burdett. The truth was, comparatively few hands were held up for either party.

The carriage-way all round the hustings had been well cleansed, and every missile removed, so that anything which might have been thrown at Hobhouse and Burdett must have been brought to the meeting for that purpose.

The numbers at the close of the 1st day's poll were—

Burdett.....	1950
Hobhouse	1914
Evans.....	728

On Wednesday, a little before two o'clock, the High Bailiff (Mr. Morris), Sir F. Burdett, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, and their friends, appeared upon the hustings to announce the result of the poll. A board was exhibited before

the High Bailiff on which the numbers were stated to be—

Burdett	3248
Hobhouse.....	3214
Evans.....	1096

Mr. MORRIS having announced the numbers, stated that Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse were duly elected to represent Westminster.

Sir F. BURDETT then came forward and said that he was now the representative of the electors of Westminster at large (cheers), and in the performance of his duties he hoped all would hereafter be able to acknowledge that he had not borne in memory anything unpleasant which might have taken place in the course of this election. It was with pride and exultation he was able to say, that the electors of this great city had, if anything, raised themselves in public estimation by their recent conduct. (Cries of No, no, and Yes, yes.) He could still say to the rest of the kingdom, as he had said on former occasions, if you want intelligence and independence, if you want an example of good conduct, if you require a model of public spirit, I can still point to Westminster, and bid the whole constituency of the empire imitate her example. (Cheers.) He was now placed in a situation more arduous and difficult than any in which they had before placed him on former occasions. Heretofore he had only to fight an honest and straight-forward battle with a set of corrupt boroughmongers in Parliament. (Cheers.) But the system under which those enemies of their country existed, was now exploded for ever. He was now loaded with the additional duty of supporting those great public interests in which they were so materially interested, and he trusted that upon all great questions he should not be found any more than heretofore to have looked to any private considerations, but to have acted solely with a view to public advantage. (Hear, hear.) They had placed him in a situation of proud pre-eminence, which no man of honourable feeling, or even of ambition, could wish to change for any of which it was in the power of any man or any body of men to bestow. They had come triumphantly out of what at first appeared likely to be a trying occasion; but he again expressed a hope that all animosity between fellow-citizens, looking forward with equal ardour to the benefits to be derived from the Reform Bill, would be buried in oblivion, and that the united authority of the electors of this great city would, as heretofore, give weight to those measures which are likely to come under the consideration of Parliament. With those views and those feelings, he took leave of them. He begged to express his deep gratification. He was proud of their conduct; he was proud of the support of such a body of constituents; and he trusted and believed they would always find him, as heretofore, their ardent and most devoted servant.

Sir JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE then came forward,

*but it was impossible a word could be heard which the hon. Baronet uttered beyond the second or third row. It was with much pride and satisfaction, he said, he presented himself to the electors on this great and important occasion. If on any former occasion there had been any doubt of what the opinion of the great body of the electors of Westminster was, the result of this contest had settled it. (Cheers.) He trusted that they would allow him to add his recommendation to that of his honourable colleague, to bury all animosities in oblivion, in order that the friends of reform in Westminster might continue to co-operate for the public good. As the opposition had been directed more particularly against himself (Loud cries of "Very justly," and "Off, off"), when he stated that he felt nothing of ill feeling against any elector who had conscientiously preferred another to himself, of course none of themselves could indulge in such feelings toward fellow-electors. He trusted that his conduct would justify the confidence his constituents had ever been pleased to place in him. At any rate he would endeavour to show those who had preferred another to himself, that though they had not the honour of their choice, they would not have much to regret in having him (Sir J. C. Hobhouse) to be their representative. It was never the good fortune of any man to meet with unanimous approbation of his public conduct, and he trusted that when his motives and intentions were fairly weighed, that though gentlemen who were discontented with him—God knew on what account, for he himself was unable to divine any reason—he trusted they would acknowledge their mistake. It would ill become him to indulge in any of those promises which had been the fashion for some candidates for popular favour to give, but this he would say, that if he had shown in his former conduct that he had any respect either for himself or for them, he would continue to exhibit the same disinterested behaviour. He did not think it necessary to detain them any longer. It was to him a source of triumph to stand there as he did. He did not mean by the return of himself, for of course it did not become him to talk about his own services; but it was a proud triumph to him that the electors of Westminster had come forward in a manner not to be mistaken to prove that they were still animated by the same principles by which they had long been distinguished. They had successfully supported their ancient character, and set a great public example to the constituency of every part of the country. When he appeared next on those hustings, it would be to surrender into their hands the trust which they had reposed in him, and he trusted he should deliver it up to them pure and unsullied, and that nothing would occur which would make him blush for his conduct, or them for the confidence which they had reposed in him.

Mr. SIMPSON then stood forward on the part of Colonel Evans, and was received with

great applause. He had that morning received a letter from Colonel Evans (cheers), which had been written before the termination of the poll could possibly have been communicated to him, in which he expressed his sorrow that he should not be enabled to meet the electors of Westminster on the present occasion to return them his thanks for the handsome manner in which they had been pleased to come forward in support of him, a new candidate—for they must recollect, the electors of Westminster had come forward in the most handsome manner. Was it nothing for eleven hundred gentlemen to come forward spontaneously for a new candidate? Was it nothing for a new candidate to have eleven hundred plumpers? (Cheers.) The committees were badly organised. In fact, how could they be otherwise, for the gentlemen on those committees were unknown to each other. Now, however, they were well known; and on the next occasion a strong and good committee would be formed, such as would be sure to lead to a triumphant issue. (Applause.)

The HIGH BAILIFF then declared the court dissolved.

Mr. DE VEAR moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Morris, which was carried by acclamation; and the crowd dispersed, after giving three hearty cheers for Colonel Evans.

NEW BOROUGH OF MARYBORNE.

The nomination of the candidates for this borough took place on Saturday, in the Crescent, at the top of Portland-place.

Mr. MILLS proposed, and Mr. POTTER seconded the nomination of Sir S. Whalley.

Mr. ELMORE and Major REVELL supported Mr. Murphy.

Mr. SCREFF proposed Colonel Jones.

As soon as his name was announced some persons were seen advancing from the outskirts of the crowd with a large piece of cotton suspended between two poles, and having represented on it the figure of a half-naked soldier, fastened up to the halberds, while another was flogging him, and over both were the words—"Military Torture." The sight of this occasioned a good deal of noise and disturbance, and it was finally torn down, after having given alarm to the riders and drivers of several horses that were standing at the edge of the crowd.

Mr. SHAW supported the nomination.

Major CARMAC proposed Sir Wm. Horne.

Dr. SOUTHBY seconded the nomination.

Sir S. HAWKER and Mr. CURRIE proposed Mr. Portman.

Sir S. WHALLEY came forward to address the assembly, and was most vociferously cheered. He congratulated the electors on being now for the first time assembled to exercise their elective franchise. Since he began his canvass, he had waited upon every elector, and had explained himself most fully. They all knew what his principles were, and understood them; and, as they did

so, he did not feel himself justified in taking from the candidates who were to follow him the opportunity of being fully heard; and he should therefore retire, only reminding them that their cause was now in their own hands, and he trusted they would show that they had the power, as well as the right, to maintain it, by the unbias'd freedom of their votes. (Loud and continued cheers.)

MR. MURPHY, on presenting himself to the meeting, was as warmly received as his predecessor had been. He said, that he was one of those who thought that every man who contributed to the support of the state, or might be called on for its defence, should have a vote in the choice of representatives. (Cheers.) Something had been said upon the subject of pledges, and some of the candidates had refused to give them. What was the cause of their refusal? Did not every man who entered the House of Commons go into it a pledged man? (Hear.) Had there not been pledges to borough-proprietors, and why should there not be pledges to the people? (Hear.) For himself, he had obeyed the expressed opinion of two public meetings held in the borough, and had signed the pledges to which those meetings had agreed. (Cheers.) Why, he asked, had not the Reform Bill done all that those who proposed it and intended it should do? Why were so many persons not entitled to vote? He urged them, when Sir Wm. Horne should present himself to them notice, to ask him why it was that two-thirds of the men to whom Lord John Russell had promised votes were now disabled from giving them? (Hear.) He (Mr. Murphy) had been one of a deputation that had waited upon Sir John Cam Hobhouse on this subject; and when they did so, Sir John said it would not be necessary for the householders to pay their rates on the 20th July before they had a right to vote. When he afterwards applied to Sir John upon the same subject, after it had been discovered that the non-payment of the rates would exclude from voting, Sir John said that he had never seen the clause, but that before he gave his answer he would consult the law officers of the Crown upon the subject. If that was so, then he (Mr. Murphy) accused the Attorney-General of being either wilfully remiss in his duty, or incapable of performing it. (Hear.) Sir W. Horne was now the Attorney-General. Let them ask him whether he would promise not to prosecute the press. (Hear, hear.) The people were called ignorant; would he join in the endeavour that had so long been used to keep them ignorant (hear), or would he allow them the free benefit of the press to remove their ignorance? (Hear.) What had the people of this borough ever seen of Sir W. Horne till the present moment? (Hear.) He had never come forward to assist them in putting down their parish faction. (Hear.) When the Vestry Act was under consideration what had he done; had he assisted in

diminishing the amount of the 40*l.* qualification for the vestry? When he (Mr. Murphy) saw the Lord Chancellor upon the subject, he promised that if the bill then in the House was allowed to pass without opposition, the Government would in the following session pass an act to reduce the qualification. When the next session came, and the subject again came under discussion, it appeared that Lord Melbourne had given a promise of an opposite kind, and had told the aristocratical party that if the first bill, with the 40*l.* qualification was allowed to pass, the Government would oppose the introduction of any amended bill. It became a question which of the two promises should be adhered to, when eight members of the Government supported the promise of Lord Melbourne. (Hear, hear.) Sir William Horne was then a member of that Government, which was within seven days afterwards joined by Sir John. (Hear, hear.) What were the sort of men wanted by the people? Not the men of great landed property, who could not feel the wants of the people; not the lawyer, whose whole attention was engrossed by business that would prevent him from attending to them; not the military man—for who that had passed his life in riding over the blood of human beings, and in fighting the battles of despotism abroad, could feel properly for the liberty of his country; but the man who, like himself, had been born among the people, bred among them, and who had all his feelings in common with them. The Reform Bill was excellent in some respects, but it was deficient in others. It was said to be based upon the principle of property; but what was the principle of property? Had they ever heard the tale of Dr. Franklin, who put this case upon the question of property?—He said, “You want to make the possession of forty dollars the qualification for voting; now suppose a man and his donkey set out together in the morning, that together they are worth fifty or sixty dollars, but that, before the day end, the donkey should die, I should like to know whether the qualification was in the man or in the ass.” (Loud laughter.) He did not come forward of his own accord, but was put in nomination by others—he should not pay one farthing of the expenses; but if they would elect him he would do his duty.

Colonel JONES then came forward, and was received very unfavourably. He had always desired to improve the condition of the people—to give them all their rights—to lessen their burdens—to afford them the means of comfort—and if he was returned for this borough to Parliament, he should pursue these as the objects which he desired the station of a representative solely to attain.—(Hear, hear.)

SIR WILLIAM HORNE was very unfavourably received by the crowd. As soon as silence could be obtained, he said that in his charac-

ter of a candidate he claimed the right of addressing a few words to them. The electors had had so many opportunities, during the last six months, of becoming acquainted with the candidates, that the time spent in their canvass would have been ill employed indeed if the electors did not know them all. There was nothing that he, at this last hour of the canvass, could say to them, that ought to change their opinion of him, and he knew it would not do so. He had been particularly alluded to by one of the candidates who had spoken of him, and who seemed to think that he had long been in Parliament and had only supported the reform lately. The fact was, that he went into Parliament to support, as far as he could, the great measure of reform, and to that measure he had given his best support. He had never been absent from one division that had taken place on it; and when it was discovered that, in consequence of the wording of one of the clauses, those who had not paid their rates before the 20th July could not vote, Lord Althorp introduced a bill to change the new law in this respect, and to give them the right of voting without paying their rates. That bill he (Sir W. Horne) had had the honour of seconding; and it was not persevered in only because the other party threatened them with the introduction of other bills that would prevent the people from getting the benefit in any way of the great measure itself. (Hear.) It was to avoid such a consequence that that bill had been abandoned. The Reform Bill had given them a most important franchise. The value of it they must know, and he hoped they would so exercise it as to give the greatest effect to that important measure, which he had had a humble share in securing to them. (Hear, hear.) The benefits of the bill could only be truly secured by purity in the constituency as well as in the members.

Mr. PORTMAN was but indifferently received. He told the meeting that he came forward to claim their suffrages on the ground of his past conduct, which he offered as the best pledge of his future actions. He desired reform in the expenditure. He earnestly wished to see the burdens of the people lightened, and their comforts increased. He had lent all the support in his power to the Ministry in passing the Reform Bill, and under it he trusted that every man would exercise freely the franchise he possessed. (Hear, hear.) He should not himself use any influence whatever over the votes of any man—(cheers); and he hoped that as they would exercise their rights freely, so they would exercise them wisely and upon deliberation, and that what they did might be for the public advantage. (Hear, hear.)

Sir P. LAURIE then put the names of the candidates to the meeting, and declared that the show of hands was in favour of Mr. Murphy and Sir S. Whalley. (Loud cheering.) The other candidates demanded a poll, which

was fixed for nine o'clock this morning, and eight o'clock on Tuesday morning. On Monday the poll closed at four o'clock, when the numbers were found to stand thus:—

Portman	2,577
Horne	1,989
Whalley	1,081
Murphy	575
Jones	199

Before 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, a large body of persons, perhaps amounting to between 3 and 4,000, assembled in front of the chief polling place of this borough, in order to hear the official announcement of the return of the several candidates. As each of them passed in, he was greeted with cheers or hisses, according to the degree of favour in which he stood among the assembled multitude. Sir S. Whalley was loudly cheered, and so was Mr. Murphy; Mr. Portman, Sir W. Horne, and Col. Jones, did not receive quite so cordial a greeting.

The numbers officially announced were as follows:—

Portman	4317
Horne	3320
Whalley	2165
Murphy	913
Jones	316

Sir PETER LAURIE then announced that according to the custom observed at all elections, the two successful candidates must first address the people, and then the other candidates according to the numbers who had voted for them.

Mr. PORTMAN then presented himself, and was received with mingled cheers and hisses. He thanked the electors of the borough of Marybone for the high honour that they had just conferred on him, and he thanked them also for the good temper they had manifested throughout the election. In the few words he should now address to them, he should speak in the character of one of their representatives, bound by his situation to watch over their interests, and to do all in his power to promote the welfare of his constituency. (Cheers.) He could promise them most sincerely that he should do his utmost to serve them, and he would serve them honourably and faithfully, and all he asked of them was to give him their assistance that he might serve them efficiently. (Cheers.) If they found him swerve from his promise—if he deserted his duty, or flinched from performing what he had undertaken, they could get rid of him at the next election.

Sir W. HORNE came forward amidst much cheering and hissing. He said it was not his intention to trespass long upon their attention, but the little that he had to offer them, would he trusted be found not unacceptable to any of those to whom he was addressing himself. The duty of a member of Parliament was one of the highest and most sacred trusts that

could be confided to any man for the benefit of the people. (Cheers.) He was now a representative of their borough, and the use he meant to make of that honourable distinction was—to represent them all. (Loud cheering.) Though he had only been chosen by a portion of them, yet being chosen, he would represent them all. (Cheers.) As their representative, they would find that he should make no distinction between those who had stood forward in his favour (although he should ever retain a most grateful sense of their kindness) and those who had been opposed to him. (Cheers.) Or if it were possible for him to make any distinction among his constituents, with regard to his efforts to serve them, it should be in favour of those who, from their situation in life, most required the protection of an honest representative. (Loud and continued cheering from all parts.) When he looked at those whom he was now addressing, of course he must see many honest and respectable men, on whom he was aware the load of taxation must press most heavily. (Hear.) He solemnly assured them, that he should feel it to be his first duty as far as he could, to concur with others in parliament to apply a practical remedy to that which they all felt to be a practical grievance. (Cheers.)

SIR SAMUEL WHALLEY was greeted with a burst of cheering as soon as he made his appearance in front of the hustings. He came there, he said, not in the character of their representative, for he had not succeeded in the election; but though he had failed in that respect, he thought that they had gained what was much more valuable—a lead of untarnished glory that would last as long as the borough itself continued. (Cheers.) Sir S. W. paid some high compliments to those who had acted as his committee, which he said they had done in the most disinterested and high-spirited manner; and after again thanking the electors who had supported him, and telling them that on another occasion the result might be quite different, he retired amidst loud and continued cheering.

MR. MURPHY was likewise loudly cheered on coming forward. He thanked the electors for the support he had received, support which he said was free and unsolicited, and which had not been obtained through the use of corrupt influence. His only strength lay in the good opinion of the electors themselves. The cause of the people had been defeated by the bill. He was one of those who never had been satisfied with the bill, and now he was sure that the people would never be contented till a more efficient reform was granted—till those clauses which took away the franchise of two-thirds of the inhabitants of this borough had been repealed. He had been beaten by the registered voters; but if all the householders of the borough had had a right to vote, as they would have had but for these clauses, he should have been elected

by a triumphant majority. Even as it was, the registered voters would have brought him in, if they could have given their votes free from corrupt influence. But this would not go on long. The people would be dissatisfied with the Parliament that would now be returned, and would demand a more efficient reform. And they must have it. They had been told that the Whigs had given the people this reform. That was not true. The people took it. (Cheers.) He had always been in favour of the ballot, and the ballot they must have. He repeated that the people would be dissatisfied with the Parliament that was now elected. This Parliament would not meet the wishes of the people. It would not act as it ought to do with regard to Ireland. What had the Whigs done with respect to that country? They had sent over soldiers to put down the people. He would tell them, that if the evils of Ireland were not redressed, the people of Ireland would raise the standard of liberty themselves. What had the Whigs done with respect to England? Why the first act of a Whig Government was to increase the standing army, in a time of profound peace. Their next was to introduce clauses into the Reform Bill, that took away the franchise from two-thirds of those who ought to possess it. He asserted that he was the people's candidate—that he was their member (a laugh upon the hustings)—yes; their member. Those whom he saw before him were electors of the borough. (A laugh.) He repeated it—all the elections took place on the same day; the borough of Marybone was large and populous; it was not to be supposed that the people of that borough would leave their own election to attend that of another place, and therefore he had a right to assume that the people who stood before him were the electors of the borough of Marybone. He (Mr. Murphy) had been elected by them on Saturday evening by an overwhelming majority, and he asserted that he was their representative. Why was it then that he was not returned? By a trick of these Whigs, who had inserted clauses in the Reform Bill, that took away the right of voting where they professed to give it. It was impossible that the people could be satisfied with such a bill, or with such a party. Then, in this election, corruption had been used to defeat him, and to ensure the triumph of the ministerial candidates. Even the press had exerted itself against him. Not until very lately had either the *Times* or the *Morning Chronicle* deigned to notice the fact that he was a candidate for the honour of representing this borough in Parliament. As far as we could understand Mr. Murphy, he said that the *Times* had not accepted his election advertisement, and that the *Morning Chronicle* had done so, but with reluctance. Had the Government proposed to take the stamp-duty off the papers? No; and he would tell them besides, that

the greatest enemies to the reduction of the stamp-duty were the rich proprietors of these papers. In that manner was knowledge kept from the poorer classes. Then, again, there was partiality in the administration of the Stamp Laws. The poor person who sold *The Poor Man's Guardian* was proceeded against, whilst *The Penny Magazine* was sold by thousands without being noticed by the officers of the revenue. Mr. M. here repeated the case given in the police reports some time since, about the little boy being taken up for selling *The Poor Man's Guardian*. He then went on with a repetition of his former remarks about the press—about the corrupt influence employed against him; and after thanking the people for the support they had given him, intimated that on another occasion the opinion of the electors would be found in his favour. On the present occasion he had no doubt that he should have held a higher situation on the poll, but that there had been traitors in the camp. (Shame.) About five months ago two gentlemen called on him to ask him to stand forward as a candidate to represent the borough. He declined doing so, and asked them if they did not intend to support Sir S. Whalley? They said they had not promised to do so; they went away, and one of those gentlemen he had never seen since. That one was Mr. Potter—the other was Mr. Savage, to whom we understood Mr. Murphy to express his obligations. He concluded by thanking the electors for the patience with which they had heard him, and he retired from the front of the hustings amidst the loudest demonstrations of applause.

Colonel JONES began by saying that he came there to perform a duty; namely, to thank in public the 316 electors who had recorded their votes in his favour—not to give vent to the expressions of his vanity, like one of the defeated candidates, not to indulge in personal attacks, like the other. (Loud cries of "Bravo" from the persons on the hustings.) He was defeated, it was true, but he was not disappointed. (A laugh.) He had given his vote to Mr. Portman and Sir William Horne. (Groans and hisses, mixed with some cheers.) He had never attempted, and he never would attempt, to conceal any act of his life, and he had therefore told them of this vote. He was not ashamed of it. He considered Mr. Portman and Sir William Horne to be fit representatives for that borough, from their station in life—from their high character—and from their attachment to the cause of reform. He congratulated them on the honour that had been conferred on them, and he congratulated the Ministers on the victory they had achieved in these elections—a victory which would leave them at liberty to pursue those measures which they deemed of advantage to the country.

Mr. PORTER came forward shortly to ex-

plain the matter to which Mr. Murphy had alluded.

Thanks were given to Sir Peter Laurie, and the meeting broke up.

NEW BOROUGH OF FINSBURY.

The election for the borough of Finsbury commenced on Saturday, on Islington-green.

Mr. BISCHOFF nominated Mr. Babbage.

Mr. MARTIN seconded the nomination.

Mr. T. WILSON and Mr. CHALLICE nominated Mr. Temple.

Mr. WHITBREAD and Mr. RUSSELL proposed the Right Hon. R. Grant.

Mr. NICHOLSON and Mr. BALL proposed Mr. Sergeant Spankie.

Mr. ROGERS and Mr. H. SMITH supported Thomas Wakley, Esq., of Greenford Hall, Middlesex.

Mr. BABBAGE said, that the chief recommendation which he possessed—one of which the other candidates could not boast—was, that he was intimately acquainted and identified with the manufactures of the country. He had examined into the manufactures and workshops not only of foreign countries, but his own country, and his researches would ever afford him happiness. (But you're only an amateur.) With regard to his political opinions, he was favourable to a great diminution of the expenditure of the state, and an extended inquiry into unmerited pensions. He was of opinion that there should be a great reduction of taxation, and more especially the taxes on knowledge. Mr. Babbage said he was a church reformer, and that he would give proper remuneration to those who did the duties of the church; at the same time abolishing sinecures. With regard to slavery, he would emancipate the slaves as soon as such a measure could be carried into effect with safety. (Hear, hear, the old story.) As to the Corn Laws, connected as they were with manufactures, he would say that he was favourable to their revision. The hon. Gent. said that he was favourable to triennial Parliaments and the vote by ballot. I have seen (he said) the growing corruption of the times, and I am of opinion that undue influence can only be got rid of by the ballot. He concluded by stating, that he should exert himself to promote education among the people. "Give me," said Mr. Babbage, "but knowledge for them, and I fear nothing." (Applause.)

Mr. TEMPLE said he offered himself to the electors as a brother inhabitant and a brother elector, and he came forward on plain and simple principles. Mr. Babbage had stated that he had only come forward, as he was the only candidate connected with the manufactures of the country. This he begged to deny. As well might he and Mr. Sergeant Spankie say they were identified with the trading interests of the country, because they might have been concerned in a commercial

cause. (Laughter.) As well might Mr. Wakley make the same boast because he had cut off a merchant's leg. (Laughter.) Mr. Temple professed himself a friend to a reduction of taxation, the revision of the Corn Laws, the abolition of monopolies, the repeal of the house and window taxes, which were unjust in their principles, the abolition of the taxes on knowledge, the vote by ballot, and the shortening the duration of Parliaments. On these questions his opinions were fixed. With regard to West India slavery, he had a decided opinion that the slaves should be emancipated, and that an Act of Parliament should be passed to abolish slavery at a given time. Too long had they been cheated with promises that the slaves should be set free at a given time. (A voice, What do you call the Islington poor what draws the truck?) He would in answer to that voice say, that he would liken the government of a state to a parish, and would do his utmost to provide that the rich man should not be treated with more favour than the poor man. Mr. Temple sat down amidst great applause.

Mr. ROBERT GRANT was received with mingled applause and hisses. "Hear me," said the honourable Gentleman, "and then I'll have great pleasure to hear you." The uproar still continuing, the honourable Gentleman said with some warmth, "Strike me afterwards, but hear me first." (Cries of bravo.) Mr. Grant was then allowed to proceed, and he referred to a hand-bill which had been extensively circulated, charging him and 14 persons, who were stated to be his relatives, with being pensioned on the country. He had no pension, and his family were not on the pension list. With regard to his being a member of the present Government, he had never boasted that the Government had alone carried the Reform Bill. He was aware that they had been only an instrument in the hands of the people, and that without their assistance they never could have carried the Reform Bill. (That's right.) Mr. Grant referred to his profession of reform principles in his youth, and to his having refused to join any administration until Earl Grey came into office, with an understanding to carry an efficient plan of reform. He concluded by referring to the part which he had taken in giving the franchise to the metropolitan districts, and stating that if he called on for his pledge, he should point for it to that fact.

Mr. SERGEANT SPANKIE was received with mingled applause and hissing, the latter predominating. He said that he had been from his youth a friend to civil and religious liberty, and attached to those who had supported those principles. As to pledges, I am a brother elector, and I have a right to my own opinion as well as any of you, and I will not consent to pledge myself, to fetter that understanding which God has given me, and to make it subservient to the opinions of

others. (A voice, "Why, my learned friend, you will fetter your understanding for any one for a fee." (Much laughter). With regard to the assessed taxes, which I see posted on the bills of one of the candidates, who has pledged himself to carry a number of measures into effect, I am opposed to them, and I am sorry that the legislature should have ever passed them, as it has been implied that the gentry are so mean as to save themselves at the expense of those who are less able to bear the burden. With regard to triennial Parliaments, it should be recollected that they commenced with the revolution, and that during their existence, never was there such corruption, such tergiversation, and such vacillation. The Septennial Act had nothing to do with the corruption of Parliaments. The corruption was connected with those rotten boroughs, the destruction of which they owed to Ministers. It should also be recollected that the Septennial Act was introduced by Jacobites, and at a time when every thing and every one was Jacobite. He would now say, before we recur to triennial Parliaments, let us see how the bill works. (Cries of "What do you say to the Bishops in the House of Lords?") I am sorry that the bishops should have been ever allowed to enter the House of Lords, and I disapprove of their being there. (Bravo! now, what do you say to the new police.) "Gentlemen," said the learned Sergeant, with a smile, "it has never been my lot to come in contact with them; I go quietly home to my chambers. (Play what do you think of them?) I cannot say any thing about them. Mr. Sergeant Spankie concluded by saying, that he should, if returned, support the present Administration. Their principles are well known and approved of. He was intimate with many of them, and indeed he had gone to College with one of the principal members. (Applause.)

Mr. WAKLEY, on coming forward, was cheered for a considerable time. Whatever the bill had done, it ought to have given five members for Finsbury, because all who preceded him had expressed themselves as full of confidence, that they would prove efficient representatives, though not one of them had come forward upon direct pledges. (Cheers.) He (Mr. W.) had pledged himself, and he had done so for two reasons: first, as a proof of his sincerity; and next, that the electors might not be deceived if they returned him to Parliament. Mr. Wakley spoke against the system of tithes and the inequality of the laws. A rich man could send his carts of manure through a toll-gate without paying toll, but the poor man's load of mud for his cottage would not be exempt; and a tradesman going out on a Sunday, to enjoy himself in his gig, must pay double toll. Such a system must be removed or remodelled. With regard to slavery, he would proclaim them free as soon as possible, and he would send

them the news in the swiftest steamer he could procure. (Loud cries of No, no, no! and some applause.) He then spoke against the taxes on knowledge—against the injustice of the present Reform Bill towards the agricultural labourer, to whom it gave no vote—against the tax on windows and the assessed taxes. He disliked police in the uniform of soldiers; he objected to so large a standing army as was always kept up, and declared that the only mode of getting that altered, was to take away from Government the means of supporting it. (Cheers.) Let the Government adopt measures calculated to make persons happy in their own homes, and there would be no necessity for regiment upon regiment to keep them in order. Some people were averse to taking off the burdens which oppressed them at once. They said, go on gently. How would it seem if a man who had a hot poker on his back were to say to him on entering the room—“Don’t take this poker off at once, Wakley; don’t be too quick; take it off by degrees that I may feel the pain.” (Laughter.) He concluded by saying, that should they be pleased to return him to Parliament, they might rest assured that he would serve them with fidelity, and never deceive his constituents as to any one pledge he had ever given.

A tolerable number of hands appeared for Mr. Babbage, a greater number for Mr. Temple, about the same number for Mr. Grant, a very few for Mr. Sergeant Spankie, and an immense number for Mr. Wakley.

The three remaining candidates then demanded a poll, which the returning-officer acceded to.

First day’s poll, Monday.

Mr. Grant	2,132
Mr. Sergeant Spaukie ..	1,553
Mr. Babbage	1,168
Mr. Wakley	1,147
Mr. Temple.....	566

At ten o’clock on Wednesday morning, that being the hour publicly stated for declaring the successful candidates, a number of respectable electors attended at the hustings, and a large crowd assembled on the outside. The numbers were not, however, declared till one o’clock, when Mr. Satchell came forward and declared the numbers, which were as follows:—

Mr. Grant	4,278
Mr. Sergeant Spankie ..	2,848
Mr. Babbage	2,311
Mr. Wakley	2,151
Mr. Temple	787

Mr. SATCHELL stated, amidst cheers and some groaning from the crowd, that the election had fallen on the right honourable Robert Grant and Mr. Sergeant Spankie.

Mr. GRANT then came forward, and was received with loud cheers. He said that he really wanted words to express the feelings which existed in his bosom. To have been

placed in any way by the electors on the list of their choice he would have esteemed it the greatest possible distinction; but to have been so distinguished, to have obtained so triumphant a majority, placed it out of his power to express a due sense of gratitude. The country would thank the electors of Finsbury, who had exhibited the successful operation of the Reform Bill, and completely falsified the predictions of their enemies, by whom it had been said that the machinery of the Reform Bill would be ignited by its own movements.

Mr. Sergeant SPANKIE said that the number of votes which had been given to Mr. Grant fully showed the confidence which the electors had in the Government, and he congratulated them and the country on that circumstance. He was content in occupying the second place, and he felt that he occupied it as one who was attached to the present Government. He would, however, say, that although he now intended to support the Ministers, he should only continue to do so while they deserved the confidence of the country. (Cheering.) In the station in which he had been placed, he would make it his constant endeavour to procure all those advantages which it was intended the Reform Bill should produce. When they dissolved Parliament, under the exploded system, the old representatives were sure to be returned again. The case would not be so now. The representatives would be in the hands of the people, and confidence would be entrusted to them according as they exercised the power placed in their hands for a time. The learned Sergeant, who spoke with much animation at the close of his address, withdrew amidst general cheering.

Mr. BABBAGE trusted that the electors might have more perfect freedom of election the next time they were called on to exercise the franchise.

Mr. WAKLEY on coming forward was received with great applause. He was not the highest on the poll certainly, but then the number of voters who had come to his support was a satisfactory proof that the cause of reform was triumphant. 2,151 electors had come forward spontaneously to vote for him—a pledged man of the people. Mr. Wakley then proceeded to state, that he had nothing to complain of in the conduct of any of the candidates or their committees. He had, in fact, never seen an election which had been conducted on more honourable principles. Although there had been reports circulated which were injurious to his character, yet in no instance had he—although he had taken great pains to discover the sources from which they sprung—been able to trace them to the candidates or the gentlemen on their committees. This he was bound to state. He now would allude to some of the circumstances connected with his having become a candidate. He had been requested to stand

for Wolverhampton, for Westminster, and for other places, but he declined; and it was not till he received a requisition from 600 electors of Finsbury, that he came forward. All that had been done for him had been done spontaneously; and up to the last week not 20*l*. had been expended on his election. Mr. Wakley then alluded to the immense majority in favour of Ministers which would be returned to the House of Commons; and stated his opinion that the Government would now ride rough-shod and with impunity, over the country. (Loud cries of "No, no!") He would put a case with reference to the present election, which would show the people what dependence they might place on those half-and-half reformers who were returned. — Suppose there were 100 rats in a cellar, who had got a nice Cheshire cheese before them, off which they were greedily feasting. It would be very natural that other rats should like some of the savoury fare; but it might so happen that the door was closed. A door-keeper would, however, be required; and then a very clever, shrewd, cunning rat might go up to the fortunate rats and say, "Then, you want some one to keep the door; and if you put me there, I'll take care that none of the hungry rats shall get into the cheese." Now the fortunate rats would no doubt at once close with this offer; and the cunning rat need not trouble himself any more about getting the place of door-keeper—one to which, no doubt, divers fees would be attached. Now, then, to apply the case to themselves. The East India Company were the fortunate rats, and the electors must all know that the Company fed upon the tea themselves, and kept the door closed against every one who was not well taxed, if he insisted on entering and having some of the tea. Mr. Wakley said he completely exonerated Mr. Sergeant Spankie from having exercised any undue influence, but he could not exonerate the East India Company. They had coalesced with the Old Lady of Threadneedle-street, and their understood compact was—You support my interests and my monopoly in one district, and I'll support yours in another. The electors would find out too late that they had been indiscreet in being so sanguine as to elect questionable reformers. He had looked with great care into Mr. Sergeant Spankie's address, and although he had found it an admirable specimen of special pleading, he had not discovered that it contained any one thing that was explicit—any one thing that could give them an idea of what would be his course of conduct in Parliament, or give to the electors any hopes that he would endeavour to procure for them beneficial measures. They might have, however, some inkling of his intentions from what he had said when a question was put to him—"Will you tell us what you think about the corn monopoly?" and the learned Sergeant re-

plied—"I'll tell you the next time I see you." No doubt he would tell them when he got into the House. When the electors came to have experienced this—when they found the Septennial Act continued in full force—when they found the Parliament, as he believed it would, lasting for seven years—they would then say to each other, "Lord, what fools we were in not voting for Wakley! How could we have expected that such a nice-looking man as Sergeant Spankie would have voted for the corn monopoly, &c.?" The House of Commons was to be filled with barristers. They would increase the abuses already existing. (It's not the case!) Why the electors of Finsbury had returned two barristers. (No) But he said yes; Sergeant Spankie was unquestionably a barrister, and Mr. Grant was one—his very office was that of a barrister. He was Judge Advocate—the man who held the returns of the flogging, and who accordingly was nicknamed the keeper of the cat-bag. (Laughter.) There was a saying, that when the devil wanted to fish, he baited his hook with barristers. (Oh, oh.) In future, then, he would find the House of Commons always at hand, and stocked with such baits. Was it possible that men who called themselves reformers, and who openly avowed that the Tories had ruled the country with a rod of iron—had inundated it with oppressive laws—and destroyed its energy—could now come forward and say to the electors—"We are ready to go into Parliament? We must go there to rid you of your burdens—but—but—we won't pledge ourselves to repeal those laws which the Tories have passed." What was it to the electors, whether a horse or an ass were in the mill, if they both went in one circle. But some, it would appear, were afraid to grant the people their rights. Sergeant Spankie had said tumult and disorder had been expected from them. Indeed! Why he (Mr. Wakley) would undertake to guide an assembly of 50,000 people, and he would be answerable to any extent for their preservation of good order. How could aristocrats know this? How could legislators know what was for their good, when they passed hasty laws for them in the dark, and persecuted them with those laws in the light? If the people complained of heavy taxation, what were they called? Impudent or impatient vagabonds. Mr. Wakley then stated, that it was his firm conviction that there would not be another general election for seven years; and he was sure that when it came, the electors would return only pledged men. He, however, thought, that in the mean time they might be called on to exercise their franchise, as he had a very strong opinion that Sergeant Spankie would soon be elevated to the Common Pleas Bench. If that circumstance did take place, he would again present himself to the electors. Mr. Wakley then asked, what good had the Reform Bill, which had now passed six

months, effected? ("What did you expect?") He had expected that Ministers would have made some distinct pledge of what good they would effect by the bill; or, at all events, that they would have made an endeavour to get rid of some of the most obnoxious and most oppressive of the measures which had been passed by the Tories. But no, they had only said they would endeavour to reduce the expenditure of the state to its lowest *practical* amount; and they appointed a Committee to inquire into the revenues of the church, with, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head. (Laughter.) Many said, he was a violent man, and for violent measures. He denied the assertion; and he called those violent men who murdered their fellow-countrymen because they were starving. The misery of the lower orders, as they were called, was horrible. It was not half known; but what was said? "Oh, if the people die in one place, they increase in another, and the population surely must be getting on well, for children are seen running about in every street." This was the reply under such heart-rending circumstances, and it was for such wretched people that a standing army and a military police were kept up at great expense—at an unheard-of cost. Two Generals to a regiment—two Admirals to a ship, and all paid for by the taxes. Why was this? Oh, the aristocracy must have fitting places for their relatives, and they could depend on the aristocratic officers when called on to act against the people. But suppose the officers evinced any feeling for the people, as in the case of the Bristol riots, what was the course pursued then? Would it be credited by our posterity, that one officer was so hunted down that he was compelled to cut his throat, and that another was cashiered? Mr. Wakley said, that such a state of things must be remedied. He concluded by stating that if Sergeant Spankie was not elevated to the bench, and an opportunity thus afforded to the electors to exercise their franchise within the seven years, he would get into Parliament for some other place. (Bravo! and great cheering.)

Mr. TEMPLE said, he should always be at his post as an elector; and if the present members did not give satisfaction to their constituents, he should at a fitting opportunity again solicit the suffrages of the electors.

The meeting then broke up after the usual forms.

NEW BOROUGH OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.

The nomination of candidates for representing this borough was held on Saturday at Stepney-green.

Mr. HAMMACK, the returning officer, addressed the meeting. They were assembled to avail themselves of the pre-eminent and precious privilege which was now, for the first time, granted them. It was incumbent upon

them to do so with the most careful judgment; for to their choice many other boroughs were looking with great anxiety.

Lots were then drawn by the four candidates for priority in speaking, which fell to Captain Marryat. It was then arranged that each candidate, with his proposer and seconder, should only occupy three-quarters of an hour.

Mr. BALLANCE proposed Captain Marryat.

Mr. ANSELL seconded the nomination.

Captain MARRYAT was received with mingled applause and disapprobation. He had on many occasions declared his political sentiments, which had been generally received with approbation. (Oh, no.) He would, therefore, make his speech a short one. The gallant Captain was here prevented from proceeding by the hootings and uproar. The Chairman having at length stilled the noise, the gallant Captain proceeded. He had one recommendation more than the other candidates—he was born in the Tower Hamlets. (Laughter.) He had a thorough knowledge of mercantile affairs; his father was a merchant; he himself had been running about the world all his life, in the colonies and everywhere, and picking up practical knowledge, which he could make use of to their peculiar advantage, if elected. (Oh!) He remembered the time when the seas were covered with our ships, when the ships of other nations did not dare to lay claim to any right there; but now how changed! Our ships lay in the river Thames, side-by-side with those of other nations, and foreign vessels vie with our own, and intercept our trade. In the former period we were prosperous and happy; it was considered a favour then for a workman to work a little after working time; but now he cannot get work at all. (Uproar and hisses.) He would not detain them, as they were so impatient. (Laughter.) He advised them to look well to their interests. (Oh! don't trouble yourself.) He had said he would repeal the taxes on knowledge; very well; but will knowledge give them a breakfast? (Hisses; yes.) He said he would get them reform in the church; well, but will a reformed church give them a dinner? (Laughter and hisses.) He would vote for triennial Parliaments; but what sort of suppers will they give? (Continued hisses.) The electors ought to support that man who would advocate, in the first place, their own interests, the mercantile, and bring our trade back to its former prosperous state. He would legislate for the poor and not for the rich. (Hootings and uproar.) He would then cease speaking, thanking them for their *excessively patient hearing*. (Continued uproar.)

Mr. HOCK proposed Dr. Lushington.

Mr. GOLD seconded the nomination.

Dr. LUSHINGTON (received with great enthusiasm) was most thankful to behold the day when this great and important district was met to nominate representatives for themselves, and to have acquired, for the first time, the rights of Englishmen. (Cheers.) Since he

had first agreed to become a candidate, he had resolved never, in the whole course of his election, to have recourse to any of those disgraceful modes of election which have hitherto been resorted to. If asked his principles, he would give them in these words—freedom at home and abroad (cheers)—in the colonies, in England, on the Continent. He longed to see the day when slavery of all sorts should be banished from the earth by the simultaneous voice of indignant nations.

Mr. WHADEN rose to propose the Hon. Leicester Stanhope. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Mr. TAYLOR seconded this nomination.

Colonel LEICESTER STANHOPE was received with almost unanimous approbation. The gallant Colonel declared himself a friend to the constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, and to the church—such as these ought to be, and such as he would strive to make them. The beautiful constitution had degenerated, and had become an aristocracy, which had resolved all power into its own hands—the power of making taxes, and of receiving them. By a lover of the church, he meant of the reformed church, which stands upon the basis of religious liberty, allowing every man to construe the Bible in his own way; nor would he force one flock to pay for the support of the pastor of another. (Cheers.) He was a friend of property of all sorts—landed, funded, personal, and, above all, of the people's. (Cheers.) He would not only take care of their liberties, but of their pockets. He was determined to promote, if possible, the greatest happiness of the greatest portion, for the greatest length of time. (Loud cheers.) The primary thing to be obtained was sacred ballot. (Cheers.) At present he should think at least one-third of the voters of England were under direct aristocratical influence. This third influenced another third. The only remedy for this shocking abuse was the ballot, and for this he should vote as a first consideration. On the subject of duration of Parliaments, the gallant Colonel said that he should certainly vote for triennial Parliaments, instead of the present absurd and unjust period. With respect to pledges, he had been the first to give them, and he now gave them again—to do all he had promised here on previous occasions. They knew his sentiments, and he hoped they would prove them by making a trial of his sincerity.

WILLIAM SIMPSON, Esq. proposed William Clay, Esq.

Mr. COATES seconded the nomination.

Mr. CLAY came forward and said, that he stood before them as a person not unknown, but he might be politically unknown. He hoped, however, that his political birth would commence with his being returned for the Tower Hamlets. (Cheers.) He had frequently addressed different bodies of constituents, in several parts of the borough, and as he was the last speaker, it would be a waste of time to reiterate principles and sentiments

entertained by him, which were already known. A great deal had been said about the ballot. Whether he had pledged himself or not, he would use every effort that the people should have fair representation. If the ballot was practicable, he should not oppose it. That man had yet to appear who was more an advocate for cheap government than himself. He was one of themselves; he had nothing to do with the taxes but to pay them. He only asked them for their votes as one of the middling class; one of the class of tradesmen; it would be casting a stigma on that large class, to say there was no one in it fit to represent its interests.

Mr. GOFF wished to address the electors, but was met with tremendous hissing and cries of—"How many committees have you been on?" and "Julias Iscariot." After several vain attempts to be heard, the gentleman retired. The names of the honourable candidates were then put up. For Captain Marryat some hands were held up, amidst much groaning. The name of Dr. Lushington was then put, when nearly two-thirds of the meeting held up their hands. Then followed that of Colonel Stanhope, which was received with much cheering, and nearly every man then present held up his hand. For Mr. Clay the show was very respectable.

The returning-officer then declared that the election had fallen on the Hon. Colonel Stanhope and Stephen Lushington, Esq., which again called forth an almost universal shout.

On Wednesday a vast crowd, principally of the most orderly and respectable description, many of whom were females, assembled at the hustings on Stepney Green, for the purpose of hearing the official announcement of who were the successful candidates for this borough.

G. HAMMACK, Esq., the returning-officer, said, that after several weeks of general and intense labour, the election was concluded, and he had now to declare that Dr. Lushington and W. Clay, Esq., were duly elected the two representatives of the Tower Hamlets. (Cheers.) The exact total numbers of the votes for each candidate were as follow:—

Lushington	3,978
Clay	3,751
Stanhope	2,952
Marryat	1,934

The two first announcements were received with almost general cheering; the two latter with partial approbation.

Dr. LUSHINGTON, on presenting himself, was received with the most general cheering. He had been often a successful candidate, but had never so appreciated success as on the present occasion, when he saw on all sides the progress of real reform, and find himself the first representative of the new borough of the Tower Hamlets—a borough, which, in becoming such, was one of the most convincing proofs of the progress of that reform. He returned them his most grateful thanks for the

honour and high gratification conferred thus on him; in Parliament it was his determination to act—and not merely for the interests of one body of men as opposed to another, but for the good of all; his motto was, “equal happiness for all.” (Cheers.)

Mr. CLAY returned the most grateful, and most heartfelt acknowledgments to the electors, for having conferred on him an honour, the highest which can be attained by a free man in a free country. He was deeply impressed with the sense of what he had undertaken in becoming a member of the legislature to whose laws they would have to bow; yet at the same time he felt a proud consciousness that he would be judged by the principles which he had so frequently, so fully, so openly declared. He would dedicate his most strenuous efforts to procuring them all that he could, and if in one single division they should find the name of Clay opposed to any principle he has avowed—if they find him not in the foremost ranks of those who advocate the rights of the people in every shape, then let them brand him as a traitor, and treat him as such. (Cheers.)

Colonel STANHOPE said the meeting had heard most excellent sentiments, but they must recollect that candidates would say as much in five minutes as they would do, as legislators, in the whole course of their lives. He felt that no man was a friend of the people who would not take off the taxes, and as to the amount, Sir Henry Parnell had said he could take off seventeen millions a year without reference to church property; and Mr. Hume said he could take off eleven millions a year of direct taxation, without reference to corn. Now he (Colonel Stanhope) did not see anything so very absurd in what he had said, when he mentioned twenty millions as a feasible sum to be diminished. The great object he had always had in view was to promote good and cheap government, and to put an end to the tyranny of our oligarchy.

Captain MARRYAT was received with great applause. As he considered that the length of their speeches ought to be in proportion to the votes they had got (laughter), so his would not be a very long one. (Laughter.) Though he had lost his election, he had not lost his temper (cheers); and, as he hoped, not their good opinion. (No, no.) He did not agree with the other losing candidate in saying, that undue influence had been used, and, on the contrary, felt that gentleman's argument for such a position to be clear evidence that it was not so, for he had said that the East India, West India, London Dock, and other commercial companies had obtained the victory, &c. Now no one had more interest with these companies than himself, and where was he? (Cheers.) He had been put up and had been put down—that was all he could say about it. He only wished to say that he feared the misrepresentations made about him had caused his sentiments to be misconstrued. He had been cried down as a Tory, and then he

had been cried down as a member of Political Unions; but he was neither the one nor the other. He had a fixed principle—the benefit of the people—and from this he would not be turned to please anybody—aristocrat or democrat, Whig or Tory. He had certainly thought himself well fitted to represent the shipping interest of the Tower Hamlets, but as they had thought differently, he could not help it.

Dr. LUSHINGTON proposed the warmest thanks of the meeting to Mr. Hammack for his uniform, indefatigable, excellent, and impartial conduct in his official capacity.

Captain MARRYAT seconded it, observing that when he, as an unsuccessful candidate, seconded a vote of thanks to a returning officer, for integrity, impartiality, and uniform good conduct, there could be no doubt they were deserved, and he did second it most cordially. (Cheers.)

Mr. HAMMACK, after returning thanks, dissolved the meeting. The successful candidates then moved in triumphal procession to their respective central committees, and the proceedings ended, as they had begun and gone through, in good temper and order.

BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK.

The hour appointed for putting the several candidates in nomination to serve in Parliament for the borough of Southwark was nine o'clock, and before that hour all the avenues to the Town-hall were crowded to excess,

After the customary formalities had been gone through,

Mr. Wm. DAVIS stood forward to propose Mr. Wm. Brougham, as a fit and proper person to represent the borough of Southwark. It was with the deepest regret and disappointment, that he found himself placed in the situation, not merely of Mr. Brougham's proposer, but of his representative or *locum tenens* on that occasion. He lamented to say, that Mr. Wm. Brougham was at that moment labouring under the effects of a severe inflammation, and that he could not appear before them that day without imminent danger of his life.

Mr. LUDLOW briefly seconded the nomination.

Mr. LONGMORE came forward to propose Mr. Allen, but was received with such a shout of groans and hisses, that it was with difficulty we heard a word he said. Mr. Chadwick seconded the nomination.

Mr. ELLIS came forward to put Mr. Sherif Humphry in nomination; Mr. White seconded the nomination.

Mr. GREENACRE then came forward to nominate Mr. T. L. Murray; Mr. Blackford seconded Mr. Murray's nomination.

The HIGH BAILIFF then called on the assembled multitude to determine whom they would have to represent them in Parliament. He put the question and demanded a show of hands—1st, on Mr. Brougham's nomination;

secondly, on that of Mr. Allen; thirdly, Mr. Humphrey; and fourthly, Mr. Murray.

On the show of hands, the High Bailiff declared that the election had fallen on Messrs. Humphrey and Brougham.

Mr. Sheriff HUMPHREY could assure them that no man would enter the House of Commons with more perfect independence than he should, for his only interest would be that of the people; he had no private purpose to serve, no selfish objects to promote; he was connected with no faction or party, and his unceasing aim should be to give to the people of England the full benefit of the Reform Bill. He was perfectly aware that they might easily find men of more distinguished talents; but he yielded to none in zeal for their service, in devotion to that which he conscientiously believed to be the true interests of the country, and in an earnest desire to uphold the principles of religious and political freedom.

Mr. ALLEN, after expressing deep regret that death had deprived them of their old and long-trying representative, Mr. Calvert, went on to say that he himself had been from early life a thorough reformer—that he had always been the advocate of every one of those measures which the people of Southwark had so much at heart; and especially he was an advocate of an alteration in the house and window tax. He had not the slightest difficulty in saying that it could be rendered equitable, and even greatly reduced, without any disadvantage to the Exchequer. (Though the learned gentleman proceeded to make some other observations, any attempt to follow him would be entirely conjectural for the pitiless storm of hisses and groans with which he was assailed rendered it next to impossible to guess at even the general tenor of his observations.)

Mr. MURRAY said he stood there before them that day because he had been called upon by a respectable body of the electors of the ancient borough of Southwark, to stand forward and defend that borough from the mortal injury to independence, and its character, from the fact of its being represented by the upholders of ancient abuses in church and state. He stood there upon the present great and glorious occasion as a radical reformer, and nothing else, and no consideration under heaven should induce him to swerve from the principles of radical reform. He had something to offer them beyond the mere expression of intentions—he would give them distinct and positive promises. In the most solemn manner he should pledge himself to uphold all that was included in the genuine principles of a radical reformer.

The HIGH BAILIFF then declared that a poll had been demanded on the part of L. B. Allen, Esq., the polling to commence on Monday morning.

Mr. MURRAY, after consulting for a few minutes with his friends, again presented himself, and resigned his pretensions, amidst

great laughter, and cries of "That's the best thing you've said yet."

At the close of Monday's poll the numbers were—

Brougham	1,241
Humphrey	908
Allen	572

At one o'clock, Wednesday, the High Bailiff appeared on the hustings, accompanied by Mr. Brougham, Mr. Allen, and the chief supporters of the respective candidates. Mr. Brougham was wrapped up in a cloak, and appeared to be labouring under the effects of recent indisposition.

The HIGH BAILIFF then announced to the assembled multitude that the poll-books had been cast up, and he found that the number of electors who had polled for W. Brougham, Esq. were 2,264, (applause); for John Humphrey, Esq. 1,708; and for Lancelot Baugh Allen, Esq. 1,040; he therefore declared that William Brougham and John Humphrey, Esqrs. had been duly elected to serve in Parliament for the borough of Southwark. (Great applause.)

Mr. Brougham, accompanied by Mr. Davis, then stood forward on the platform in front of the hustings, and bowed repeatedly to the multitude.

Mr. ELLIS said he was sorry that business detained Mr. Humphrey in the city, and he, as the godfather of the worthy sheriff, felt great pleasure in being able to say that the opinions of the electors of Southwark coincided with those expressed by Mr. Sheriff Humphrey. In the name of Mr. Humphrey he begged to offer them his sincere thanks. (Applause.)

Mr. ALLEN then addressed the assemblage, for the purpose of thanking his friends for the support which, during the election, he had experienced at their hands. It was most gratifying to him to reflect, that though a man of small fortune and no influence, he had received the support of no fewer than 1,040 electors. He never intended to stand for Southwark again; but he could not withdraw without expressing to them his unfeigned gratitude for the disinterested and warm support which he had received. (Applause.)

Three cheers were given for the High Bailiff, and for each of the new members, and, finally, three cheers for the people.

LAMBETH ELECTION.

On Saturday the nomination of the candidates for the representation of the new borough of Lambeth took place upon Kennington-common.

Mr. HOPE, the returning-officer, having gone through the formalities, nominated the right hon. Charles Tenyson as a fit and proper person to represent the borough of Lambeth in Parliament. Mr. Weston seconded the nomination.

Mr. HARDY begged to nominate Mr. Ben-

jamin Hawes. Mr. Bennett seconded the nomination.

Mr. Richards then appeared to nominate Mr. Moore. Mr. Stamford seconded the nomination.

Captain HOLMES came forward to nominate Mr. Wakefield, whom he had long known to be a sincere reformer and a worthy honest man. Mr. Blake seconded the nomination. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. TENNYSON then presented himself, and was received with every mark of approbation. If he should have the honour of representing any portion of the people of England, he would not go into the House of Commons on the understanding that he was to support the measures of the present or any other Government. (Cheers.) He would go there to watch over their interests and liberty. He had been associated with the present Government, and he felt grateful to them for what they had done. He believed from the bottom of his heart that they were animated by an ardent desire to extend the liberties of their country as far as possible consistently with the administration of civil government. He might differ from them on various points, and he would fairly tell them that he expected to do so. He would watch them closely, support them when right, and oppose them when he considered them wrong. If an indifferent question should arise, upon the decision of which would depend the retention or the abandonment of office by Ministers, he was so far attached to the Government, that upon such an occasion he would give them his vote. The right hon. Gentleman concluded amidst enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. HAWES next presented himself, and was received with a mixture of applause and disapprobation. He asked whether they would give him a fair hearing. (Cries of "We will.") If not, he would at once make way for another candidate to address them. He was desirous upon this occasion, as he had been upon others, of openly and candidly declaring his political sentiments. He would describe himself as an honest and unflinching reformer. (Cheers, and cries of "You are not.") He had had the honour of receiving a requisition to offer himself as candidate for the borough of Lambeth from those who knew him best, whose personal support offered the best proof of the principles which he maintained. A man who lived amongst the electors, one who felt as they did, whose interests were bound up with theirs, was likely to prove their best representative.

Mr. MOORE next addressed the assemblage. In the first place, he was the unequivocal advocate of the ballot. (Cheers.) The necessity of that measure was proved by the operation of the 50*l.* tenant-at-will clause, and without going further, by the proceedings which had taken place in Lambeth with respect to the present election. Undue influence had been applied by the supporters of Mr. Hawes. His canvassers had in some districts been ac-

companied by tax-gatherers. (Loud hissing from Mr. Hawes's committee.) The hon. Gentleman then proceeded to state, that he would advocate the repeal of the assessed taxes, and of that detestable piece of legislation, Sturges Bourne's Act, relative to select vestries. He likewise was friendly to triennial Parliaments, and would do all in his power to establish a perfectly unrestricted importation of corn. (Applause.) He then declared himself a strenuous advocate of church reform. The extravagant manner in which the bishops were paid excited universal indignation. One bishop, when accused last session of receiving 10,000*l.* a year, modestly replied, that "he had not quite so much." What did the bishops do for their money? They rode down to the House of Lords in their carriages, with a coachman and two footmen in cocked hats, and when they arrived there, so rapacious were they, that they sold their votes in order to be translated to richer sees. (Applause.) After declaring himself opposed to the continuance of slavery, the hon. Gentleman retired amidst approbation.

Mr. WAKEFIELD then came forward, and was received with general cheering. He said that he was prepared to make a declaration of his political sentiments, in order that the electors might judge whether they were the same which they themselves had entertained. The hon. Gentleman then stated that he had so frequently expressed his opinion on the subject of retrenchment, slavery, flogging, and cheap law, that it was unnecessary to repeat them then. He would only say, that whether in or out of Parliament he would always use his best exertions to effect that which the majority of the people considered best calculated to promote their benefit. That was the rule of his political conduct.

A show of hands was then taken for each of the candidates. That for Mr. Tennyson was so numerous that it might be supposed that almost every person present had raised his hand in his favour. About two hundred hands were exhibited for Mr. Hawes, and about an equal number for Mr. Moore. The show for Mr. Wakefield was as great as that for Mr. Tennyson.

The returning-officer then declared that the show of hands was in favour of Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Wakefield. (Cheers.)

Close of the poll, Monday:—

Tennyson	1,752
Hawes	1,372
Wakefield.....	514
Moore	135

On Wednesday, at twelve o'clock, a multitude of persons, to the amount of at least 6,000, assembled on Kennington Common, to hear the final result of the election of the borough of Lambeth.

Mr. HOPE, the returning-officer, having

calculated the votes, announced them to be as follows :—For

Tennyson.....	2,632
Hawes (Hisses).....	2,093
Wakefield.....	762
Moore.....	174

He declared the election to have fallen on the right honourable Charles Tennyson and Benjamin Hawes, the younger, Esq. He then read a protest on the part of Mr. Wakefield, to the effect, that "he protested against the election of Mr. Hawes to serve for the borough of Lambeth, inasmuch as he and his agents had been guilty of bribery and corruption in procuring votes. (Cries of nam-, and cheers.)

Mr. TENNYSON then stepped forward, and was received with unqualified applause. Gentlemen, said he, touching his breast, and drawing a significant "ah," it is to be hoped that by your silence you will enable my feeble voice to make itself heard to you. He then said that the moment was arrived when they had the sacred power of assisting the councils of the nation and of fixing the destinies of the country. The parchment which the returning-officer had just read announced the names of two gentlemen who were elected on account of their principles to carry into effect the measures of reform over which the whole country was rejoicing. It would be his duty and first pride to show, as far as his humble powers permitted, how a representative in Parliament ought to discharge the trust delegated to him by his constituents. There he would show how the principles of those who elected him ought to be expressed. (Cheers.) One of the greatest anxieties he felt was to prove that they should obtain those benefits for which he, through a long public career, had been unceasingly struggling. He would assure them that they should never feel any occasion of being ashamed of him whom they had placed in such an honourable position.

Mr. HAWES then rose; and, contrary to what was expected, was attentively listened to. He said, that as he had the distinguished honour of representing them in the first reformed Parliament, he begged to be permitted to explain to them his principles. Now that he was elected, he would do so more definitely and clearly than he had before. He freely and frankly confessed that the power they had should be exercised for their own good; and that, since that power was intrusted to him, he would return it to them when they thought that he made an improper use of it. He would take no advantage of them, but abide by their feelings, as he knew they would be always honestly expressed.

Mr. WAKEFIELD then presented himself, and was loudly applauded. He said that, among the few observations he had to make, there was one which he would make with the greatest pleasure—namely, his satisfaction at the speech delivered by the hon. member who had just preceded him. He hoped that the hon. candidate would stick to his text, and strain

every nerve to cleanse the House of Lords of those pampered bloated locusts. (Cheers.) From the manner he was received in the borough of Lambeth, he felt confident that had the ballot prevailed he would have been elected as one of its representatives. However, he promised, that whatever might happen, so that he had health and life, he would appear among them again at the next election. (Cheers.)

Mr. PALMER, of Walworth, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Hope, the returning-officer, after which the meeting quietly dispersed.

NEW BOROUGH OF GREENWICH.

At an early hour yesterday morning, the town of Greenwich presented an unusual scene of bustle and animation. After Mr. Fisher, the returning officer, went through the usual forms,

Mr. PEARSON proposed Mr. Angerstein, amid the most deafening groans and the shrillest whistling. Sir John Webb seconded the proposal.

Mr. HAYCROFT proposed Mr. Barnard, the confusion still continuing. Mr. Alexander seconded the nomination.

Mr. ADAM GORDON rose to propose Captain Dundas. Mr. Harley seconded the nomination.

Mr. BURT proposed Mr. Frederick George Hammond. Mr. Willett seconded the nomination.

Mr. POWLE proposed Mr. Penn. Mr. LAMBERT seconded the proposal.

Mr. ANGERSTEIN, as the first candidate proposed, then rose to address the meeting. He was received with such loud and general groans, cries, and noises in every key, that though he braved the storm for about twenty minutes, and though the High Constable used every effort to obtain silence, he was obliged to sit down without uttering a word that anybody could hear.

Mr. BARNARD then came forward, and was loudly cheered. He said, when the Reform Bill was in jeopardy—when they had to choose between improvement and revolution—he stood forward and fought for the former. (Cheers.) As a magistrate, he had invariably done his duty, and he defied anybody to point out a single act of partiality or injustice perpetrated by him. By the partiality of his friends, he offered them his services, and should they be accepted he would try to make them beneficial. His opinions he had published in his addresses to the electors, and as they were more explicit than words hastily spoken, he begged to refer to them. (Cries of "Go on, and tell us what you'll do with the parsons.") Well, he would make an observation or two more. And the first would be, that he sincerely trusted there would always exist such a sympathy of feeling on all topics between him and his constituents, that he would be in reality their representative. He also hoped, that there was some

foundation for his hopes, that the effects of the late bill would be to extend happiness throughout the country, and particularly among the people. Though there must be always poor, he hoped the number would be diminished, and that the working man, after a life of labour, would have a better prospect than the workhouse. (Cheers.) He contended that taxes should be according to property, and that they should not be levied to increase the property of any class. If they took up their own cause, they would send him into Parliament triumphantly, where he would not only strenuously, faithfully, and zealously support the interests of that borough, but of the nation at large. (The worthy candidate sat down amid tremendous cheering and long-continued waving of hats and handkerchiefs.)

Captain DUNDAS said that he assumed the electors and his friends that, let the result of the present contest be what it might, he would never forget the kind reception they had given him in the three principal towns of the borough. The first thing he would mention was the parsons, and he would say of them as he would say of other species of labourers, that they should be paid according to the work done. (Cheers.) The assessed taxes ought to be reduced, and the house and window tax taken off all houses rented lower than fifty pounds. He would have attended the great meeting which was lately held at the London Tavern, had he considered Greenwich as a Metropolitan borough. He did not consider it so, and thought that it should act independently and decide for itself. He begged, however, to say, that though he wished the assessed taxes to be reduced, and the house and window tax repealed, as he stated, it was not until a property tax was substituted. He had been severely catechised at Deptford, and he there said he would not pledge himself to the vote by ballot, because he considered it was un-English. (Hisses.) He would promise, however, that if when he was in Parliament he should discover that any election was influenced by the rascality of landlords, he would immediately vote for the ballot.

Mr. HAMMOND said, that as he had been instrumental in obtaining for that borough the right of sending members to Parliament, he stood before them now in the hope of getting some reward. When Sir R. Peel said that the inhabitants of Greenwich would receive the right of electing their own representatives, Lord John Russell referred him to a petition that had been signed by Mr. Bicknell and himself. As a labourer in the vineyard of reform he expected his hire. He was opposed to tithes, to the assessed taxes, and thought that a property tax was the best one to relieve the poor. He was an advocate for the vote by ballot, and if returned to the House of Commons, should no one else have nerve enough to do it, he would originate a

motion to obtain it. (Laughter, and cries of "You belong to Lyall's Committee.")

Mr. PENN said that Greenwich had now been honoured with the elective franchise, but so great a boon would prove to be of no advantage, unless electors returned members who would take the means of bettering the condition of their constituents. He would take away the taxes on windows—also the corn and hop duties, and by that means render the Englishman's fire-side what it was when he was a boy—comfortable and happy, with a barrel of beer in the corner of his room. (Cheers and laughing.) Could anybody say that tithes were beneficial to religion? (Cries of "No, no, no.") They were a disgrace to religion, because they were most unjust. Dissenters who never frequented the church, but were as truly pious as any churchmen who ever lived, were compelled to pay tithes. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") Should he go into the House of Commons, he would bring forward motions to the effect to which he had adverted, and however insignificant he might be when he got there, he would soon feel he became of importance, because he should have the whole of the nation at his back to support him. The electors would have themselves to blame if they failed now in sending such men as would thus exert themselves in their behalf. They would not find themselves disappointed in him.

The returning-officer, Mr. FISHER (the High Constable), then put the several candidates to a show of hands, and having done so, he declared the election to have fallen on Mr. Barnard and Captain Dundas.

A poll was then demanded on the part of Mr. Angerstein and Mr. Hammond. Mr. Penn declined the contest.

The returning-officer then announced that the polling would take place on Wednesday, close on Thursday, and that the return would be made on Friday.

The polling commenced on Thursday at four o'clock, when the numbers, as nearly as could be ascertained, stood thus on the gross poll.

Dundas	1,622
Barnard	1,438
Angerstein	597

The two former were declared duly elected this (Friday) morning.

MANCHESTER ELECTION.

MR. COBBETT.

*Manchester, Wednesday,
Half-past twelve.*

THE candidates are Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Phillips, Mr. S. J. Lloyd, Mr. P. Thomson, and Mr. Hope.

Mr. Cobbett was proposed by Mr. Fielden of Todmorden, and seconded by Mr. Johnson,

and was received by the vast multitude with immense cheering.

On a show of hands the Boroughreeve decided in favour of Mr. Cobhett and Mr. Philips. The show in favour of Mr. Hope greatly predominated over that for Messrs. Lloyd and Thomson; for the first of whom about seven or eight, and for the latter about twenty hands were raised.

The polling commenced on Thursday morning.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DEC. 7, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

BEAUMONT, F., Huddersfield, grocer.
BENFIELD, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, perfumer.
BOWLEY, J. B., Great Dover-street, furnishing ironmonger.
BRICHENO, R., Hemingford Grey, Hunting-doushire, horse-dealer.
BROOMHEAD, T., Birmingham, appraiser.
DUN, M. R., and W. CLOUGH, London-street, Fechurch-street, merchants.
EVANS, D., jun., Liverpool, builder.
GORELY, D., Great Russell-street, Blooms-bury, wholesale-perfumer.
MILLER, A., Westbourne, Sussex, rope-maker.
POULTON, W., Broadleaze, Wiltshire, cattle and sheep salesman.
PRATT, A., Redditch, Worcestershire, surgeon.
ROBINSON, E., Wakefield, Yorkshire, hoi-er.
SIKES, S. G., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, banker.
THOMAS, J., Walsall, Staffordshire, saddlers, ironmonger.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

STIRLING, R. and P., grocers, Glasgow.

TUESDAY, DEC. 11, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ANDERTON, R., Salford, Lancashire, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

LANCASHIRE, J., Draycott-field, Derbyshire, miller.

BANKRUPTS.

BAINES, T., Piccadilly, seedsmen.
CROOKE, J., Burnley, ironmonger.
ELD, J., Walsall, Staffordshire, innholder.
GARRATT, J., Muggerhanger, Bedfordshire, publican.
HARRIS, W. and W., Liverpool, linen-draper.
PETERS, W., Blackfriars-road and Oldham, Lancashire, victualler.
RABY, J., Darlington, Durham, grocer.
SMITH, S., Birmingham, victualler.
STRATTON, G. F., Park-hall, Warwickshire, and Fulham, Middlesex, pipe-manufacturer;

TAYLOR, F., South Moulton-street, and Jacob's-wells-mews, Manchester square, carpenter.

WALLIS, P., Combfields, Warwickshire, shopkeeper.

WHALE, G. A., Rocking, Essex, innkeeper.

WITTER, T., Liverpool, joiner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

COOK, Paisley, manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 10.—The arrival of all grain was very large during last week, particularly of barley, of which only a small part could be disposed of, and that at a decline of 2s. per qr. In addition to what remained over, we had several vessels fresh in this morning, chiefly with the above grain, which so much increased the depression in the trade, that no sales could be effected, except at a further reduction of 1s. per qr. Fine bright malting samples did not obtain above 3ls. to 35s., and the best description of stamned from 27s. to 28s.; notwithstanding this decline, a considerable quantity was undisposed of at the close of the market.

The wheat trade was exceedingly heavy, and full 3s. per qr. cheaper than on this day se'night, without producing any improvement on the demand.

White peas were not so free sale as last week, nor could the same prices be obtained by full 1s. per qr.

The magnitude of the arrival of oats has occasioned a decline of 1s. per qr., and only small quantities could be got off at that abatement.

Wheat	60s. to 62s.
Rye	32s. to 33s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	43s. to 45s.
— Grey	36s. to 38s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 40s.
— Tick	33s. to 35s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	18s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new	50s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	—s. 0d. to —s.
— Mess, new	78s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	84s. to 86s. per cwt.
— Carlow	86s. to 88s.
— Cork	82s. to 84s.
— Limerick	82s. to 84s.
— Waterford	78s. to 82s.
— Dublin	78s. to 80s.
Cheese, Cheshire	50s. to 90s.
— Gloucester, Double	50s. to 60s.
— Gloucester, Single	44s. to 50s.
— Edam	48s. to 50s.
— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 66s.

SMITHFIELD.—Dec. 10.

This day's supply of beasts was numerous; but—though it embraced several hundreds of well fed oxen, steers, and heifers, of various breeds, but more particularly Herefords, short-horns, and Devons,—not, in the whole, so prime as it generally has been so near to Christmas. The supply of sheep, calves, and porkers, was rather limited. Beef, sufficiently prime for Christmas consumption, sold readily, at an advance of from 2d to 4d. per stone; but with the ordinary kinds, as also mutton, veal, and pork, the trade was very dull, at nothing beyond Friday's quotations.

The beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Herefords, Devons, and Irish (principally) oxen, steers, and heifers; and Welch runts, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, and our Western districts; with a few prime Sussex beasts, Scots, Staffords, &c., from various quarters, and Town's end cows.

Full four-fifths of the sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South Downs, and different white-faced crosses; the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Down, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters; with a few horned and polled Norfolk, horned and polled Scotch and Welch sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 3,311; sheep, 16,190; calves, 110; pigs, 330.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 14.

The arrivals this week are moderate, but the market is very dull, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.—The most excruciating pains of Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Rheumatism, Lumbago, &c., relieved in the short space of two hours, and cured in a few days, by these incomparable Pills, which are so perfectly safe as to require neither confinement nor attention of any sort. In short, they are a remedy so completely efficient, as to need only a single trial to ensure their universal recommendation.

Sold by Thomas Prout, 227, Strand (seven doors from Temple Bar), London; also by most Medicine Venders in Town and Country. Venders in the Country can get them through their London Agents. Price 2s. 9d. per box.

41, LONG ACRE.

MATTHEWS'S CHEAP CANDLE MANUFACTORY.

CANDLES.		s.	d.
Finest Wax Candles, per lb.	.....	1	9
Palace Wax ditto	.....	1	8
Wax Pieces ditto	.....	1	6
Sperm or Composition, plaited wicks	.....	1	5
Old Store Moulds, with wax wicks	....	0	7
Best Store dips ditto	.....	0	6

SOAPS.		s.	d.
Old Brown Windsor, per lb.	.....	1	4
White and Palm ditto	.....	1	0
Mottled, per 112 lb.	.....	70	0
Best Pale Yellow	.....	64	0
Good ditto	.....	60	0

OILS.		s.	d.
Genuine Sperm Oil, imperial gallon	..	6	0
Best Pale Seal	..... ditto	3	6
Common Lamp	..... ditto	3	0

Starch, Blue, &c. &c.

Finest Sealing Wax, 4s. per lb.

J. M. begs to state that there are no two-priced articles kept or sold at his shop. The above are warranted first quality and for Cash only. Delivered in town, and carefully packed for the country.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

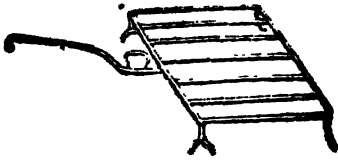
FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats	16	0	
Figured ditto ditto	18	0	
Valencia ditto	12	0	
Barogran Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



TO
THE COBBETTITES:
ON THE
ELECTIONS,
AND MORE PARTICULARLY THOSE OF
OLDHAM AND OF MANCHESTER.

Guildford, Surrey, 18. Dec., 1832.

MY FRIENDS,
BEFORE this will reach you, the corrupt press of London will, with much about the same sort of feeling that a thief goes upon the treadmill, have announced to you the fact, that I AM A MEMBER OF THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT. The corrupt thing seems to have *hesitated*: it gave an account of an other elections that had taken place; it cheerfully did this; but the election of OLDHAM, though it might have been cited as an example to the whole kingdom, the corrupt, the mercenary, the Swiss-like daily press of London, kept unnoticed, until the last possible moment, and, when compelled at last to mention the matter, the corrupt and mercenary thing did it, as it were, for the purpose of showing how very *foolish* the thing is, as well as how very corrupt.

Before I proceed to put upon record the interesting and most memorable facts relative to the elections of OLDHAM and of MANCHESTER, let me first, in imagination at least, *shake hands with you all*: let me have a laugh with you: let me imagine that I hear you all exclaim, "There! they have got him " then, at last; and let them make him " find his level!" Let me imagine

that I hear you all thus exclaim; and that I hear your voices echo back from the United States of America; aye, and from France and Italy and Germany also. My friends, men who are intoxicated in the hours of success, are not fit to be trusted with any matter of weight; because such men are sure to be depressed, are sure to be rendered desponding, and to be deprived of the powers of exertion in times of adversity. With such men the public can do nothing: they are of no use: because, they are wanted during the tide of success; and because, when to stem the tide of evil becomes necessary, they are incapable of exertion. I appeal to your sound understandings; I appeal, particularly, to your recollection of the past; I appeal to these to give you an assurance that I am by no means intoxicated, upon this occasion; that I feel that I have imposed upon me a greater burden of duty to my country than I have ever yet had to bear; that I shall stand in need of all the aid that you can possibly give me in the performance of that duty; that I shall need the countenance and support of you all in every part of the kingdom, and more especially of those of my sensible and virtuous constituents, who, in every act, in every word, from the beginning to the end of this affair, have set an example to the whole kingdom, and have entitled themselves to every exertion that I can possibly make, for their and our country's good, from this moment to the end of my life.

My friends, you will now, I dare say, and with delight and with just exultation, recall to your minds, that, on a hundred occasions, I have told you, that the affairs of our great and troubled country, never would, I believed, be *peaceably settled*, without my having a hand in the settlement, if I should live for a *few years longer*: you will remember well, that in 1821, I told Mr. BROGHEAM that I clearly perceived, that a great object with both the factions was, to *keep me down*: and that this object

would be finally defeated, even by the efforts of the factions themselves: you will bear in mind, that, in a letter addressed to Lord GAZY, in 1823, I told his lordship that I was well aware of the monstrous and unnatural combination which tacitly, and in some sort, instinctively, existed, for the purpose of *keeping me down*; and that the combination would finally be defeated, even by the means taken to effect it; to which I added the following remarkable words: "EVENTS, which are the masters of us all, are *constantly at work for me* and against this unnatural and wicked combination; and these events will produce one of two things, a peaceable adjustment, *in which I shall have a hand*; or, a degrading and tormenting of the people, until, unable to endure the injustice any longer, they will, in some convulsive movement, shake the whole frame of society to pieces:" you must remember, that soon after the Duke of WELLINGTON came into power, I addressed a letter to him, in dedicating to him a new edition of *Paper against Gold*, in which letter I gave him a pretty full history of the works of the combination of the two factions, those works having for their principal object the at once stupid and mean and cowardly wish of keeping me out of Parliament. I detailed to him the mighty mischiefs which had been done to the country, in consequence of this stupid wish. I showed him how many mischievous measures it had given rise to, and what ruin and misery it had inflicted upon this nation. I told him that he would pursue just the same course as his predecessors had pursued in this respect, but that events would defeat the combination at last; and that, if we live but a few years, *he would see me in that Parliament, to keep me out of which, such monstrous means had been used; and that I should see his name rubbed from the corners of the streets, and his picture come down from the sign-post.* You will remember all these things, and you will remember them with delight. You will remember, that in 1826, after the PASSION election of that year,

an occasion having arisen which called for it, and CANNING, HURKISSON, and Lord LIVERPOOL, being then alive, I reminded them of the time when we four dined together at a party; that we were then not very far from being of the same age; that they were just then (the year 1800), starting upwards; that I felt, at the time, that I had a great deal more talent than the whole of the three put together; that I knew well, that I should soon pass them in the start, if I chose to take the same course; that I saw two paths before us, one strewed with flowers, and the other strewed with thorns; that I liked the flowery path a great deal better than the other, but that, at the END of it, I saw discomfiture, disgrace, and the curses of a suffering people; while, at the end of the path of thorns, I saw triumph, honour, and the blessings of a grateful people; then I said: "You have flourished *hitherto*: there you are, lolling in gilded chariots, strolling in pleasure-grounds, feasting on turtle and venison, in possession of wealth, even to an incumbrance: there you are, while I have to live in a manner the most frugal, have to rise early, labour through the day, and eat the bread of carefulness; but here I am covered with the blessings of millions; there ~~you~~ you covered with their curses; and, safe as you think yourselves, mind, I tell you, that OUR DESTINY HAS NOT YET DONE WITH US." Dismal as were the ends of these three gorgers of the public money, for them to come to an end at the time that they did, was preferable to their living along to see this day. These things, my friends, you will now remember with pleasure. It is now a time to remember them, because it fashions our minds as to how we are now to think, and how we are to act for the future.

As a mark of victory, on my own account, over the combined malignity of these factions, I set a very high value upon this seat in Parliament. But I set a higher value upon it, as vindicating the character of the *Commons*, or common people of England. I have always stood

firmly 'up in defence, not only of the rights, but of the *character* of the common people, who, of late years, have been looked upon by both the political factions, and by all the hordes that live upon the taxes, as not being of the same flesh and blood with themselves. These insolent people, while their stomachs were crammed with the fruits of the people's labour, have been applying to them every term and every epithet, calculated to cause them to be looked upon as beings of an inferior order, whose feelings were not entitled to any consideration at all; the two factions disagreeing in everything else, have cordially agreed in endeavouring to oppress the *Commons*, or common people. They have called them collectively "*the lower orders*," the "*peasantry*," the "*population*;" and when they have spoken of them as being collected together for the exercise of their rights, they have had the audacity to call them the "*populace*," or the "*mob*." In short, by degrees, beginning about fifty years ago, the industrious part of the community, particularly those who create every useful thing by their labour, have been spoken of by every one possessing the power to oppress them in any degree, in just the same manner as we speak of the animals which compose the *stock upon a farm*. This is not the manner in which the forefathers of us, the common people, were treated. Nobody ever had the audacity to think of calling them the "*lower orders*," "*the peasantry*," and the "*population*," they were called, and they called themselves, as the *law* called them, "*the Commons of England*." These were a King, Lords, Clergy, and all the rest were the "*Commons*;" and that made up the English nation; and its government was the government of the King, the Lords, and the Commons. Before this present family came to the throne, never was the degrading appellation of pauper known in England. I do not ascribe this to the family you will understand, but I merely state it as reference to an epoch, before this degrading treatment of the Commons began.

Against this insolent language towards the Commons, or common people, I have always protested, ever since I understood anything of public affairs; it is impossible that men can retain their liberties and properties in safety, while they suffer themselves to be looked upon as a sort of cattle upon a farm. I have always inculcated the necessity of resenting this insolent language towards the common people. I have never taught disrespect towards the King, or his lawful authorities. I have never taught contempt for the peers, or for their privileges; but I have always maintained the rights of the *Commons* to be treated with respect; and, by example, as well as by precept, I have taught the *Commons* to resent, and to avenge themselves, if possible, as far as the law would allow, on all those, be they who they might, who should use, with regard to them any degrading appellation whatsoever; and, amongst all the things which have given me pain during my life, nothing has ever given me so much, as to see meritorious industry and labour seeming to bow the knee, and willingly to acknowledge superior worth in rank accompanied with worthlessness; and in wealth, no matter how acquired. When society is in this state: when men adore power and riches, without any regard to the conduct or character of the possessor, real freedom cannot exist. When rank is accompanied with good character and just conduct towards persons of inferior station, then it is just and becoming to treat the possessor of that rank as a person of superior degree in society. When wealth has been acquired by clearly legitimate means, by rare skill, and by rare industry; by the application of these to the conducting of concerns naturally tending to the greatness and happiness of the country, then the possessors of wealth are very properly objects of respect, not only with their neighbours, but with the community at large. But when their rank and their riches have been acquired by foul and disgraceful means; when they have been the effect of tricks and contrivances, properly characterised by being called

frauds; or when they are used as the means of insulting and oppressing the Commons, instead of the means of protecting them; then to see the knee of industry and of labour voluntarily bow before them, is to see that which ought to convince every man that liberty has taken her flight from that community; that all sense of political right and wrong is at an end; and that there is no remedy, no means of restoration, but through the flames of convulsion.

Against this self-degradation, I have always been protesting. The political factions, perfect rivals in the use of these degrading appellations, as applied to the Commons, set the example to the rest of the devourers of the taxes; till, at last, they made it a perfect *fashion* to look upon a working man as a sort of beast of burden. From the tax-devourers, the insolent language extended itself to bankers, brewers, monopolists of every sort, and to all their clerks, as they are called, and to every one living in idleness upon the labour of others. Nay, down to the very shop-keepers and waiters in shops in London, till it has not been at all uncommon to hear a fribble, stuck up behind the counter to do the business that ought to be performed by a girl, talking of the "*peasantry*" and the "*population*;" not seeming to be at all aware that it owes to the peasantry and the population, that it has virtuals to put into its mouth, and a coat and a shirt wherewith to cover its idle carcass.

I have, as I said before, been labouring for a great many years to expose and put down this insolence towards the Commons; and, in some measure, I have certainly succeeded. "*Lower orders*," which was so very fashionable eighteen years ago; that appellation, which we everlastingly heard from the lips of both the factions, has been completely banished. I began my attack upon it in the year 1817. I addressed a *Register* to the "*lower orders*;" and I wrote and published my "*ENGLISH GRAMMAR*," addressed "*to Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices, and Plough-boys*;" in which I took occasion to show how a plough-boy could take Privy-Coun-

sellors, Secretaries of State, Speakers of the House of Commons, and Foreign Ambassadors, and shake them to pieces. It was that Grammar which banished the appellation of "*lower orders*;" which taught the stupid and insolent factions to use a little more caution in speaking of the Commons of England. Of late years they have been rather shy, rather skittish, in applying the appellation of "*peasantry*" and "*population*," which seem now to be retained by none but those *desperately mercenary creatures*, the Scotch "*feelosofers*;" and, even by them, obdurate as their hearts are, and desperate as they are, in getting at the fruit of the people's labour, these appellations come only now and then, when they think they shall not be overheard.

However, my friends, the people of OLDHAM, the *Commons* of OLDHAM, have put an extinguisher for ever upon this insolence towards the skill, the industry, and the labour of the country. In the conclusion of my speech to them, after the RETURN had been made, I said, alluding to this foul language so long made use of towards the common people, "Gentlemen of OLDHAM, I trust, that that which you have now done will be attended with benefit to ourselves and to our countrymen at large. In giving me such a colleague as you have give me, you have added greatly to the honour conferred upon me. Not, however, on account of his great possessions and magnificent establishments, but on account of his well-known, his proverbial, justice and kindness towards all those, from whose labour his acquisitions have arisen. Every part of his character presents to the nation something which reflects honour upon the man whom you have chosen for his colleague; but, in my estimation, this point in his character, exceeds in excellence all the rest. Gentlemen, for many years it appears to have been the study of the numerous hordes of men and women, who have unjustly lived upon the fruit of our labour, to speak of the working people as if they were an inferior race of beings. During all

"these years, I have been expressing, and you have been feeling, indignation at this insolence in the tax-fatted cormorants. You have now had an opportunity to give them the appropriate answer. You have taken one of the 'lower orders,' as they had the insolence to style us, and bidden him go amongst them, to maintain your right to just government. Many as are the years that have rolled over my head, I have not forgotten the time, when, in my blue smock-frock and clumping nailed shoes, I trudged along by the side of the plough-horses, each leg of which horses being pretty nearly as big as my body. I have not forgotten this; and, as the present Prime Minister said that he would stand by his order, the order of ermine robes and coronets; so, be you assured, I will stand by my order, the order of smock-frocks, nailed shoes, and hard fingers. How often have the insolent wretches said, *Let him come here, and we will soon make him find his level*. While they exclaimed, *Let him come*, they lied and they bribed, and expended hundreds of thousands, *not to let him go*. You have now taken him into your hands; you have now given the answer to these insolent pretenders to superiority. You have taken up the Surrey plough-boy; you have tossed him in amongst them, saying, '*There he is!* Now make him find his level!' I feel gratitude towards you, on more accounts than I have now time or presence of mind, to state; but the feeling which predominates in my breast, is that of delight, far beyond all expression, that you have now vindicated not only the rights, but the character of the working people of England. You have set an example to the whole country; and that example cannot fail to be attended with consequences of the greatest importance to us all."

It was, in substance, in this manner, that I concluded my speech. On my own personal account, I set not the value of a straw upon the seat in Parliament. I have, for a long while, wished to be in the Commons' House;

but never for the sake of any advantage or personal pleasure of my own. From a very early age, I imbibed the opinion, that it was every man's duty to do all that lies in his power to *leave his country as good as he found it*. I know that my country presents a scene of wretchedness and disgrace, compared with the scene that it presented at the time that I was born. I hate the life of great cities: I hate their everlasting noise and bustle: my taste, all my own personal enjoyments would lead me far away from them for ever. I could, if I had been so minded, have secured, out of my own earnings, much greater possessions and in a state of tranquillity; much greater than I have ever had a desire to be master of. But, feeling that I possessed the mind to enable me to assist in restoring my country to the state in which I found it, a sense of duty to that country restrains me from consulting my own ease and my own private enjoyments. *Challenged*, too, by the insolent men who have so long endeavoured to throw me into the shade; traduced by their infamous press, with three hundred mouths open constantly against me; thus challenged, and thus traduced and scoffed at, I had to dread the charge of *cowardice*, if I declined to meet my traducers and challengers face to face. These are the considerations which have put me into Parliament. It is not for me to say how much I shall be able to do there; and more especially, it is not for me to specify any particular things that I shall attempt. It will be soon enough to talk of these things when the Parliament has met; and I shall now proceed to give a faithful account of the elections at MANCHESTER and at OLDHAM.

My readers will be pleased to recollect, that the invitation to become a candidate for MANCHESTER, came *first*. The people of OLDHAM, which is at about eight miles distant from MANCHESTER, knowing how difficult it would be to carry an election for MANCHESTER, by mere voluntary support, came to the resolution to secure my return for OLDHAM, which, though inferior to MANCHESTER in point of population,

is still a very large and opulent town, consisting in the whole *parish*, I believe, of upwards of sixty thousand people. Had the invitation come first from OLDHAM, I should certainly have declined that for MANCHESTER; because my object was not to disturb any place, but to take the seat with as much quietness as possible. But, having accepted of the invitation from MANCHESTER, many worthy and most zealous men having put themselves in motion to effect this object, it became my duty to second their efforts with as much activity and zeal as if I had been nominated for MANCHESTER alone; and this duty, from the first moment to the last, I am sure I have performed to their entire satisfaction; though I was all along convinced, that it was next to impossible to carry the election for MANCHESTER, especially when every one in that town knew, to nearly a certainty, that I should be elected for OLDHAM. In accordance with this, my sense of duty towards the people of MANCHESTER, the day of nomination being the same at both towns, I thought it right to appear in person at the nomination at MANCHESTER, and not at OLDHAM. Even if MANCHESTER had not been, for the reasons before mentioned, entitled to the priority in this respect, there was the important circumstance that, at MANCHESTER, there were four rival candidates to meet, face to face; four men of great weight on such an occasion, each with numerous and opulent supporters; whereas, at OLDHAM there were none but perfectly insignificant opponents; and there was my intended colleague, a thousand times more than a match for all those opponents put together. For these reasons I was at the opening of the election at MANCHESTER; where, having obtained an immense majority upon *the view*; having obtained the decision of the *public* at MANCHESTER; having, upon those hustings, seen hooted off that very Mr. SHARPE (as nominator of Mr. LOYD or Mr. HOPE) who was the boroughreeve that forbade me to enter MANCHESTER, on my return from America, in 1819;

and him hooted off by the peo-

ple of that same town, while they rent the air with shouts for the man who was forbidden to enter MANCHESTER, on pain of bayonets and bullets; having witnessed this, and having seen those low and dirty people, the SHUTTLEWORTHS and DYERS, and even Mr. HEYWOOD, the late county member (because he took part with them), hooted and scoffed, and not suffered to convey an articulate sound to the public; having seen these things, and having, by my conduct on the occasion, convinced even my opponents that I had no designs which were just and fair. Having done this, I went off to OLDHAM, there to remain until I should come back to MANCHESTER a member of Parliament. The election at MANCHESTER was, doubtless, greatly influenced by the decision at OLDHAM, which was known at the former place by *twelve o'clock on the first polling day*. So that after that it was naturally to be expected that the electors of MANCHESTER who intended to vote for me, would either transfer their votes to the candidate that they liked next best, or that they would not vote at all. Yet, in spite of this, the state of the poll at its close, on the second day, was as follows:

PHILLIPS	2,923
THOMSON	2,069
LOYD	1,832
HOPE	1,560
COBBETT	1,305

This result, considering the above-mentioned circumstances, alone was sufficiently honourable to me. Not one single pint of beer, or glass of gin, had been given to any human being on my part; no attorney, and no attorney's clerk had been employed; and not a single person hired, I believe, to do any one thing connected with my election. All, except the mere printing, and the hire of a few carriages, was the effect of *voluntary exertion*, chiefly by young men in the middle rank of life, whose zeal and whose activity I never can sufficiently applaud. Probably, there were not less than fifty attorneys and their clerks, together with tax-gatherers, and other controlled persons, constantly on foot against us, with swarms of clerks from

counting-houses, and with a system of canvassing and influence as searching, as if proceeding from a power that had *writs* or *subpœnas*, to serve upon the parties. Observe, too, that Mr. LOYD, besides being a person generally esteemed, has long been the great banker of MANCHESTER; observe, that Mr. HOPE had the support of all that part of the town, which consists of the highest order of manufacturers, and of rich and fashionable families. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, and notwithstanding my return for OLDHAM being known by twelve o'clock the first day, I came, you see, not far behind either of these two gentlemen. As to Mr. PHILLIPS, besides his natural and proper influence in the place, he had the support of the POTTERS, SHUTTLEWORTHS, BAXTERS, and DYERS, who keep the shop of "*improved banking*." They had begun with PHILLIPS only. Having secured, by a most scrutinizing canvass, a majority for PHILLIPS, making use of his name only to get split votes with all the other candidates, they then divided into two committees, one of which proposed POULETT THOMSON; and then they had a re-canvass to get the votes jointly for PHILLIPS and THOMSON. On this second canvass, which was scrutinizing beyond belief, they asserted, *that I had given up MANCHESTER*; and, in short, made use of every art which men of their low character alone are capable of. Accordingly, they were hooted from the presence of the public on the day of nomination; and before the face of that public they will never dare to appear again. Like other venomous reptiles, they could sting; but like those reptiles, they could sting but ONCE: by that sting they injure, but the act of stinging destroys themselves. With regard to the other three gentlemen who were candidates, I had no right to oppose anything, but mere rivalry; but, with regard to Mr. POULETT THOMSON, there was the fact of his being a placeman, which was a sufficient objection anywhere, and particularly at a place like MANCHESTER. Those low intriguers, BAXTER, SHUTTLEWORTH, the POTTERS,

and DYER, have been the heroes of public meetings for several years past: they have been the great orators upon all these occasions; and they intended to choose from amongst themselves the two members for the town. So far had they gone in this respect, that RICHARD POTTER had actually had the canvassing cards printed for the purpose. When they found that the people shrugged up their shoulders, and shook their heads at this, they thought the next best thing was, to get one of the Ministers elected, that they might creep into a share of the good things under the tail of his gaberdine. Mr. PHILLIPS, if he do his duty (and I have no reason to think that he will not), will have plenty of work to do; but, the Lord have mercy upon poor POULETT THOMSON! There will be BAXTER boring him with his pompous inanity. There will be the POTTERS with their broad shoulders and broad simper, pestering him for measures to save the kingdom by enlarging the "*improved system of banking*" and "*cotton buying*," carried on at the "*three golden balls*." There will be that remorseless Yankee, DYER, plaguing him to death with his carding-machines and his patents, and swearing, in the usual Connecticut twang, that to make the kingdom perfectly secure, there is nothing like giving him a share in the profits of the Bank of England. And there will be SHUTTLEWORTH, offed and scoffed and coughed out of MANCHESTER, hurrying away to London, and rapping everlastingly at his door, calling upon him for the "*extension of trade*" and the limitation in the breeding on the part of the women. Poor Mr. THOMSON will have to muffle his knocker, and to lay straw in the street opposite his door. He will have to listen to all the eulogiums on their sons and relations; and to hear them pointed out as persons extremely capable, and also extremely desirous, to assist in saving the kingdom. His house will be besieged by them: the instructions which POPE gave to his porter, "*Say I am sick, I am dead*," will not avail poor THOMSON. SHUTTLEWORTH and DYER will

insist upon *seeing the body*, which, they now, at this moment, look upon as their property, as much as the man in the fable looked upon his wooden god as his property. If I were THOMSON, I would have these fellows painted, tell them that he had a desire to have their likenesses, on account of this their grand achievement. Painter never performed an easier task; for a group to resemble them, human nature has not provided. Having their pictures, I would hang them up in my hall, and then take the porter, and say to him; "There! you see those fine pictures: and, if you let in over the sill of my door any one of the fellows which those pictures resemble, not a whole bone shall be left in your skin, in one hour after that." They will try to catch him in the street: they will hunt him to his country seat, if he be not as wily as a hare is in taking her form. As to their *letters*, of which he will soon have half a dozen volumes, as long as there is fire in the world there is a remedy for them. DYER said in one of his published papers, that MANCHESTER stood in need of a Minister for one of its members, *that well-informed persons in the town might be in constant communication with him!* Dreadful intimation! However, forewarned, forearmed; and I dare say that THOMSON, who is not destitute of common sense, whatever whims he may have about emigration and surplus population, has already begun to think of the means by which he shall protect himself against the impertinent babble, written as well as verbal, of this group of vulgar and concealed men. He may safely, with an eye to the *future*, set them at defiance; for, never will they dare to show their faces before the public in MANCHESTER again; and, as to another election of members of Parliament for the town, the very suspicion that they are for any candidate, will be sufficient to secure his rejection. This little meddling, concealed, and ambitious crew used Mr. LORD very ill; were guilty of the foulest treatment towards him; and if they did not use Mr. HOPE very ill also, if they did

not betray him by their double dealing, it was only because his friends disdained them so completely as not to think of holding intercourse with them any more than as if they had been so many toads. In short, this little nest has had its sting, and it is dead for the future.

So much for the election at MANCHESTER. With regard to that for OLDHAM, I can say nothing more, or very little more, than that which my honourable colleague and myself did not endeavour to say in the following ADDRESS, which we read to the electors as soon as the return had been made, and which was immediately afterwards printed, published, and circulated, and which I insert here as something due to ourselves; and as something still more clearly due to the excellent people, of whom we are truly the representatives in Parliament.

"TO THE

"ELECTORS OF OLDHAM.

"*Oldham, 14. December, 1832.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"We return you our best thanks for the great honour which you have done us, in choosing us to represent this borough in Parliament, and thereby declaring us to be, in your opinion, worthy of the great trust of watching over, and taking care to provide for, the safety of your properties, your liberties, and your lives. Fully sensible of the great duties which your confidence in us has thus imposed upon us; well aware of the arduousness of the undertaking; still we encounter the task willingly and cheerfully. Stimulated by your example to that steadiness of purpose, that diligence, that perseverance, that devotion to public duty, of all which you have, upon this occasion, set a pattern worthy of being followed by the whole kingdom; stimulated by this, your example, we confidently hope that we shall be enabled, by following that example, to assist in the producing of such a change as shall cause the industrious people, in all the walks of life, and in every part of

" the kingdom, once more to have
 " those enjoyments which are the just
 " reward of their several labours, and
 " as shall prevent the fruit of those
 " labours from being devoured by those
 " who render nothing in return.

" Gentlemen, where ALL have done
 " so well; where EVERY MAN has
 " done his *best*; where electors and
 " non-electors have so cordially united
 " in the performance of this great duty,
 " it would be invidious to attempt to
 " discriminate; and in this case, the
 " only subject of regret with us is that
 " there should have been any non-
 " electors at all; and, gentlemen, if we
 " had before wanted anything to con-
 " vince us that every man, being of age,
 " of sane mind, and unstained by inde-
 " lible crime, ought to have a vote,
 " your conduct upon this occasion would
 " have produced such conviction.

" We beg leave to thank you in a
 " more particular manner, for your
 " peaceable, your sensible, your deco-
 " rous behaviour, during the whole of
 " this proceeding from the beginning to
 " the end; and, gentlemen, if any one,
 " in our hearing, should still have the
 " temerity and the injustice to represent
 " the people of England as not *well-in-*
 " *formed enough* to be intrusted with
 " universal suffrage, you will never find
 " us fail to produce this excellent con-
 " duct of yours as a conclusive answer
 " to such objection.

" Ostentatious show, of every de-
 " scription, and particularly those *chair-*
 " *ings* which have been customary at
 " boroughmonger-elections, are not only
 " contrary to our taste, and to the
 " habits of our lives, but, in this case,
 " they are forbidden by that sound
 " sense, of which you have given so
 " many conspicuous proofs. Amongst
 " the means which tyrants make use of,
 " are those of amusing and diverting
 " the miserable people with gaudy
 " shows and pompous exhibitions. But,
 " what do we want with more than
 " this one fact; that the legislative
 " lacqueys of the boroughmongers,
 " that those corrupt men, whose mea-
 " sures have brought the country to its
 " present state of wretchedness, have

" all been carried in triumphal chairs
 " on the shoulders of those degraded
 " creatures who were base enough to
 " be hired to perform the disgraceful
 " office. Never was there a *chairing*
 " in the United States of America :
 " slaves carry their pretended represen-
 " tatives on their shoulders, or hitch
 " themselves on to their chariot-wheels :
 " freemen leave their real representa-
 " tives to walk on foot.

" Once more, gentlemen, accept of
 " our sincere thanks for the honour
 " which you have done us; be assured
 " of our strict adherence to all the
 " pledges that we have given you; be
 " assured of our diligent attention to
 " all your grievances, whether local, or
 " general; give us leave to hope, that
 " oppressors of every description, by
 " seeing your determination not to be
 " longer oppressed, will be disposed to
 " relinquish all attempts at farther op-
 " pression; give us leave, in conclu-
 " sion, to express our firm reliance on
 " your support in the performance of
 " our labours; and finally, we express
 " to you our confident expectation of
 " such a result, proceeding from this
 " your meritorious conduct, as will
 " make your children remember this
 " day with gratitude to their fathers,
 " and as will endear the name of OLD-
 " HAM to every lover of freedom and of
 " justice, from one end of the kingdom
 " to the other.

" With these sentiments, and with
 " an anxious wish, that we may be able
 " to assist in causing prosperity to re-
 " turn to your industrious dwellings;
 " with our best wishes for the happi-
 " ness of yourselves, your wives, and
 " your children, and all that are dear
 " to you, we remain

" your faithful friends,

" and most obedient servants,

" WM. COBBETT.

" JOHN FIELDEN."

The polling was over on the 13th,
 when the numbers stood as follows :

FIELDEN.....	670
COBBETT	642
BRIGHT	153
BURGE	101
STEPHEN	3

At this election not one single farthing's worth of victuals or drink was given to anybody for any services whatsoever. The committee, composed of sensible and sober manufacturers and tradesmen, paid for the printing that they had done, and paid all the expenses of the hustings, polling places, clerks, &c. They paid also for the entertainment of the candidates at the hotel: and even the carriages to and from MANCHESTER, that I went in, I found paid for; and not a man nor woman in this excellent town, attempted to obtain from us either money, drink, or any promise to do anything for them in their private concerns. This was *purity of election*, indeed. It is an honour, indeed, to represent a people like this. Neither of us ever canvassed in any shape or form, either individually or collectively: neither of us ever asked the people to give us a vote; but we contented ourselves with saying, that, if they chose us to represent them, we would be their true representatives to the utmost of our power.

Of one thing we are both of us particularly proud; and that is, that the people had the good sense; that sense of their own worth, and our rights, as to scorn to attempt to *chair* us, or to drag us through the streets. In my address to them on my RETURN, I besought them not to think of imitating the slaves of the boroughmongers; I besought them not to tarnish the honour which they had conferred on us, in their character of freemen, by putting themselves in the attitude of slaves, and carrying us, or dragging us, through the streets. "Now," said I, "my friends, 'I shall come down from the hustings, and the first hand-loom weaver I meet with, I shall take by the arm and walk with him up to the hotel from which I came.'" I did this, Mr. FIELDEN did the same; and thus, in this appropriate manner, we closed this election, which ought to become an example to every borough and every county in the kingdom. Not a disturbance of any sort; not a blow given in anger; scarcely an abusive word from one person to another; not a single

drunken man to be seen about the streets; much singing, much playing music, much joy, much triumph; but all was peace and decorum, from the beginning to the end. In the words of QUEEN MARGARET, when she had, by a body of her adherents, at the manifest risk of their lives, and with the loss of many of those lives, been rescued from the hands of her deadly enemies; in her words I say of the people of OLDHAM, "These are LANCASTRIANS, indeed!"

We said nothing in our address of the distinguished merits of the committee; but we well knew how great those merits were; and, from this distance, I beg they will receive from me this testimony of my admiration of their conduct, in which were evinced as much public spirit, as much zeal, as much diligence, as much prudence, as ever were witnessed in the conduct of any persons in the world; and it only remains for me to pray to God to preserve my health, and to enable me to do those things which shall show that I am not unworthy of all these exertions in my behalf. I am quite sure, that this sentiment is fully responded by my honourable colleague, and that no exertion will be wanting on his part to prove to the nation, that the people of OLDHAM have been as wise, as they have been zealous and generous.

I cannot dismiss this subject, without mentioning that, I being absent, Mr. FITTON, of ROYTON, supplied my place in addressing the electors at the opening of the election; and, to those who know him, it is unnecessary for me to say, that his speech was worthy of admiration. When I got to OLDHAM, in the evening, I found everybody talking of this speech, this "fine speech" of Mr. FITTON, and I found that it had been highly extolled by the WHIG, the TORY, and the anti-slavery man. Well it might; for, without my hearing it, I venture to say, that they never heard so able a speech before. Mr. FITTON (then very young) came to London, as one of the REFORM DEPUTIES, in 1817, when the DUNGEON and the GAGGING BILLS were passed. Even then he discovered very great talent and rare knowledge and prudence. Time has given him an

ample store of knowledge; and he has kept steadily on, most disinterestedly pursuing the great object that first brought him forth. I, in this public manner, beg him to accept of my thanks for his able support upon this occasion, and to assure him, that, though this support could not add to the warmth of that friendship which I have long felt towards him, it gives him an additional claim to my gratitude,

To name the whole of the committee at MANCHESTER would be tedious, and to name particular individuals would be to do injustice to the rest. Their labours were great; but I hope they find their reward in the result; for, though they did not carry the man they wished to carry, they have destroyed the *malignant junto* for ever. This *junto* has the consequences *yet to taste*. Their attempts to injure Mr. WHITTLE are such as are never to be forgotten; and such as never will be forgotten, as long as they shall dare to show themselves in the streets of Manchester. At this immensetown, too, all was peace and good order. No violence *where I had to take a part*; and, I am sure, that every one will do me the justice to say, that I voluntarily did everything in my power to produce this result, so very creditable to the town of Manchester.

WM. COBBETT.

RIGHTS OF THE LABOURERS.

ON this subject, which is by far the most interesting that can, in the present state of the country, be written or spoken upon, I have received the following letter from Mr. GEORGE FORDHAM, jun., who is a great farmer in Hertfordshire, whom I believe to be a very worthy man, and who is a person of very considerable talent; but who, upon this subject, appears to me to be greatly in error; and who, upon this occasion, has suffered his *anger* to betray him into misrepresentations, which, at another time, he would, I hope, not have given into, for any purpose, much less for the purpose for which those misrepresenta-

tions have here been employed. Having thus spoken of the letter, it is just that I insert the letter at full length; and that I then make good these, my observations, with regard to it.

"ON BOARDING AND LODGING THE "POOR IN FARM-HOUSES.

"To MR. COBBETT.

"SIR,—I have often read your *Register* with improvement; and in all "you have said about the right of the "poor 'to be upon, and to have a "living out of, the land of their birth,' "I perfectly agree with you. But "when, in your *Register* for November "the 24., you say that Mr. Crossby, of "Kirkby Lonsdale, will tell us that, 'to "prevent stack-burning in future, we "must keep the young men, young "women, the boys and the girls, in "the farm-houses, and give a young "man from fourteen to seventeen "pounds a year wages, with board "and lodging in the house, with "table-cloth and knife and fork and "plate laid for him twice in the day;' "I do not agree with you or Mr. "Crossby; that is, I do not agree with "you that stack-burning ought to be "made dependent upon our treatment "of the poor *in this respect*. I am "myself a large farmer, and I hope I "treat my labourers well; and I do not "know a labourer who complains, or "has any right to complain; and hav- "ing thus a comfortable subsistence "from me in return for the labour they "perform, I deny their right, moral or "legal, to enter my house, or to claim "any obligation from me to give them "either board or lodging. I have a "wife and family of eight children, and "I have a comfortable house for them "to live in; and I expect that when a "poor man marries, that he also will pro- "vide for, board and lodge, his family as I "do, provided that for his labour I give "him the means of doing so, and that "he shall not claim any *right* to quarter "his children upon me, and make me "and my wife lay a table-cloth and "knife and fork and plate for the "twenty children he may think proper

"to propagate and then thrust into 'my castle,' for me to wait upon as their humble slave. To be compelled to do this, would indeed be 'a damnable tyranny,' such as no Englishman would submit to. A poor man would not care how many children he had, provided he knew he could afterwards thrust all of them upon his master to board and lodge them. The very birds of the air board and lodge their own young, and work very hard through the day to feed them : and one pair of birds do not impose this duty upon another pair ; and should a poor man be exempted from this most natural, sacred, and honourable of all our duties, or basely throw this moral obligation upon another man, who has his own children to board and lodge at the same time ? The parents who do this can never love their children, nor can the children truly love such parents. There may be farmers who choose to board and lodge their men, but then that must be a voluntary act, and the poor ought not to be led to believe that this treatment is *their right*, or that stack-burning is to be made to depend on our treatment of them *in this respect*. If they have this monstrous *right*, my house is no longer 'my castle,' but the castle of the young men and women and boys and girls of the village ; and I am no longer their master, but their servant and tenant.

"I remain,

"yours truly,

"GEORGE FORDHAM, jun."

MY ANSWER.

In the first place, I did not say, that stack-burning *ought to be made dependent upon the treatment of the poor*. I did not (to say a word upon that matter) call the labouring people "*THE POOR*." I never, in my life-time, applied that degrading appellation to the *working people in general*. The man that is able to get his living by his labour, ought not to be called a *poor* man. He is a labouring man, a working man ; but he may be that, and yet not a *poor* man. Those engaged in agriculture, I

always call labourers : those employed in any other labours of the body, I call working men ; but, it would seem, that Mr. FORDHAM has found a whole race of people which he calls "the poor ;" and that, according to him, all the people of a village, who work for other people, are "*the poor* ;" so that, according to his notions, the working people are a distinct race of beings, entitled to have the definite article placed before their denominative term ; and that we are to speak of "*the poor*" as we speak of *the sheep, the pigs, the fowls, the moles, and the worms*. I, in behalf of the labourers, reject this appellation with scorn ; and, it being thus familiarly used by a man like Mr. FORDHAM, is, of itself, a proof of the necessity of asserting and maintaining the rights of this large portion of the Commons of England.

To return to the "*stack-burning* ;" I never said that the labourers *ought to burn* the stacks of the farmers, on any account whatsoever. I never said this : my words have no such meaning : Mr. FORDHAM misrepresents very grossly. I said, that treating the labouring people well, and especially keeping the young men and boys in the farm-houses, under the eye of the farmer and his wife ; keeping them from associating together in dangerous groups ; giving them comfortable homes ; placing them out of the way of temptation ; giving them reason to have a kindly feeling towards the farmers and their families : I said that this was the most *effectual way of preventing stack-burning* ; but I never said, that stack-burning ought to be carried on until this should take place. Mr. FORDHAM knows, as well as I do, that the young men and boys used to live in the farm-houses ; that they used to be brought up under the farmers and their wives ; he knows as well as I do, that the change has been produced by the paper-money works, which have moulded five or six farms into one ; he knows as well as I do, that the morals of the working-people have been destroyed by this change ; he knows as well as I do, that since the piano-fortes and the parlour-

bells and the carpets came into farm-houses, the lot of the labourer has been growing worse and worse; he knows as well as I do, that the farm-house is the proper *home* for the young people employed in agriculture; but Mr. FORDHAM is a great farmer; it does not suit his taste to have the young people in his house; his practice is contrary to my doctrine; he finds it impossible to answer satisfactorily; and, therefore, in his anger, he resorts to misrepresentation; a practice a great deal more frequent than it is commendable.

I do not insist upon the "right" of the young people to be lodged and boarded in the farm-houses. I insist only upon the justice and the prudence of doing it; I pretend not that they have a legal right to be so maintained. Mr. FORDHAM himself allows, even he has the generosity to allow, "that they have a right to be upon, and have a living out of, the land of their birth." Even he allows this; and I only point out the best way of their enjoying this undenied right; I only point out the best place for them to be, and the best manner of having that living, which he himself says they have a right to; and I believe I have pointed out the best place for them to be in, and the best manner to have the living.

If Mr. FORDHAM had not been in a furious passion, he would not have talked about servants in husbandry, young men, boys, and women; he would not have talked about these men and maids being forced into his house, *to be waited upon by him, his wife, and his children!* He would not have talked about the milk-maid, and the girl employed in brewing and baking; he would not have talked about their being *waited upon by his wife and children!* Mr. FORDHAM was in a passion, or he would have perceived that his wife and eight children had somebody to wait upon them; and that it is not so very clear, whatever he may think of it, that they have a right to be waited upon by anybody, and, at the same time, refusing to take under their roof their due proportion of the labouring people. Their

right to occupy a house with numerous rooms, while a labourer's wife and eight children, some grown up, and all shut out of the farm-houses, have only a small cottage to be crammed into; it is not so clear, that right takes place in these two cases. But, did I pretend that the young men and women were to be waited upon by the farmer's wife and children? Did I pretend to hold that they ought to be anything but "servants in husbandry," according to law; that law, which, unmutated, is as just and as wise as any that ever existed in the world? I pretended to hold no doctrine other than that of the law. I was speaking of "servants in husbandry," engaged by contract, voluntarily on both sides; and, therefore, all that Mr. FORDHAM says about *waiting upon* these servants, about their being *his masters*, about his house no longer being "*his castle*:" all that he says here is nothing more than mere passionate and vehement misrepresentation and exaggeration.

But there is another part of his letter which shows how dangerous it always is to contend against the rights of nature. Mr. FORDHAM tells us very coolly, that he takes care *to provide for his wife and children*, and that the labouring man ought to take care to provide for his wife and children. By-the-by, in his exaggerations above noticed, he pretends to understand, that I meant, *that the married men should bring their wives and children into the farm-house.* This is a sheer falsehood. It is beyond a misrepresentation; because I said nothing that could possibly bear this interpretation. But that the labouring man has a right to a living for his children as well as for himself, out of the land on which he was born, I maintain in the teeth of all the big farmers upon the face of the earth. Mr. FORDHAM says, "that when the labourer marries he will take care to provide for his family, as he (Mr. FORDHAM) takes care to provide for his family." Mr. FORDHAM takes care to have, I suppose, about a thousand or fifteen hundred acres of land in his hands; and he, with the acknow-

judgment which he sets out with, will scarcely find a sufficiency of logic to prove that the labourers of the village have not a right to a living for themselves and their families out of that land and the rest of the lands in the village. Mr. FORDHAM was in a passion, or he would have perceived, that he had a thousand acres of land wherewith to provide for his wife and eight children: and that the labourers of the village had no land at all; and that, they having (as he himself has the goodness to acknowledge) "a right to be upon, and have a living out of, the land where they were born," the labouring man must either have, for the maintenance of his family, a provision out of Mr. FORDHAM's land, or, *must have some of Mr. FORDHAM's land given up to him that he may cultivate it himself!* Between these, I leave Mr. FORDHAM to choose.

Towards the end of my "ENGLISH GRAMMAR," I warn the scholar against the incautious use of figures of rhetoric. One of these figures is called the *simile* or *comparison*. Mr. FORDHAM affords us a happy (or rather an unhappy) illustration of the usefulness of this precept. Speaking of the married labourer calling upon others to maintain his children, he contrasts what he calls the unnatural conduct of that labourer, with the very laudable conduct of the wild birds. "The very birds of the air board and lodge their own young, and work very hard through the day to feed them; and one pair of birds do not impose this duty upon another pair; and should a poor man be exempted from this most natural, sacred, and honourable, of all our duties, or basely throw this moral obligation upon another man, who has, too, his own children to board and lodge at the same time?"

A very pretty figure; and one that does great credit to the literary talents of Mr. FORDHAM; but, containing an argument which completely oversets the whole of his doctrine. I agree to every word that this passage contains. Very true, that the birds of the air lodge and their own young. Very true that

one pair of birds do not impose this duty upon another pair of birds. Very true that each pair of birds work hard through the day to go and seek for food and bring it to their young; but (and Mr. FORDHAM in his passion forgot it) have the whole country to range in; have every hedge and every field and every wood and every farm-yard, wherein to seek for, find, and take, the food; and that there is no single pair of birds with great swallows, to say to the rest of the pairs of birds, "You shall not come to seek for food in these hedges, nor in these fields; for all these are ours! You shall not touch a berry in this hedge, nor a grain in this field; but, on the contrary, shall go and collect the grain and the berries and bring them in for the hen and eight young ones in this nest." There is no pair of black birds, of thrushes, of finches, or even of "damnable tyrannical" hawks, to hold language like this to the other pairs of birds; if there were, the feathered nation, more just, or, at least, more courageous than the nation that has hair upon its head, and has fingers and toes, instead of feathers, would instantly be in one universal rebellion; and we should see the very robins and wrens with their hackles stuck up and pecking at the "damnable tyrannical" hawk.

When Mr. FORDHAM, who is a very worthy man, and who, I dare say, does treat his labourers as well as they can be treated, under a system like the present; when he gets the better of his passion, and shall have time to bestow a little *thought* upon the subject, he will see, that he must either deny that men have a right to be upon, or have a living out of, the land of their birth; he must either deny *this right*, and insist upon it that the owners of land have an *absolute* property in it; or he must allow that all men and all women have a *RIGHT*, a clear legal right, in case of need, to be provided for, to have their bodily wants and their health provided for out of the fruits of the land; and that, if they have not this right, then the *right of nature returns*: that is to say, the *right of the strongest*. Mr.

FORDHAM will, I am sure, bear this in mind; and I hope never to see him again moving his pen in an attempt to invalidate this great law of our country; this great Christian principle, this bond of civil society. Let him bear in mind, that *extremes meet*; that the doctrine of *absolute* proprietorship in land is something so monstrous, that men naturally fly from it; and, no wonder that they do not stop to discriminate and to qualify, but push on, until they arrive at the point of *no proprietorship at all*. STURGES BOURNE'S Bills took a large stride in the former direction: they were against nature; against the *natural* as well as against the *legal* rights of the labouring people; and, if they be not speedily repealed, the consequences will be such as every one will deplore, but as every man of sense must anticipate.

WM. COBBETT.

TO
MR. THOMAS SMITH,
OF LIVERPOOL.

Guildford, Surrey, 19. Dec. 1832.

DEAR SIR,

IN looking around me for the man, to whom, more than to any other man, I have been indebted for efficient aid in my long war against corruption and tyrannical violence, my mind (passing over only *one* man) unhesitatingly fixes on *you*. To you I owe, that the writings of *Long Island* were printed in London. My arm was long and strong; but its length and strength would have been of no avail without the constant aid which it received from your prudently exercised zeal for, and devotion to, the public good. In those dismal days, when "darkness visible" seemed to have established its perpetual dominion; when the tongues of all around you seemed to have been made for no other purpose than that of pronouncing my name, accompanied with the foulest of calumnies; when even to venture to suggest that my enemies might possibly be in error, was a crime deemed worthy of banishment from social life; when *such*

hypocrisy, malignant envy, and base cowardice, united to back the sentence of perpetual banishment which tyranny had pronounced against me; when *all* these chuckled with hell-like joy in the confident hope that I was gone never to return; ay, and when so many flinched from fear of my hosts of foes: in those dismal days, *you*, to whom I had never spoken in my life; you, whose person I knew not, you stood boldly forward my defender and my friend; through *your* means, and your means alone, I was enabled to make England hear my voice, and to fix in the minds of my countrymen those *predictions relative to Peel's Bill*, which, above all other things, have contributed to produce *all* that we now behold.

You will know how great are my feelings of gratitude towards you, and how great my admiration of your knowledge and your talents; but it is just and proper that the world should know them too, and for this reason I have written this letter.

I am your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I am going to "*find my level*" soon! What does BOTT say about it? I should like to see his *anticipations*. Curious! TREVOR is flung out of Parliament, just as I am going into it! Don't you remember, "*Trevor and Potatoes*."

DAILY PAPER.

I SAID, that, if I were elected to be a member of Parliament, I would have *a daily paper under my control*. If I can have this as far as relates to *reports of proceedings in Parliament*, that will be sufficient for my purpose; and, I think, that it is likely that I can have this, without setting up a paper myself. If so, I shall be glad; but, I am resolved not to be at the mercy of "*the Reporters*." We shall, most probably, do our work by *day-light*; and, in that case, men of *sober habits* may easily be found to report our proceedings.

ELECTIONS.

OF those who have been RETURNED, I shall say little or nothing, no ill at any rate; because I am now on the same floor with them, and may, if I choose, say the ill to their face; while they have not their pens in this Register. But, of those who have been rejected, I may, if I like, speak my mind, they having the press to resort to. However, it would be, as yet, premature to say much about the elections, or, at least, to do any thing more than merely give an account of some of the most interesting conflicts at particular places, and this I shall now do.

I take the following account of the OLDHAM ELECTION, from the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* of the 15. inst.

The Oldham election commenced precisely at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, by the nomination of the respective candidates, on a hustings erected in front of the late Miss Booth's shop, in the New Market-place, opposite the church. The crowd which assembled to witness the proceedings, amounted to twelve or fifteen thousand persons, who collected together from all parts of the borough, and rendered all the streets busy, and a scene of activity. The members, flags, and bands of music belonging to the Oldham, Chadderton, Royton, and Crompton Political Unions, marched to the ground; and a large posse of special constables took up their station among the vast multitude. The novelty of the scene was still further augmented by the waving of banners, borne in different directions, all of them in favour of the popular candidates—Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden. The Whigs and Tories did not make any public exhibition, except putting out a flag at their committee-rooms. One of the colours was carried by a veteran of eighty-four, who testified his hearty approbation of the radicals by wearing their favour. Another person, equally zealous in the cause, was a woman, who appeared dressed entirely in green. The banners were uncommonly numerous and elegant; and they all bore inscrip-

tions in compliment to Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden. Some were inscribed with the names of the two candidates; others bore the names of the places to which they belonged, and several were lettered with the words "Equitable Adjustment," "Universal Suffrage," "Vote by Ballot," "No Tithes," "No Corn Laws," &c. One of them excited particular attention; it was the representation of a yeomanry cavalry soldier cutting down men and women, and over the figures were inscribed, "Remember the foul deeds of Peterloo." Immediately before the hustings was placed the picture of a negro slave in chains, intended as a hint to the two candidates connected with colonial slavery.

The hustings were as crowded as the space below, being filled by the returning-officer, his friends, all the candidates except Mr. Cobbett (who was at Manchester), and parties intimately acquainted with them. When the returning-officer's attorney had read the county and borough writs, with other customary documents, it was agreed that the candidates should be nominated in the order they entered the field.

Mr. JOSHUA MILNE consequently stepped forward, to move that John Fielden, Esq., was a fit and proper person to represent this ancient town and new-born borough in the ensuing Parliament. He would not tire them by enumerating the circumstances which rendered Mr. Fielden fit and proper to represent them; they knew them well. (Cheers.) Mr. Fielden had already expressed his willingness to support such liberal measures as were likely to occupy the attention of Parliament. He is particularly opposed to all tyranny and injustice, especially to the curse of colonial slavery; and if you do your duty, he will do his, both to England and Africa. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of Crompton, seconded the motion, and, in so doing, said it gave him great pleasure to bear testimony to Mr. Fielden's principles. Mr. Fielden had told them, in his address, that he was a reformer, on the broad principle, which meant he would

reform our taxation, lessen our sorrow, and increase our happiness. He was quite aware that he need not tell them how the debt had crippled their resources, and made them poor. If he had time he could relate the evils of corn-laws, the injurious tendency of monopolies, and the corruptions of the state. On this election, he said, depends your welfare and comfort; therefore, act as men determined to be free; do not break the peace, do not insult any one, but gain a quiet and undisturbed victory.

Mr. HALLIDAY, in rising to propose William Cobbett, Esq. (cheers) as a fit and proper person to represent them in Parliament, would ask who was fitter for a representative than he who was the father of reform. It was allowed on all hands that Mr. COBBETT was powerful in his talents; and he would ask if this were not sufficient to qualify him for representing them. (General approbation.) His long and effective advocacy of reform, his sufferings in the cause, his great merits, and the admiration he was held in, even by his enemies, eminently entitled him to sit in Parliament. (Yes.) He reflected on the present Ministry, whose conduct towards Ireland was execrable, and whose paltry meanness in resorting to France, to know how to keep the public accounts, was degrading to an Englishman's feelings. He was convinced that if Mr. Cobbett were returned, such disgraceful conduct would cease. (Loud applause.)

Mr. HALLIWELL seconded the motion in a very short speech.

Mr. JAMES MELLOR then advanced to the front of the hustings, and proposed B. H. Bright, Esq., as a fit and proper person to represent them. In doing this, he knew he was proposing a gentleman of liberal, honest, and enlightened views. (Hisses.) They all knew that it was the war that had caused taxation to increase, a monopoly of corn to be suffered, and distress to become general. Every poor man, he considered, ought to be untaxed: the taxes ought to be borne by the wealthy; and if Mr. Bright were returned to Parliament, he was convinced that he

would relieve the poor from taxes (laughter); that he would abolish sinecures, and economize and retrench the financial department. He had long been a reformer (laughter), and still remained one—such a one, that he would rigidly but gradually (laughter) amend their situation.

Mr. JAMES WHITEHEAD, solicitor, seconded the nomination. In the discharge of their duty they ought to select true reformers to represent them (laughter), who would bring the accursed corn-laws to an end. (Cheers from his party.) If he had not been convinced of Mr. Bright's merits and friendship for the poor, he should not have supported him. (Disapprobation.)

Mr. GEORGE WRIGHT, hat-manufacturer, proposed William Burge, Esq., as fit and proper to represent the borough. In doing this, he begged to assure them they did not come to seek their votes with meanness, or to gloss over and disguise abuses. (A cry of "Bravo; well done the Tories.") Mr. Burge has been introduced to your notice by many respectable inhabitants, who have gained your private esteem and friendship. The class who bring him forward are designated the Tories; and if a class who wish institutions to be preserved, tyranny put an end to, the poor man befriended, and justice administered, be called Tories, I confess we are so. (Laughter.) Mr. Burge was, in his consideration, highly suitable as a representative. (Cheers from the conservatives.)

JOHN TAYLOR, Esq., captain of the Oldham cavalry corps, seconded the motion, because, in so doing he conceived he should be supporting a gentleman every way worthy of their choice. (Laughter.)

The Rev. WILLIAM FULLARTON WALKER, minister of St. James's, Greenacres Moor, next presented himself, for the purpose of moving that George Stephen, Esq., was a fit and proper person to represent them in Parliament. He did it solely because he was a friend of humanity, and he had considered it his duty, as a minister of God, to exhort the electors of Oldham not to sanction

candidates who, if not directly concerned in colonial slavery, were its abettors. Mr. Stephen had been placed in the situation of a candidate, solely to rescue Oldham from the disgrace which would befall it if slave-holders should be its representatives. (Loud cheers.) If there be a man in whom you could place confidence, it is George Stephen, who is, I do not disown it, the agent of the anti-slavery society, (cheers from the Whigs and Tories,) and, I must add, the unpaid agent of that body. (Cheers.)

The Rev. THOMAS F. JORDAN, Baptist minister, seconded the nomination of Mr. Stephen, in a speech full of eloquence and fervour. We stand here, he said, not to contend with those gentlemen who are pledged to the immediate abolition of slavery, but to induce you, by all means, to renounce any connexion with candidates of a different cast. (Cheers.) Do not, I beseech you, be entrapped by the enemies of humanity, and the foes of freedom. (Cheers.)

JOHN FIELDEN, Esq. rose amidst tremendous applause, and spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen, as I have said before, it was with reluctance that I consented to be put in nomination to represent you, because I was persuaded I had no such abilities as to fit me for the situation. I was well aware that I did not possess the power to frighten by words, or terrify by substance—(applause)—but the love of my country, the wish to benefit my fellow-men, induced me to become a candidate. (No doubt.) When I lent myself to your borough, it was upon the express condition that I would not sit unless Mr. Cobbett did; because I know if Mr. Cobbett does not sit, reform will produce little or no good. (Applause.) If he is returned, he will not be long in the House before he convinces you of his utility. (Cheers.) Property qualifications for a member of Parliament ought to be dispensed with, and if anything could convince a man of its utter inutility, surely the speech of Mr. Halliday would be sufficient. Mr. Fielden then alluded to the arbitrary nature of the 10*l.* franchise. Property qualifica-

tions, both for members and voters, reminded him of what was once said by Dr. Franklin in the American senate, when speaking upon the subject. The Doctor stated that he had a neighbour who had an ass which he used for carrying fish to market. The neighbour lost his ass by death, and along with it he lost a right to vote, which he had possessed while it was living. Dr. Franklin wished to know whether it was the ass, or the owner of it, that could vote. (Laughter.) Why the former, to be sure. The same question might be put here: whether the ten-pound house or its occupier was represented. It was the former innocent inanimate thing which was represented. (Laughter.) If the men, and not the houses, had been represented, the poor would not have been in the state of distress and misery they are now. (Cheers.) There is a flag held up here which brings to my mind an event disgraceful to this country. At a time when the people of Manchester were peaceably assembled to petition for reform, they were grossly attacked by a brutal soldiery; but I hope and trust that the deeds of that day will be inquired into. (Very loud cheering.) There were many who opposed the people on that occasion, who were now reduced to poverty and want by the system they then upheld. We all know what were the effects of the war—excessive taxation; we all know how the people have become oppressed; we all know how long they petitioned for redress in vain; and all sensible men know that it is time they should be relieved (cheers), or else convulsion will follow. I find but little difference in the sentiments of the gentlemen who brought forward Messrs. Bright and Burge. The first says the people ought to be made comfortable and happy. This is what I say. The second aims at affording security to property. This is all I ask for; and what property would he protect? Why that of the labouring man. It ought to be the object of all good governments to protect the poor man's property, and that was his labour. (Applause, particularly from Mr. Bright.) If these gentlemen would

pledge themselves to vote for protecting the working man's labour, I should very gladly retire from the poll. (General applause.) Mr. Fielden explained his views on tithes, the malt, hop, and soap duties, and the corn-laws, and proceeded to condemn the enormous amount of debt as an unjust impost. He concluded by advocating the justice of an immediate abolition of slavery, without any compensation to the planters. At the termination of his remarks he was greeted by loud plaudits.

Mr. FITTON, in the absence of Mr. Cobbett, begged to thank the meeting for the honour they had conferred upon that gentleman, by nominating him. If there be one man more than another who has superior claims upon you—I do not say it with disrespect towards the other candidates—that man is William Cobbett. (Cries of “So it is.”) His great powers of mind, his mighty mental qualifications, his sufferings in the cause of reform, his talent, his ability, his zeal, are all proofs of his great fitness to be a representative. When the Tories have called him the father of reform, I think we may, with equal confidence, say he shall be the father of the representatives we intend to send. (Cheers.) Mr. Fitton went on to say, Mr. Cobbett had no ambition to gratify, or private interests to serve, if he went to Parliament, but would be found a hearty and a noble adherent of the people, of the monarchy, and of the constitution. (Cheers.) Before he has been in Parliament six months, I think our opponents will have cause to regret their opposition. (Renewed cheers.)

R. H. BRIGHT, Esq., the Whig candidate, succeeded Mr. Fitton, and delivered his sentiments at considerable length. He should be glad to learn, at the end of six months, that Mr. Cobbett had become useful, but he doubted it. (Hisses.) Nothing could afford him more pleasure than beholding his friend, Mr. Fielden (laughter), so popular. He had known that gentleman some time, and had struggled with him to gain that bill which they were now met to make effective. (Cheers from his friends.) That bill I regard as a means to an end,

and looking upon it in that light, I should attempt to turn it to good and useful purposes; not to be wielded by one party as an engine which is to be useless, and by another as a step to revolution. (Hisses.) The elective franchise too restricted, the taxes too great, the distress too general, is what we have to complain of. Only use the Reform Bill as it ought to be used, and we shall do away with these evils. Remove the tithes, the taxes on industry, the bad tendency of the Corn Bill, and then, and not till then, shall we be benefited. Pledges he had refused, and would still refuse, as they were bad in their nature. (Hisses.) No one in the country could be more an enemy to slavery than he was (laughter); but believing that there might be means found to abolish it speedily, but cautiously (groans), he should be averse to immediate abolition. (Hisses.) So far as putting an end to pluralities, and equalizing the revenues of the church, I consider to be just; but to separate the church from the state I shall not consent to. (Hisses.) The ballot prevents that due exercise of influence which should attend an elector's vote, and to the friends of that measure I can say, as I have said to those of the immediate abolition of slavery, you do not sufficiently understand the matter. (Groans.) Mr. Bright terminated his speech by returning thanks to the audience for giving him a patient hearing.

W. BUNGE, Esq., the Tory candidate, then advanced to address the crowd. He rejoiced that the day had at last arrived when their good sense must determine the contest. He could say, with the greatest confidence, that in no town had he met with so much respect and civility; and if, in his canvass, he had omitted to call on some electors, they must not be offended at it, but ascribe the reason to want of time. No one could say he had attempted to hide or conceal his sentiments; he had given most of them a chance of putting questions to him on any subject they chose. (Cheers.) Let the result of the election be what it may, no person would leave the town more full of gratitude for the

behaviour he had experienced than himself. He was glad of the opportunity now afforded him of replying to the false charges and foul calumnies which had been circulated against him, by the party who had brought forward the anti-slavery attorney-general (laughter) to oppose him as a candidate. If he was such a character as they represented him to be, why did they not leave him alone, and solely to be operated upon as the public mind directed. It has been well said of one of your candidates that he is possessed of wonderful powers, and he could add he had another good quality, that is a detestation of all humbug and deceit. (Cheers.) He was a Tory, and he did not disown it. (Cheers.) He was opposed to the present Ministry because they suffered themselves to be dragged at the chariot wheels of France. (Cheers.) There is not a word said against Mr. Bright by this anti-slavery candidate, and yet his father is an extensive owner of slaves, (loud cheers from the radicals); but you must recollect this anti-slavery candidate and Mr. Bright are both of the same politics. (Cheers.) These pretended friends of humanity have asserted, that if I went into Parliament, slavery would be prolonged; they talked just as if an humble individual like myself could stifle the voice of the whole House of Commons on this question. (Laughter.) Their cause must be bad indeed if they are to be put down by my humble efforts. (Laughter.) I am a zealous friend to emancipating the negroes, and have not only felt, but acted on their behalf. (Cheers from his friends.) The immediate emancipation of the negroes, would only involve themselves in distress and misery (hisses); and when I say so, I only ask you to believe me as an honest man. (Cheers.) It has been asserted that I am a colonial agent, and that if I am not in Parliament I shall lose that agency. To this I give the flattest denial. At my last election I was returned ("By a slave-owner," cried Mr. Thompson, the lecturer on slavery, who was present), on purely independent principles, and not by a slave-owner at all. (Cheers and hisses.)

The Reform Bill being passed, I will now render it the means of benefit, by correcting abuses, removing improper taxes, revising the corn-laws, and abolishing monopolies, and gradually renovating our system.

GEORGE STEPHEN, Esq., the anti-slavery candidate, followed, and attempted to expose Mr. Burge and the party he supported. It was a proof that he was thought highly of, and of great consequence, or why were so much pains bestowed to answer him? (Cheers.) I show myself here, not as an enemy to Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden, but as an enemy to colonial cant and deceit. (Cheers and hisses.) This amiable colonial transatlantic agent (laughter), tells you at one time he abhors slavery: at another time he is upholding it: sometimes he is for having cheap bread, at other times he suffers the negro to perish. (Cheers.) This is his consistency, gentlemen. (Applause.) He has not told you of his being a member for a rotten borough; he has not told you how many soldiers are kept to keep down the slaves in the colonies; he has forgot to inform you of the whips, the chains, the dungeons, the cruelties the poor negro endures. (Loud cheers.) He has not told you that a slave cannot marry, enjoy any property, sue for any offence he may have suffered: he has forgot to tell you that females are flogged, and families separated and sold from one another. (Shame.) You will now see the reasons why I claim immediate abolition; and to you I appeal as the only jury I shall consult, whether it is just or proper still to rivet the chains on the negro. (Cheers.) Mr. Stephen then withdrew.

The several candidates were now put to the vote; Mr. Fielden and Mr. Cobbett seemed to be almost generally approved of; and the number of hands held up for the other candidates was insignificantly few. Mr. Stephen was the next, in point of numbers, to the popular candidates. The returning-officer's deputy declared, amidst the most deafening applause, that in his opinion John Fielden and Wm. Cobbett, Esqrs., were elected; but that in conse-

quence of a poll being demanded, it would be proceeded with the next day at nine o'clock. The thanks of the meeting were given to the returning-officer for his impartial conduct.—Shortly afterwards the dense multitude dispersed. The bands of music and banners were paraded through the streets in triumph, and during the remainder of the day the borough was thronged with people. The speakers at the hustings occupied six hours in delivering speeches.

THE POLLING.—The polling of voters commenced in three different parts of the borough on Thursday morning, at nine o'clock. The votes were received at the Grammar School, Oldham, for Oldham-below-town; at the National School, Greenacres Moor, for Oldham-above-town; and at the Village School, Royton, for Crompton, Chadderton, and Royton. The excellent arrangements entered into by Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden's committee, greatly facilitated the business; and the kindness of the returning-officer in affording ample accommodation, was highly approved of. Curiosity induced numbers of people to spend the day in the neighbourhood of the polling places. The electors in favour of the radicals flocked to vote in such numbers that it was expected Messrs. Burge, Bright, and Stephen, would resign; but they persisted in the contest till the close of the poll at 4 o'clock in the evening, when the numbers were as follows:—

Mr. Fielden	670
Mr. Cobbett	642
Mr. Bright	153
Mr. Burge.....	101
Mr. Stephen	3

As soon as the voting had terminated, Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Fielden spoke to the crowd in the street, from the Albion Inn, and were most loudly cheered. They had the greatest pleasure in informing the people of Oldham, that such was the state of the poll that it became no longer doubtful who were to be their representatives. They trusted the men of the borough would do their duty: for if they did not it was impossible they could do theirs. So long as

I sit in Parliament (said Mr. Fielden), depend upon it Mr. Cobbett's measures shall not want a supporter.

TERMINATION OF THE ELECTION.—Messrs. Bright, Burge, and Stephen, having signified their intention to retire from the contest late on Thursday night, the returning-officer proceeded to the hustings yesterday morning, and publicly announced that William Cobbett and John Fielden, Esqrs., were duly elected to represent the borough of Oldham in Parliament. This declaration, so pleasing to the majority of the inhabitants, was made in the presence of several thousand people, who had assembled at ten o'clock, and marched in procession to the ground, with the same flags as were exhibited on Wednesday. All the candidates were present, and delivered speeches; some of them moderately long. Mr. Bright ascribed his defeat partly to the false hopes which had been held out to him by his friends, and partly in consequence of the working classes having used improper influence. Mr. Burge said that he had determined on the nomination day to retire, had not Mr. Bright demanded a poll. Mr. Stephen congratulated the audience on the result of the election. When he came as a candidate, it was without the least hopes of success: he had come to prevent them from returning supporters to slavery. Mr. Fielden spoke for a considerable time, chiefly in commendation of the electors and Mr. Cobbett. He was highly pleased that he had now a chance of seeing Mr. Cobbett in Parliament, and the additional honour of seconding his efforts to relieve the people. If undue influence had been used, it was more upon the part of his opponents than himself. He, along with Mr. Cobbett, who subsequently addressed them, strongly reprobated the Whigs, and related glaring instances of the injustice they had committed while in power. The latter observed, that from a plough-boy in a smock-frock, and clogs well nailed, they had raised him to be a member of Parliament—they had at last afforded him the pleasure of defending the rights of the poor in the Legisla-

ture. The two successful candidates declined to be chaired, or to go in public procession. They despised ostentation, and hated the idea of being carried on the shoulders of willing slaves. Mr. Cobbett read aloud a copy of an address he and his friend Mr. Fielden had drawn up, containing their thanks for the great honour conferred upon them. At the conclusion, Mr. Cobbett walked arm-in-arm with a poor weaver to the committee-room, accompanied by Mr. Fielden, amidst the shouts of a vast body of persons, who afterwards paraded the town with flags and music.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

THE borough elections in England are now all over. The Tories appear to have been, generally, very unsuccessful; but let us hope, that it will no longer be a question of *Whig* or *Tory*: let us see a good phalanx of the PEOPLE'S representatives, in the reformed Parliament, and not the babbling organs of a faction. Amongst those who are thrown out, I find WETHERELL, SUGDEN, CROKER, WILDE! and TREVOR. The people of BLACKBURN have rejected BOWRING. The election for Middlesex is now going on with every prospect of Mr. HUME's re-election. The following is the result of the first day's polling:

(From the Morning Chronicle of 21. Dec.)

BRENTFORD.—The polling yesterday proceeded in the greatest order and quietness. The gross numbers at the close were as follows:—

Hume.....	2,109
Byng.....	1,874
Forbes.....	1,013
Lillie.....	756

Mr. Hume is a-head of Byng, 235—Of Lillie, 1353—and of Forbes, 1096.

Mr. HUME addressed the assembly. He was received with the loudest acclamations. He said that the polling of this day was such as to give him the greatest prospect of success. (Cheers.) He had also received a communication from his Central Committee, stating that

his name had been as high elsewhere. He had no doubt that to-morrow's poll would be equally in his favour. He could not believe that the people of the county, who had displayed such noble energies in the late struggle for the Reform Bill, would, when about to reap the fruits of that bill, show themselves so inconsistent as to vote for a man who was opposed to all reform—who would entirely prevent all the benefits which he (Mr. Hume) and all reformers had hoped to effect by that bill. The present will be a convincing evidence how the minds of the people are affected to reform and good government, when a man like Sir C. Forbes, supported by all the corrupt influence of the Tory advocates for bad government, fails in attaining the object of his hopes. He (Mr. Hume) was also sorry to find himself opposed by a majority of the church party, leagued to oppose all reform and its advocates. ("Oh! there's no chance for them!") He did not know about that, but no man could deny that there were fearful odds against a man like himself, who was of no particular party, and was, therefore, without the support of any party. The squirearchy and magistracy of the county, too, had adopted a course of action with respect to the candidates by no means impartial, ("Brentford to wit"); but all these opponents he did not fear; it was the people to whom he looked, and they had answered his trust by placing him at the head of the poll. ("Never fear us.") In supporting his interests they supported their own. If they chose to desert him, it might be themselves who would suffer, and not he. If rejected, he should certainly feel one pain, and that would be, to see those electors who had, two years and a half ago, shown their independence by electing him, now evince inconsistency and fickleness in discarding him without cause. (Bravo!) "We won't do any such sort of thing.") If they returned him, he could only say they would not have reason to repent their choice. ("We don't doubt you.") With respect to Sir. C. Forbes he wished to make an observation, expressive of his astonishment, that one who, like

him, entertained such liberal views with regard to India, should differ with him (Mr. Hume) so much in his views with regard to England. He had often said to him, "Why, Sir Charles, how is it that you and I, who have such similar opinions about India, can't go together on the subject of liberty here?" With respect to Sir Charles's coming forward here, he was convinced that he had been misled—that the 2,400 voters who had promised Lord Henley might be turned over to him like so many sheep. He doubted that Sir Charles would find himself mistaken; but this was not the time, nor was he the person to say anything on this point. If he (Mr. Hume) were rejected, he might then enjoy some years of peace and quietness, much of which had hitherto not fallen to his share. He regretted that candidates could not come before the electors without in some way implicating their rival candidates. He himself had been charged with coalescing with another candidate, which charge he found had operated unfavourably to him in the city and elsewhere. The coalition was said to be with Sir J. S. Lillie, but nothing could be a greater mistake: he had expressed his denial of such a coalition twenty times, stating his determination to rest his claims on his own merits, if he had any. The idea of a coalition arose from placards which had been distributed, calling upon electors to vote for Hume and Lillie—Lillie and Hume. For his own part he considered it improper for any candidate to express any opinion whatever of other candidates—leaving that entirely to the electors; and he did not believe himself going too far in stating his belief, that standing alone as he did, the electors would place him high on the poll. If they did, they would no have cause to complain of him; and that renewed favour would encourage him to renewed exertions. He could not promise them greater zeal in their service—for that he believed impossible. (Cheers; "So it is.") In coming along the road he had been very much amused, and he would say pleased, at seeing placards stuck about, classify-

ing him as a "Destructive;" and as he had said before, he gloried in the title, if it meant, as it did, in contradiction to the "Conservatives"—men who would destroy all that was bad. The conservatives were those who wished to preserve expensive establishments, and consequent heavy taxation, and a thriving Exchequer for the use of themselves. (A laugh.) The destructives, if he was a specimen of that party, wished to destroy that worst of all monopolies—the monopoly of the manufacture of members of Parliament. He himself had seen a member manufactured in half an hour by three slips of parchment being given by the borough-holder to the nominee. (A laugh.) As his excellent friend, Sir Charles Forbes, said he wished to preserve all the remaining parts of the constitution, the only difference was, that Sir Charles wanted to preserve the bad parts of what remained, while he (Mr. Hume) wanted to preserve the good parts, what few there were, and to restore those that had been stolen, as soon as he could. The people must not expect that it will be possible to make the change from bad to good government all at once. He would do it as soon as he could. He would legislate for the millions, voters or not voters, and would do his best to lay the burdens on the right shoulders. He would entreat the electors to remember how awful was the charge reposed on them. They were the jurors for the country, and should remember their oath. The poor were the more particularly interested in obtaining reform, in obtaining cheap justice, and good government. The rich were more independent of such advantages, and, perhaps, profited by the reverse of them. He, therefore, besought the people to preserve impartiality, order, and decorum, and not lay themselves open to the disgrace which had fallen upon the proceedings at some elections. Mr. Hume concluded by expressing his inability to address the electors at this place tomorrow, having been expected to attend at the hustings at King's Cross, to address the numerous electors there as-

sembled. He thanked the electors for their support, and assured them, that if they returned him, they would have no cause to repent of their choice. Mr. Hume, before concluding his address, said, that though unable himself to address them to-morrow, he trusted that they would give Sir Charles Forbes, if he should present himself, a full and impartial hearing, that he might frankly declare his sentiments, that they might fully understand him, and that he and his friends might not have the charge of partiality to prefer against any Middlesex electors.

Sir J. S. LILLIE thanked the electors for the noble and independent feelings which had placed him so high on the poll. He begged leave to observe, with respect to the alleged coalition mentioned by Mr. Hume, as put forth in the placards, that he knew as little of those placards as Mr. Hume. He would only observe, that the electors who approved of Mr. Hume's principles would approve also of his; that there certainly was a coalition between him and Mr. Hume, but it was of measures, not men; and if they had the vote by ballot, he knew whom they would send with Mr. Hume into Parliament. He had learned that most of the voters who had voted for Mr. Hume had also polled for him, and he also learned that the number of those who had voted for Sir Charles Forbes, in conjunction with Mr. Byng, was also very numerous. (Cries of No, no!). It was very extraordinary that Mr. Byng, who at the last election had stated decidedly, that if returned, he would not offer himself again ("No, he didn't"—"Yes, he did!"). As he before stated, if he thought he had the slightest idea that his coming forward would in any way impede the return of Mr. Hume, he should never have thought of doing so; but as he felt that Mr. Hume's return was undoubted, he trusted that the electors would show their approbation of a man with principles exactly similar to those of Mr. Hume, by voting for him. He thanked the electors for what they had this day done for him.

POULETT THOMSON.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 20. December. My friends of OLDHAM and MANCHESTER, do read this, and then judge you of the correctness of my opinion, expressed in the former part of this *Register*. Do pity poor Mr. THOMSON! Good God! What a life he is destined to lead! How quickly they have begun upon him.

"A deputation from Manchester waited on the Right Honourable "Poulett Thomson, the Vice-President "of the Board of Trade, yesterday "morning, at his residence in Somerset- "place."

(From the *True Sun* of the 20. instant.)

OUR readers will not fail to peruse with satisfaction and pleasure the admirable letter from the new members of Oldham, addressed through our paper of to night, to the electors of that town. We feel proud of being the channel of communication to the people of Oldham, of such sentiments as are contained in this address, in which we are at no loss to trace the pen of that impressive and distinguished writer, whose absence from Parliament we have long lamented, and whose services we have at last the gratification of seeing transplanted to the sphere which will afford a still wider field for their exercise. We are sure the country looks forward to no event with more interest and expectation than the entrance into parliamentary life of a man whose career has been as extraordinary as his powers.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.

LETTER VI.

"It is not altogether improbable, that, "when the nation becomes heartily sick of its "debts, and is cruelly oppressed by them, "some daring projector may arise with vi- "sionary schemes for their discharge; and, as "public credit will begin, by that time, to be "a little frail, the least touch will destroy it; "and in this manner it will die of the Doctor. "But, it is more probable, that the breach of "national faith will be the necessary effect of "wars, defeats, misfortunes, and public calamities, or even, perhaps, of victories and "conquests."—*Hume on Public Credit.*

GENTLEMEN,—It was naturally to be expected, that those venal men, who, for want of industry to “labour with their hands the thing that is good,” and from a desire to live upon the labour of others, have chosen the occupation of writing instead of obeying the voice of nature, which bade use the brush and not the pen, to blacken shoes and not paper; it was naturally to be expected that those venal men, who gain their livelihood by serving the corrupt and by deceiving the weak, and the number of whom, in this town, is, unfortunately, but too great; it was naturally to be expected that this description of men would feel alarmed at the progress of these letters, which, by making honest and useful truths so familiar to the minds of the people, threatened literary venality with destruction. Accordingly these instruments of corruption have shown their anger and resentment against me; but, the only *answer* they have offered to me is this: “that I discharge my gun from a *stone-battery*,” meaning that I write from a *prison*; therein giving the public a specimen of their *wit* as well as of their *manliness*. This is always the way; it is the constant practice of those, who, while they are, from whatever motive, impelled to *oppose* a writer, want either the *materials* or the *ability* to show that he is wrong; and, gentlemen, you may lay it down as a maxim, that when any publication is answered by abuse, and especially personal abuse, the author of such publication is *right*, or, at least, that his abusers *want the ability to show that he is wrong*. Facts and reasoning, if erroneous, always admit of refutation: but, if correct, no one can refute them; and, if erroneous, to refute may still require some ability; whereas, to *abuse* the person from whom they have proceeded is within the power of every one, a gift not denied to any creature capable of uttering articulate sounds or of making marks upon paper. The great cause, however, of abuse in such cases, is the *weight of the truths* against which such abuse is opposed: for it is here *as* in common verbal disputes, he who has the truth clearly on his side, is always

seen to be in good temper, while his opponent scarcely ever fails to discover impatience and anger, and, in but too many cases, to give way to personal invective and false accusation; and, be you well assured, gentlemen, that even the venal men above described, *answer me* by saying *that I write from a prison*, only because they have *no other answer to give*.

Leaving them in the full possession and unenvied enjoyment of all the advantage and of all the honour which such a mode of answering can give, let us proceed with our inquiry into the effects of the SINKING FUND, just casting our eye back first, and refreshing our memory as to the foregone facts; namely, that the Sinking Fund Acts of 1791, which provided for the cutting off of some part of the interest upon the Debt in 1808; that these provisions, which led this poor nation to hope for a taking off of part of its taxes in 1808; that these provisions, which, as we have seen, were held forth to the *beloving* people of England, in the pamphlet of GEORGE ROSE, as the sure and undoubted pledge for the taking off of taxes in 1808, or thereabouts; that these provisions, in order to *begin* to taste the benefit of which, the people were to pay *a million a year of additional taxes for twenty-two years*; that these provisions, yes, we must bear in mind that these provisions, after the people had gone on *hoping for sixteen years* out of the twenty-two; that these provisions were, by ADDINGTON'S Act of 1802, *repealed, done away, made of no more effect than if they never had been enacted by the Parliament*.

“Well,” you will say, “but upon what *ground* was this measure adopted? What end was it proposed to answer?” Oh! why it was to pay off the debt, *new* as well as *old*; for, by this time, the debt contracted since the existence of the sinking fund, was become greater than the one contracted before. It was to pay off the debt, *new* as well as *old*, *sooner* than they would have been paid off, if this new act had not been passed. And it was said, in support of the measure, that it would

be better for us (good God, what a "thinking" people we are!) not to have any of our taxes taken off in 1808; but to go on paying interest upon the whole of the debt, as before, till our sinking-fund commissioners had bought up the whole of the stock, and that, *then*, (Oh, then!) *then*, my boys, huzza! for, *then* we should be completely out of debt.

"Thinking people" of England, *when* do you *think* that that *then* was to arrive? *When* do you think that it was supposed that our commissioners would have bought up the whole of the stock existing when the new act was passed? *When* do you think that the day, the happy day, the new day of promise was to come? *When* do you think we were, according to this act for rendering the sinking fund "MORE EFFEC-TUAL;" when, aye, *when* do you think that we were, according to this *improved* plan, to *begin* to feel the effects of it, in the lessening of our taxes? How many years do you think we were to wait; how many years to keep paying additional taxes for the purpose of paying off the debt, before we began to taste of *any redemption of taxes* in consequence of it? Only FORTY-FIVE! Forty-five years only had we to wait; and *now* we have only THIRTY NINE to wait, and to pay taxes all the time *over and above the interest upon the debt*; only *thirty-nine* years before we shall cease to pay interest upon the whole of the debt existing in 1802; about *five-eighths* of the debt *now* existing. We have been waiting ever since the year 1786; we have been waiting for *twenty-four years*; we have been paying taxes all that time, *over and above the interest of the debt*; we have, for *twenty-four* years, been paying taxes for the purpose of paying off the debt; and now, at the end of these twenty-four years, those of us who are alive have the consolation to reflect, that we have only *thirty-nine* years more to wait and to pay *these sinking-fund taxes*, before we shall begin to taste the fruit of all this patience and all these sacrifices, and that, at the blessed time here mentioned, *some of our taxes will be taken off*. . . un-

less another act should be passed, between this time and that, for rendering the last-made act "MORE EFFEC-TUAL."

Gentlemen, need I say more? Certainly it is not *necessary*; but there are still some views to take of this matter, which having taken, we may defy all the world to puzzle us upon this subject again.

We have seen that we *still pay interest upon the whole of the debt*; we have seen, in letter IV. that, *since the sinking fund was established*, the interest we pay has increased from *nine* millions and upwards to *thirty-two* millions and upwards: and we humbly think, at least I do, that so long as I am compelled to *pay interest* for a debt, it is no matter to *whom*, or under *what name*, I pay it. This is an obvious truth. There is something so consummately ridiculous in the idea of a nation's *getting money* by paying interest to *itself* upon its *own stock*, that the mind of every rational man naturally rejects it. It is, really, something little short of madness to suppose, that a nation can *increase its wealth*; increase *its means of paying others*; that it can do this by *paying interest to itself*. When time is taken to reflect, no rational man will attempt to maintain a proposition so shockingly absurd. I put the thing in this way in an article, published by me in 1804,* and I requested the late Rev. JOHN BRAND, who had written a great deal upon the subject, to look at the article, and to tell me what sort of answer he could find to this part of it. He did so, and the following was his answer:

"I have looked at your observations
"on the sinking fund; and the follow-
"ing is my answer to your great argu-
"ment; namely, 'that the debt said to
"be redeemed is an imaginary dis-
"charge, *because INTEREST there-*
"*on continues to be paid.*'—If the
"interest *does continue* to be paid, the
"conclusion is just; and this is the
"fundamental principle of much of
"what you have said.—It is reduced,

* Register, vol. v., page 591.

"therefore, to a question of fact, "and I should say *the interest does not continue to be paid*. The *same tax continues to be levied*, "it is paid also *away*, but it is paid for another purpose; it is yearly applied "to the paying off more principal; no "part of it is applied to the payment "of interest. Take an example in a "private concern: A has on his estate a "mortgage of 70,000*l.* at 3 per cent., "which he has the liberty to pay off as "he pleases. He *determines to diminish his expenditure* by 1,000*l.* a year; at "the end of the year he pays the interest 2,100*l.*, and part of the principal 1,000*l.*; his payment that year is "3,100*l.*, and this sum he continues to "pay annually till the debt is annihilated; it is now reduced to 69,000*l.*; "at the end of the second year there "will be due for interest 2,070*l.*, being "30*l.* less than the year before; when "therefore, the second payment of "3,100*l.* is made, it will consist of two "parts, 1,030*l.* for principal, and 2,070*l.* for interest. The interest of the "1,000*l.* paid off the first year does not "continue to be paid in the second, and "the 30*l.* interest of the part of the "capital redeemed or paid off is now "applied to the payment of more capital. Such mortgagor at the end of the "year has actually paid off 1,000*l.*, of "year two 2,030*l.*, and of year three "3,060*l.* 18s. And that he continues "to pay annually the same sum on account of debt, that is, on account of "principal and interest jointly, does not "in the least affect this conclusion."

Now, in the first place, you see, Mr. BRAND takes up "a new position," as most combatants do, when they are afraid to meet their antagonist. He is obliged to say, that we DO NOT *continue to pay interest* upon the part of the debt, which is bought up, or, as it is called, *redeemed*. Aye! but what say the *Acts of Parliament*? They say, that interest is continued to be paid thereon: they say, that, when any stock, or parts of the debt, are bought up, or redeemed, by the commissioners, "the dividends thereon shall be received by the said commissioners," or by the

Bank, on their account. And what is the language of the accounts laid before Parliament? Why, in the account of the nation's *expenditure* of last year, there is the following item: "INTEREST on Debt of Great Britain REDEEMED, 4,443,519*l.*" So that, either the Acts of Parliament and the public accounts make use of misnomers, or, I was right in calling it *interest*. Besides, how completely does this denial of Mr. BRAND dissipate all our fine dreams about the *gains* of the sinking fund! Is it not the commonly-received notion, that we *gain money* by this fund? Are we not continually told, by the venal writers of the day, about what the fund *yields*? Were we not told by them, less than six weeks ago, that this fund had *produced* such and such sums? And, what is meant by a fund's *yielding* and *producing*, if you cast the notion of *interest* aside? In what other way is it to *yield*? In what other way can it *produce an addition to its amount*? Yet, on the other hand, it is impossible to adhere to this notion of *interest*, without falling into the gross absurdity, before mentioned, of supposing that the nation can *get money*; that it can *increase its means of paying others*, by paying interest to *itself*, by becoming the *lender of money to itself*, by becoming *its own creditor*; an absurdity, which, as we have seen, Mr. BRAND dared not risk his reputation in attempting to support.

We now come to Mr. BRAND's "*example in a private concern*." And here, Gentlemen, suffer me once more, and in a more pressing manner than before, to solicit your attention; because we have now before us the ground-work of all the sad delusion which has so long existed, and which does still exist, upon this subject.

It is a natural propensity of the mind of man, to assimilate things which he wishes to understand, with things which he does understand. Hence the application of the terms *mortgage*, *redemption*, and others, to the debt of the nation. But, in this work of assimilation, or bringing things to a resemblance for the purpose of illustration, we ought

to take the greatest care not to make use of violence, not to regard as *alike* things which are *essentially different in their properties*; for, if we do this, error must be the result, and I think, you will find, that this has been done by all those who have reasoned like Mr. BRAND; that is to say, *the whole* of those writers and speakers, who have held forth the sinking fund as likely to produce relief to the country.

We know, we daily see, that *private persons* pay off *incumbrances upon their estates*; and we know, very well and very familiarly, how fast the money of private persons increases by being *permitted to lie at compound interest*. This very common portion of knowledge appears to have been quite enough for our financiers, who had, therefore, nothing to do but to look into *interest tables*, where they would not fail to find that a million a year set apart, in 1786, would, at compound interest, pay off the then existing debt, in the space of *sixty years* from that time. They ask no more. This quite satisfies them. They have no doubts upon the subject; and, accordingly, they set apart the million a year, that is to say, they make a law for applying, as we have seen, a million a year of taxes, raised upon the nation, to the paying of the nation's debts. But, where is the real *similarity* between this proceeding and the proceeding of the *individual* as supposed by Mr. Brand, Mr. M'Arthur, Mr. Pitt and others? for they have all made use of the same sort of illustration. Where is the *similarity* in the cases?

Mr. BRAND's individual, to whom, for the sake of clearness, we will give the name of THRIFTY, *diminishes his expenditure* by a thousand a year; that is, he, instead of spending it upon beer, wine, bread, beef, and servants, pays it annually to GOLDHAIR, who has the mortgage upon his estate. Now, this you will clearly see, is to be a thousand a year SAVED by THRIFTY; and, besides this, he resolves to pay to GOLDHAIR (who has the mortgage on the estate, mind), as much more every year as will make each payment equal to what he formerly paid on account of the interest

of the whole debt. This is an odd sort of way to do the thing, but it is THRIFTY's humour, and there can be no doubt, that, in time, he will thus pay off his mortgage. But again, I ask, what *similarity* is there in the case of THRIFTY and the case of a NATION?

THRIFTY, we are told, "*determines to diminish his expenditure.*" Can a NATION do this? THRIFTY knows to a *certainly* what his income and what his expenditure will be; the former is *fixed*, and over the latter he has *complete control*. Is this the case with a NATION? Prudent THRIFTY does not, and, indeed, *the supposition will not let him*, contract a debt with SILVERLOCKS, while he is clearing off with GOLDHAIR. Is this the case with a NATION? But suppose, for argument's sake, that, as to all these, there is a perfect similarity; still there is a point a dissimilarity, which nothing can remove. THRIFTY, we are told, SAVES a thousand pounds a year. *How* does the saving arise! Why, he has less beer, wine, bread, beef, and servants, than he had before. His saving, then, is made from the brewer, the wine-merchant, the baker, the butcher, and the footmen; or rather it is made from the public; it is made from *the nation*: it is made from a *third party*. But where is the NATION to find a *third party* from whom to make *its* saving!

But, what we are now going to view is the GRAND FALLACY. In this case of THRIFTY, it is supposed, that he makes retrenchments from *useless expenses*; that "*he determines to diminish his expenses* by a thousand a year," and that, what he WASTED before, what HE GOT NOTHING BY THE USE OF BEFORE, he now applies to the paying off of his mortgage. This is very rational, and very efficient it would be; but, is this the case with a NATION? Would the money which is collected from the people *in taxes*, for the purpose of supporting the sinking fund, be *wasted*, if not collected from them? Would it be *squandered away* by the several individuals who pay it, in the same manner that THRIFTY's thousand a year is supposed to have been wasted, before he began the

work of redemption? Would it, in short, be of *no advantage* to them, if it were not taken away to be given to the sinking fund? Oh, yes! And it would produce a compound interest, too, in the hands of individuals, as well as in the hands of the Sinking Fund Commissioners. What has the nation *gained* then, by paying millions to commissioners, instead of keeping those millions in their own hands? SINCE THE YEAR 1786, THE NATION HAS PAID UPWARDS OF 160 MILLIONS INTO THE HANDS OF THE SINKING FUND COMMISSIONERS; that is to say, so much money has been *collected from the people in taxes* for the purpose of redeeming debt; and, if this sum had been left in the people's hands, would it have been of *no use to them*? Would it not at any rate, have *helped* to prevent the debt, *since that time*, from being AUGMENTED IN THE SUM OF 600 MILLIONS?

Let us give the thing one more turn, and then, it is, I think, hard, if we may not safely quit it for ever.

THRIFTY is supposed to take his thousand a year out of what he before *wasted*; out of his *superfluities*. But does our sinking fund money; do the taxes that we pay towards the sinking fund, come out of our *superfluities*? And, why suppose that THRIFTY *wasted any money* before? Why suppose that *he had any money to waste*? Is THRIFTY's being *in debt*, and having his *estate encumbered*; are these reasons sufficient for concluding, that he had it in his power to "*determine to diminish his expenses*!" Are they not rather reasons sufficient for concluding, that he was in circumstances of distress? Yes; and if, when we have come to that rational conclusion, we suppose him persuaded to believe, that he will get out of debt by *borrowing from SILVERLOCKS all the money that he pays off with GOLDHAIR*, and loading his estate with a new mortgage, *with the addition of the costs of bonds and fees*, then we shall have before our eyes "*an example in a private concern*," pretty well calculated to illustrate the celebrated scheme, which we have now been discussing,

and of which I now flatter myself that a single word more need never be uttered to any man of only common sense. I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful Friend,
WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Thursday,
20th Sept., 1810.

P. S.—FRIDAY, 21st SEPT.—I have just seen in the public prints, a report of a speech, said to have been delivered yesterday at the Bank Company's House, in Threadneedle-street, by Mr. RANDALL JACKSON. I shall not, as I said before, suffer any publication of the day to interrupt the course of my discussion. In my next LETTER, which will open the way to that memorable transaction, *the stoppage of gold and silver payments at the Bank of England*, I shall, in all likelihood, have occasion to notice Mr. JACKSON's speech, not so much on its own account, as because it appears to have been highly applauded by the people at the head of the Bank Company, for whom, perhaps, Mr. JACKSON, who, it seems, is a *lawyer*, made it in the way of his profession. One word, however, I must beg leave to add upon the part of this gentleman's speech, in which, as the reporter says, he alluded *to me*, as one who had exulted at the appearance of the Bullion Report, because that report coming from such *high authority*, had put the *stamp of correctness on my opinions*. Never did I say this; never did I *think* this. Never did I look upon the Bullion Committee as a *high authority*; and, meanly indeed should I think of myself, if I thought anything that they could say or do, capable of adding the smallest weight to my opinions. No; what I exulted at was, that my principles and doctrines, as to paper-money, had at last produced a *practical effect*, a proof of which was contained in the Bullion Report; and that it was now more likely than before, that such measures would, in time, be adopted, as would be likely to secure the country from the natural consequences of that overwhelming CORRUPTION, and that want of love for the real constitution, which I regard as the fruit of the paper-money system, and which,

years ago, I *proved*, as I think, to have proceeded, in great part, from that poisonous and all-degrading root. This was the cause of my exultation. I looked upon the Bullion Report as tending to this great object; and, as I prefer the accomplishment of this object, as I look upon the happiness and honour of my country as of far greater value to me than any other worldly possession, I said, and I still say, that the Bullion Report has given me more pleasure than I should derive from being made the owner of the whole of Hampshire. As for any idea of a *party* nature, I shall, I am sure, be believed when I say, that I did not care one straw to what party the committee belonged. If I had a wish as to party, it certainly would be, that *no change of Ministry* should take place; for (without prejudice to the OUTS, who, I think, would do the thing full as well with a little more time) I am quite satisfied that the present men will do it as neatly and as quickly as any reasonable man can expect.

(*To be continued.*)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DEC. 14, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

YORKE, G., Cheshunt, Herts, miller.
YORKE, J., Cheshunt, Herts, miller.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

LUCAS, T. F., Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, stage-coach proprietor.
LUPFON, J., and J. Hudson, Wakefield, commission wool-agents.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

CHRISTIE, A., Sheffield, engineer.
HAMILTON, R., Fountain-court, Bishopsgate-street, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BALL, G., Wood-street, City, artificial flower-manufacturer.
BLAKE, J., Norton Falgate, chemist.
CARTER, S., Faruham, Surrey, surgeon.
EMMETT, A., Holden Wood, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
FROST, J., and J. Nelson, Huddersfield, manufacturers of fancy goods.

HOOK, J., Great Alie-street, Goodman's-fields, flour-dealer.
LINGFORD, J., Nottingham, ironmonger.
NEWLAND, M., Craven-st., Strand, broker.
SAVAGE, H., Oxford-street, cheesemonger.
SHARMAN, J., Birmingham, grocer.
SHEEN, H., Leicester, grocer.
SURFLEN, T., Abchurch-lane, wine-mercht.
TOWNLEY, A., Stockport, bookseller.
WHITMOBE, F., Lambeth, Surrey, brewer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MACHLACHLAN, A., Helensburgh, wood-merchant.
MUDIE, R., Bulmule, Dumfermline, flax-spinner.
SHEARER, R., Glasgow, ship-master.

TUESDAY, DEC. 18, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

CHAFFEY, R., Thorncombe, Devon, clothier.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COLES, G., High-street, Marybone, cheesemonger.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

BECKENSALL, J., Oxford-st., wine-mercht.

BANKRUPTS.

ABRAHAM, L., St. James's-place, Aldgate, wine-merchant.
BYE, T., Rathbone-place, licensed victualler.
JOY, J., Ashford, Kent, bricklayer.
TODD, W., Ayleford, near Newnham, Gloucestershire, colour-manufacturer.
WHITBOURN, E., Percival-st., Clerkenwell, coach-proprietor.
WILLCOCKS, T., Bath, cabinet-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BEGLEY, G., Edinburgh, hardware-mercht.
REID, J. and W., Glenmavis, near Bathgate, distillers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 17.—Having a succession of arrivals of wheat during last week from the home counties, the trade was exceedingly heavy, and, except for superfine picked samples, from 1s. to 2s. per qr. cheaper; but the supply fresh in this morning being but moderate, and having a little demand for the North, checked the decline that would otherwise have taken place; the finest runs from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk having sold at the prices of last Monday, but such as were not perfectly dry could not be got off, except at an abatement of from 1s. to 2s. per qr.

The magnitude of the supply of barley last week being followed up by a tolerably large quantity which has arrived since Friday, caused a further reduction in our prices. The finest malting samples went off slowly at from 32s. to 34s.; those that were only a little tinged, at from 28s. to 30s.; and the inferior sorts, for distillers' purposes, at from 24s. to 26s.; and a considerable quantity from Norfolk, of the stained sorts, remained on hand at the close of the market.

White peas are 2s. per qr. cheaper.

The continuance of abundant arrivals of oats, particularly from Ireland, has occasioned a further decline of from 6d. to 1s. per qr. on the light ordinary descriptions; but fine fresh corn supported the terms of this day week. In beans and other articles no alteration.

Wheat	60s. to 62s.
Rye	32s. to 33s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
Boilers	42s. to 43s.
Grey	36s. to 38s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 40s.
Tick	33s. to 35s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
Feed	18s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
Sides, new ... 50s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... s. 0d. to —s.	
Mess, new ... 78s. 0d. to —s. per barrel	
Butter, Belfast ... 64s. to 86s. per cwt.	
Carlow ... 86s. to 88s.	
Cork ... 82s. to 84s.	
Limerick ... 82s. to 84s.	
Waterford ... 78s. to 82s.	
Dublin ... 78s. to 80s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 90s.	
Gloucester, Double ... 50s. to 60s.	
Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
Edam ... 48s. to 50s.	
Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 66s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Dec. 17.

This day's supply of beasts, which was that of the great Christmas market, was good, both as to numbers and quality; but not so great, by from 700 to 800, as was that of last year: nor, though a very small proportion of it was of very inferior quality, was so great a proportion of it highly or over-fattened as we have frequently witnessed in the great Christmas markets of many preceding years. The supply of each kind of small stock was but limited. Trade was, in the whole, somewhat brisk; with beef at an advance of from 4d. to 6d. per stone; with mutton, veal, and pork, at fully Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts were about equal numbers of short-horns, Herefordshire, and Devonshire oxen, steers, and heifers, principally from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, &c.; the remainder about equal numbers of Scotch and Welsh runts, chiefly from our eastern and midland districts; with about 120 prime Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, Town's end cows, &c.

Full three-fourths of the sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South Downs, and different white-faced crosses; about an eighth South Downs; and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of Kents and Kentish half-breds, old Leicesters, and Herefords; with a few horned and polled Norfolks, horned and polled Welsh and Scotch sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 3,458; sheep, 16,710; calves, 120; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 21.

The arrivals this week are small, but the market is dull, and prices rather lower.

THE FUNDS.

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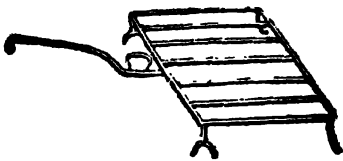
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 78.—No. 13.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



“An honest and thoughtless man might, at first, object to other parts of my plan; but the man who objects to the BALLOT must be, in very essence, a *rogue*; for if he were to talk until doomsday, he could at last find out no other reason, than that it would prevent bribing, corruption, lying, perjury, enmity between man and man, drunkenness, rioting, and everything disgraceful to the human character and to the country.”
—*Register*, 30. October, 1830.

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER

TO

MR. STANLEY'S MANIFESTO.

London, 27. Dec., 1832.

THE declaration, which was made at Lancaster, on the 17. instant, at the nomination of candidates for North Lancashire, of whom Mr. STANLEY (Secretary for poor Ireland!) was one, has excited great attention and not little indignation amongst all those who are anxious to see the prosperity of the country restored, and its peace preserved. There were many passages in his speech upon this occasion, which might merit remark; but one passage in it in particular is of great importance, as appearing to contain the determination of the servants of the King upon the two subjects of SEPTENNIAL PARLIAMENTS and the BALLOT. With very few exceptions, the friends of peace, order, and good government, are decidedly of opinion that the Septennial Bill, which was a direct act of usurpation, ought to be instantly repealed; and the opinion is not less general amongst the same description of persons, that, in order to secure the

peace and freedom of elections, the ballot mode of voting ought to be adopted. MR. STANLEY'S declaration is an open declaration of war against all this part of the community. I shall give his words as I find them reported in the *Manchester Advertiser* of the 22. December; and when I have so done, I shall make such remarks as appear to me to be called for by the occasion.

“Gentlemen, when I stated to you that the elective franchise had been greatly extended, I stated to you no more than that of which you were well aware. When I stated to you that, the elective franchise having been so extended, the weight of property—not of large masses undoubtedly, but of that diffused and general wealth which forms the blessings of this country (hear), has been augmented, I also stated to you that which every day's experience confirms and strengthens. But having so extended the franchise, I should be contradicting all the principles and all the professions with which we came forward, if I were to say that we shall not, at a future period, strenuously and decidedly resist every attempt to carry that extension further. (Slight applause.) We came forward with a great and comprehensive measure of reform; we came forward with a bill which was devoted to the nation at large as a new charter of our liberties; we came forward with one in whose favour those who were anxious to have gone further *waived their opinions*, and assented to it as a new national compact. The measure which we brought forward was extensive enough, undoubtedly, to alarm some, who yet consented to go along with it, upon the *distinct pledge that it should be a final measure*. If, therefore, gentlemen, it should be attempted in another Parliament, to bring forward any of those sweeping motions for *shortening the duration of Parliaments*, and extend-

"ing yet further the elective franchise, "or of introducing that which I believe is falsely styled the protection "of the ballot, to those measures, as "individuals, and as members of the "Government, we are bound (and I "announce at once and openly our determination) to give a decided opposition."

Mark the arrogant tone here! One would think, that the House of Commons which is about to assemble, are to be merely passive instruments in the hands of a body of persons, who are here called "THE GOVERNMENT:" one would think, that there is no "*Government*," other than that of these persons; that the Government of "King, Lords, and Commons," which we have been accustomed to talk of, has been always a mere nominal thing; and that it is now, at any rate, become quite obsolete; and that the "*Government*," in fact, is neither more nor less than that of a single man called a king, who appoints twelve or thirteen persons to carry it on for him. This is what one would think upon reading this very arrogant declaration of Mr. STANLEY, who seems to consider the House of Commons, which is about to assemble, as of no use whatever, except to sanction the acts of these twelve or thirteen persons, who are appointed by the King to carry on this strange sort of "*Government*." Let us hope, however, that the coming House of Commons will not lose much time in correcting Mr. STANLEY's notions as to this matter; that it will very soon convince him, that the laws and constitution of England know nothing of any "*government*" other than that of "King, Lords, and Commons;" that these laws and this constitution know nothing of "*CABINET COUNCILS*;" nothing of "*MINISTERS*" of Government; nothing at all of "*His Majesty's Government*;" that these laws and this constitution recognise the existence of no such bodies; that they deem "*Lords of the Treasury, Secretaries of State*," and so forth, *SERVANTS* of the King; that they call them by no other name; that they hold them responsible for the acts which they do in their master's

name, or in virtue of his authority; and that, as to the *House of Commons*, it cannot recognise them in that House as having any more authority than any other member or members of the House. Either individually or collectively, they have no right to any precedence there; they have no claim to any distinction; as *servants of the King*, they cannot even sit there; if they have seats there, they have them solely in virtue of the voice of the people, and not by appointment from the King; that Lord ALTHORP, for instance, is, in that House, merely a member for Northamptonshire, and that, with propriety, he can be heard or addressed in no other character whatsoever. These servants of the King, being members of the House, have not the smallest claim to any particular seat or bench; they are entitled to no sort of pre-eminence or deference; they are merely members of the House, each of them having a right to speak and to vote, as every other member has; and no other right whatsoever.

Mr. STANLEY never thought of this before, I dare say; but I also dare say, that he will be taught to think of it, in due time and place. Viewing these persons, then, merely as servants of the King, and they are nothing more, this is pretty language to come from one of them. Very pretty for him to proclaim, at "*once, and openly*," that it is their "*determination*" to give "*a decided opposition*" to a repeal of the Septennial Bill, and to a regulation for taking the poll by ballot. If this be proper language to use, then the House of Commons are nothing better than mere passive instruments in the hands of these twelve or thirteen persons; then the members of the House of Commons, instead of being the real representatives; instead of being the law-makers for a great people, are nothing but the servants of the servants of one man; the servants of the servants of the chief magistrate, who, himself, has no right to be chief magistrate other than that right which is founded on the same laws, which invest the members of the House with their representative authority. Adopt this idea of Mr. STANLEY;

call him and his twelve colleagues, "*the government*" of the country; then, away goes the whole of this frame of government altogether.

But, now, with regard to the two great points, upon which Mr. STANLEY tells us, that he and his colleagues have formed so decided a determination, and which he tells us, they have *bound* themselves to, individually as well as collectively; with regard to these two points, let us now see how the matter stands. I will first take the subject of THE BALLOT; and then the subject of SHORTENING THE DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS. Mr. STANLEY says, that the present bill was consented to, "upon the *distinct pledge* that it should be a final measure." By *whom* was it so consented to? He says in another place, that there were men, "who were anxious to 'have gone further than the bill went; 'but that, they *waived their opinions* 'and assented to the bill." Now, I think, that, without incurring the charge of presumption, I may venture to say, that I come fairly within the description of one of these *waivers*. I myself had promulgated, in a very elaborate manner, *my plan of reform*; and I may say, that I recommended that manner of taking the poll, and a registration of the votes of the electors beforehand, which, in the operation of the present bill, have been found to be so very beneficial. In the principle, the main principle, I wished to go a great deal further than the bill has hitherto gone: I wished for an extension of the suffrage to every man of full age, of sane mind, and untainted by indelible crime, and having had a local habitation on the voting spot for a certain length of time. When the bill appeared, I nevertheless assented to it, so far as to say, that I thought it entitled to a fair and impartial trial; and, still further, that I would, as far as I could contribute towards such an effect, cause it to have such trial; and this I have most faithfully adhered to, though at the risk of displeasing great numbers of very worthy men, on whose friendship I set the highest value. As far as I am *personally* concerned, this bill has operated to my perfect satis-

faction; but, not so, generally speaking; and there want the additions, an opposition to which additions, on the part of the King's servants, Mr. STANLEY announces to us in so authoritative a tone.

Mr. STANLEY says, "that we *waived* our opinions, and assented to the bill." I waived my opinions with regard to the *extent of the suffrage*; but, with regard to the *duration of Parliaments*, and the *mode of taking the poll*, never did I waive my opinions. He says that the bill was consented to "upon the *distinct pledge* that it should be a *'final measure.'*" I wonder that a gentleman, standing in the situation of a candidate for the representation of a county, should so far forget himself; should be, by his apparently fancied superiority of power, so far carried away from all regard for *truth*, as to make this assertion, and in so positive a manner, in the face of the whole kingdom, and in open defiance of the notoriety of the contrary! I assented to the bill, certainly, with a "*distinct pledge*;" but not a distinct pledge that it should be a final measure; but precisely with a *distinct pledge* that it should not be a *final measure*; with a distinct pledge, given by the mover of the bill himself, that the above two great points should be reserved for future discussion. For my part, in the very first article that I wrote upon the bill after its appearance, I expressly stated, that I gave it my assent only on condition that the duration of Parliaments and voting by ballot should be settled by a repeal of the Septennial Act and an adoption of the ballot, or that these two points should be reserved for a future and ample discussion in a reformed Parliament. The latter was preferred by the Parliament: these two points were reserved, and expressly reserved, by Lord JOHN RUSSELL when he brought in the bill, as will be seen by the following extract from his speech upon that occasion:

"I cannot," he said, "but take notice of some particulars in which, perhaps, 'this measure will be considered by 'many to be defective. In the first

"place, there is no provision for the '*shorter duration of Parliaments.*'"
 "(Hear.) That subject has been considered by his Majesty's Ministers ; but, upon the whole, we thought that it would be better to leave it to be brought before the House *by any member who may choose to take it up,* than to bring it in at the end of a bill regulating matters totally distinct. (Hear.) Without saying, therefore, what is the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers respecting that question, which I myself think *to be one of the utmost importance,* and to deserve the utmost care in its decision, we shall keep the large measure of reform, which this bill comprehends, separate from every other question, and leave the subject of the duration of Parliaments to be brought *before the House by some other member at a future time.* (Hear, hear.) For my own part, I will only say, that whilst I think it desirable that the constituency should have a proper control over their representatives, it is, at the same time, most inexpedient to make the duration of Parliament so short, that the members of this House should be *kept in a perpetual canvass,* and not be able deliberately to consider and to decide with freedom any great question. (Hear.) Sir, I do not think it behoves the people of a great empire to place their representatives *in such dependence.* (Hear.) What the point then is at which we may fix the proper control of the constituency, I do not think it necessary to discuss at present. When the question comes under the consideration of this House, I shall be ready to deliver my opinion. I have now only to state, that the King's Government are satisfied that, in providing a popularly-elected representation, they ought to abstain from embarrassing that question with any other, which is encumbered with its own doubts, difficulties, and obstacles. (Hear, hear.) There is another question, Sir, of which no mention is made in this bill, although it at present occupies very much the attention of the country—I mean the

"question of *vote by ballot.* Sir, there can be no doubt that that mode of election has *much to recommend it.*" (Cries of No, no, no! Hear, hear.) "The arguments which I have heard advanced in its favour are as ingenious as any that I ever heard on any subject. But, at the same time, I am bound to say that this House *ought to pause* before it gives its sanction to that measure."

Here was the *condition* upon which I gave my support to the bill ; and when I speak thus in the first person singular, I do it only for clearness' sake ; and meaning, that all that part of the community who waived their opinions as I waived mine, waived them upon this distinct pledge, that these two great matters should be wholly reserved for future deliberation and decision. Mr. STANLEY's bold and authoritative assertion is, then, not true ; but it is the contrary of truth. Whether the King's servants, emboldened by what they very erroneously deem a triumph in the elections, have changed their views as to these two points, and have determined to brave the common sense and common spirit of the people, is a matter that I know nothing about ; and this is, besides, wholly disconnected with the present question. Mr. STANLEY may, perhaps, have spoken from himself only, though that is hardly to be believed, seeing that he pledges the whole of his colleagues to one and the same determined opposition ; but be this as it may, if such be the determination of the King's servants, they have come to their determination very prematurely, very inconsistently, and have promulgated that determination with a degree of hardihood and of indecency never before equalled since the days of PITT and of PERCEVAL, when the members of the House of Commons seemed to be nothing more than so many hired lacqueys to obey the commands of the servants of the King. What ! here is a candidate for a seat in the House of Commons, announcing, openly and without reserve, to the nation, that he and his fellow-servants have *bound themselves,* collectively as well as individually, to

oppose, in the most decided manner, in the new House of Commons, the two propositions which those very servants, when they proposed the bill, expressly reserved for future deliberation and decision! I am not learned enough in the law of parliamentary privilege, to say, off-hand, whether this be, or be not, *a breach of that privilege*; whether it be, or be not, a breach of parliamentary privilege, for *the servants of the King* (paid out of the public money) to express, beforehand, their determination to oppose in the House, certain propositions, if brought before that House: I am not learned enough to say, whether, amongst the precedents, which the proceedings on impeachments afford, one, or many, may not be found making it a crime in the servants of the King to endeavour thus to stifle the voice of the House of Commons: to those who are more learned in parliamentary law, I, *for the present*, leave the decision as to this point; but certain I am, that the world never witnessed a more flagrant breach of good manners; or a more daring insult to any body of persons, about to be called together on terms of equality in point of power and freedom of deliberation. And, if Mr. STANLEY, and the other servants of the King, have taken it into their heads, that they shall be able to proceed in that tone of arrogant dictation which has here been begun, I venture to assure them, that never were King's servants so deceived before. I care not who are the servants of the King, so that they be not suffered to interfere with the exercise of the rights of the *Commons* in their own House of Parliament.

And, now, with regard, first, to the **BALLOT**: the *ballot* is merely a regulation with regard to the *manner of taking the votes*; and, if the returning officer chose, and if it were not objected to by either of the candidates, or any of the electors, that manner of taking the votes might be adopted *now*, without any breach of the law. It is not, therefore, a *principle*: it is not a *right*, as the right of *suffrage* is: it is merely a regulation to prevent evil from arising from the opera-

tion of the bad passions of men. But it is a very important regulation; because, in the first place, it secures *the peace* of elections; it prevents all *canvassing*, the very sound of which word, as thus applied, is hateful to every moral ear; it prevents ill-will and heart-burnings and strife in families, and amongst neighbours; and, above all the rest, it is a security to the weak against the strong, and to the conscientious against the unprincipled and the cruel. Is it possible to look at the bloodshed in Warwickshire and Staffordshire, and many other counties; is it possible to see the pavement stained with blood, to hear the hideous noises, and dreadful imprecations, which have disgraced several of the late elections; is it possible to look at, or to think of these, without feeling indignant at hearing the servants of the King forewarning the coming House of Commons, that they will give their *determined opposition*; that they have, "*individually and collectively, come to the determination*" to oppose the only measure that appears calculated to put an end to these disgraceful scenes! Whence have arisen all the combinations for *exclusive dealing*; whence has arisen all the ill-will in neighbourhoods, which this election will have left behind it? They have come wholly and entirely from a want of the *ballot*. The flagrant and execrable bribery and corruption, which we have heard of in some places, would have been effectually prevented by the *ballot*. But, of all the evils arising from the want of it, none is so great as that power, which the want of the *ballot* gives the rich over the poor, the unprincipled over the conscientious. At the conclusion of the election for the western division of the county of Surrey, Mr. LEECH told us, that he saw "clearly the *necessity of the ballot*"; that melancholy experience "had convinced him of that necessity"; "that *scores of men* had told him, that "they would gladly vote for him, but "that they had been told, that if they "did so, such steps would be taken as "would be the ruin of their families; "that several men, who had voluntarily

"and eagerly promised him their votes, "had afterwards begged him to have "the goodness to excuse them, as they "now found, that they and their families might be ruined, if they kept their "word with him." Here the assembled people exclaimed, "*Shame!*" "*Shame!*" "*The Ballot!*" "*The Ballot!*" After this he told us, that, in all these cases, he had told the parties, "Oh! for God's sake, don't vote for me! Never mind me; "but take care of your families." This all his hearers knew to be in perfect accordance with the whole history of his long and benevolent life; but, in proportion to their admiration of his disinterestedness and humanity, was the indignation of his hearers at the base conduct of the tyrants; and in the same proportion will be their indignation against the servants of the King, if they shall dare to sanction, by word, or by deed, this audacious threat of their co-servant, MR. STANLEY. If no other man in the House of Commons were to propose the regulation of the ballot, this member for the western division of Surrey would, I am very sure, be the man to do it; and, will MR. STANLEY say that MR. LEECH wants to destroy the constitution? Will he number *him* amongst those whom he charges with the design of overturning "the institutions of the country?"

MR. STANLEY had, against the ballot, an *argument of experience*, and one drawn from the United States of America, too. "We," said he, "have always "had held out to us the advantages of "the ballot as exemplified in the case "of the United States of America, but "not three days since *I took up* one of "the most democratic among the American papers, published in the *most democratic city of the Union, New York*, "in which they launch forth, with vehemence of diction, against the *general abuses which have arisen from "the system of the ballot*, and to which "they say that nothing can remedy "those abuses unless the legislative "voice look to a *reform of that system*, "which is the parent of the abuses and "the corruption." Oh! he "*took up*" an American newspaper, did he! It would be curious enough to know

where he "*took it up*." The truth is, he saw this account, to which he alludes, in one of our own newspapers; in which, very likely, it had been inserted by order of some clerk in office; or, at least, by some one living unworthily on the people's earnings.

But, as to the matter itself, supposing the statement to be true. However, I must stop here to observe, that MR. STANLEY here again says what is *not true*, respecting the nature of the government of New York, which he calls the *most democratic in the Union*. Now, the fact is, that, in the STATE OF NEW YORK, the governor is chosen for *two years*, the senate for *four years*, the representatives for *one year*, and these must *all be freeholders*; that is to say, they must have a *landed qualification* to some amount. Whereas, in the State of CONNECTICUT, governors, senate, and representatives are all chosen *ANNUALLY*, and there is, in no case, any *landed or pecuniary qualification required*. So that this very arrogant servant of the King, with all his boldness of assertion, was *ignorant* upon this subject; or, he said, regarding it, *that which he knew to be untrue*. I will add, here, for the information of my readers, and in defence of that *democratic spirit*, which this servant of our King seems to hold in such horror, that, of all the States of that famous Union, the State of CONNECTICUT has ever been, and now is, the seat of the most perfect freedom, harmony, easy circumstances, morality, and pure religion.

But as to the matter, supposing the allegations to be *true*; what do they amount to? Why, that, at a recent election, in the city of New York, there were men who put into the *ballot-box* two or three or four or five ballots instead of one; that a row took place, and that the *ballot-boxes* were seized and destroyed. And what of this? Why, a punishment provided for those who permitted a man to put in more than one ballot; and an application of the common law (which is the same at New York as it is at MANCHESTER) to those who were guilty of rioting, and of the act of seizing and destroying the

ballot-boxes; that is all; and no argument is here, whatever, against either the principle or the practice of the ballot. If this were to form the ground of an objection to the ballot; what objections could not be mustered up against the Reform Bill? At STAFFORD, for instance, the polling-books were either *lost* or destroyed, and nobody appears to think themselves responsible for it. This is what I was told in Staffordshire; and that, from this cause, no return at all could be made for the town of STAFFORD; but, are we, for this cause, to repeal the Reform Bill? This argument, drawn from the singular row at New York, has no weight in it; and it only shows to what straights those are driven who oppose themselves to this mode of voting, so strongly recommended by a desire to preserve harmony at elections, and to leave men with their consciences free in the performance of this greatest and most sacred of duties in society.

With regard to the use of the *ballot in America*, it is said, that there it is *no protection at all to the voter*; that "it is a matter of notoriety how every man professes to vote; that there are the forms, indeed, under which concealment might be practised; that of course, that were one citizen in another's gripe as here, there would (without a great previous change of usage) be *no protection* in the American ballot, because there is no real "secrecy." This I take from the *Times* newspaper, of this day, 27. December. The writer adds, that there is plenty of *canvassing* in America, and that the whole country is "a *furnace* previous to the elections." Now, in my plan of parliamentary reform, published in the *Register* of the 30 October, 1830, (which plan I verily believe will be adopted at last,) I used the words which I have taken as a motto to this paper. In another *Register*, published soon afterwards, I explained this affair of the American ballot. I then said, that in America there was no need of it *as a protection*. I said then precisely what this writer says now, with regard to its effects in America; only I added, that

the case here was very different; that *here* men would stand in need of its protection; and that, therefore it ought to be adopted. Its great good in America is the securing of the *peace of elections*; for though no man disguises the fact as to how he shall vote, no other man can be actually sure of what he will do; and, by the means of the ballot, the polling takes place *without the asking of a single word of the voter*. Fifty men are polled in so many half minutes, and away they go to their business, without losing more time than is required to walk or ride to the place and back again. This writer says that there is *canvassing in America*; and that the country is a *furnace* previous to the election. Now, it is true enough that the country is a "*furnace*," in some cases, previous to elections. But the canvass is by writings, by publishings, by speech-makings, just like my canvass at MANCHESTER and at OLDHAM; I defy this writer to produce an instance, or to bring any credible person to say that he ever saw an instance of *a candidate making a personal canvass*. I never saw, and I never heard of (and I was ten years and a half in the country) a general personal canvass being made by any persons, even in behalf of the candidates; and very seldom indeed was it seen, that any *candidate* canvassed, even by writing or by speech; the whole of this business being carried on by the partisans of the several candidates. But, then, look at the prodigious difference in the situation of the electors. The suffrage is nearly universal; think, then, of the *numbers*. Then think of the circumstance, that the difficulty is not to get employment, but for the employer to get hands. The shopkeeper never thinks about who shall be, or who shall not be, his customers; and how many hundred times have I seen shopkeepers in PHILADELPHIA shut up their shops for a day or two, to go into the country on a party of pleasure, and stick up a paper on their door to say when they should be back! And, as to the *land*, what do we want more than this one fact, which is as notorious as the sun at noon-day, that there is *scarcely* such a

man in the whole country as a mere renter of land. The ballot never was invented in America for the purpose of preventing corruption and coercion: it was established for the purpose of securing the *peace and celerity of elections*: here it is wanted for that purpose, and for the further purpose of protecting conscientious men; and for this latter purpose it will be wanted, and must be had, until, at least, the suffrage shall become as extensive as in America.

Besides all this, does Lord GREY know how large a part of those members, on whom he relies for support, have pledged themselves to the introduction and establishment of the BALLOT? Does he know that the four members for the county of Surrey, the two members for West Kent, and a vast proportion of the county-members, who are called *Whigs*, have, without any hesitation or doubt, made declarations in favour of the BALLOT? Does my Lord GREY know that the TOWER HAMLETS chose Dr. LUSHINGTON, with a banner waving over his head, having on it, "*LUSHINGTON and the BALLOT*"? Does he know that the members for LAMBETH were elected under similar professions? Does he know that even Mr. STANLEY's brother, who has been returned for PRESTON, stands most unequivocally pledged to give his support to the establishment of the BALLOT? But, does he know (and this comes more closely home to him), that Mr. POGLETT THOMSON, one of his privy-councillors and co-servants, was elected at MANCHESTER under placards, posted in every part of that great town, having on them, "*VOTE FOR THOMSON AND THE BALLOT*"? The occurrences (which I shall mention in another place) which have taken place at MANCHESTER since the election, prove very clearly that he owed his election to a very vile intrigue; and that good men, that sound men, of all ranks in life, look upon him as anything but a member for MANCHESTER; but, even that intrigue, together with all the dishonourable means that were made use of; and even my being known to have been elected at OLDHAM by the middle

of the first day of polling at MANCHESTER; even all these circumstances combined, could not, though with the addition of great expectancy with regard to public plunder; all these put together could not have obtained him a majority over Mr. LOYD or Mr. HOPE, had not his partisans pledged him to the BALLOT. Does Lord GREY know these things? If he do, will he still suffer Mr. STANLEY to be regarded as *his organ*? Is he prepared to stand by Mr. STANLEY's *manifesto*? Is he prepared to give it his sanction, either expressly or tacitly? Or, is he prepared to turn out of his office this audacious dictator to the representatives of the people? What Lord GREY will do in this case, I know not; but this I know, that by his conduct as to this matter, he will decide his own fate as the *chief servant of the King*.

With regard to the other point; namely, *the repeal of the Septennial Bill*, the declaration of Mr. STANLEY is certainly one of the most *impudent* that ever was made by mortal man. I have many times expressed my wish that my Lord GREY might remain at the head of the servants of the King until a system of just and constitutional sway were restored to the country. I entertain that wish still; but I am quite sure that it will not be realized, if Mr. STANLEY was, upon this occasion, the organ of his lordship. This is a *mighty matter*. It is very hard to believe, that a man, full of arrogance and temerity as he may be (and replete with both Mr. STANLEY certainly is), would have ventured to make this declaration, in so positive and authoritative a manner, unless he had had the authority of the chief of those servants, of whom he himself was one. His statement is too positive, too distinct, and his manner too confident, for us easily to believe, that he proceeded to such lengths without the authority of his principal. He speaks in the name of the whole of the King's servants; he uses the plural pronoun *we*: he says, "*WE*, as individuals, and "*as members of the Government*, are "*BOUND* (and I announce at once, "*and openly, OUR determination*) to

"give a **DECIDED OPPOSITION.**" To what? Why, to any proposition which shall be made in the ensuing, or any other Parliament, "for **SHORTENING the duration of Parliaments.**" Thus he, a servant of the King, in public pay, not himself a member of the Parliament at the time when he spoke, announces, by speech, publicly made, the determination of himself, together with other servants of the King (some of whom are **PEERS** observe), to oppose, and prevent the adoption of, certain measures which are likely to be brought forward in the ensuing House of Commons. He announces, *in a public speech*, that he and other servants of the King are *bound* to do this thing with respect to the ensuing House of Commons. Without stopping here to inquire how nearly this resembles many of the acts for which servants of the King have been impeached at different times, some of which servants have been severely punished for such acts; without stopping here to go into this premature inquiry, the conclusion is, I am afraid, forced upon us, that Mr. STANLEY was, upon this occasion, the authorised organ of Lord GREY, as the chief of the servants of the King. Leaving this matter, however, to be hereafter settled by the evidence of facts, let us now proceed (having already shown that the question was *clearly reserved*) to inquire a little into the merits of the question.

I have always been, ever since I have well reflected upon the subject, of opinion, that a House of Commons, chosen **ANNUALLY**, would be the best. It was the ancient practice of the country; it is the practice now in the best-governed State of America. My Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in that part of his speech which I have quoted above, objects to the period being very short, on two accounts, first, because the members of the House would be "*kept in a perpetual canvass.*" This objection, his lordship must see, would be completely obviated by the use of the **BALLOT**; for, if that regulation were adopted, there would never be any canvassing at all by any members. His lordship's other

objection is, that, if elections were so very frequent, the representatives of the people would not be able to consider any great question with freedom, being placed in such a continual *state of dependence*. I do not well understand his lordship here. Why, men who *represent others*, ought to consider themselves as constantly acting for those others, whether they be, or be not, chosen frequently; and with regard to there not being *time* for the members to bring to perfection any great measure, so far are annual elections from being likely to cause a perpetual change of persons in the members, they have an exactly contrary tendency. They cause a good understanding to be constantly existing between the people and their representatives; and, therefore, they cause a permanency in the *personal* composition of the representation. If the reason of the case were not sufficient here, the lists of the Houses of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, who are elected for two years; and the lists of the Senate and House of Representatives, in the State of Connecticut, who are all elected for one year, would establish the fact beyond all contradiction. It very rarely happens, that the members of these assemblies are replaced by new members, except on account of death, old age, ill health, acceptance of some office, or elevation from one branch of the legislature to another. Look at the history of the seven presidents; look at the history of all the speakers that those assemblies have had; and you will find, that that republican and democratical government has experienced less of personal change in its legislative bodies, than has been experienced in our House of Commons, during the time that the American government has been in existence. In what case has the choosing of a new Congress prevented, or retarded, the adoption of any great measure, in the United States? Look at the steadiness of purpose; look at the profound political wisdom; look at the unbroken uniformity, in pursuit as well as in principle, which has marked the wonderful progress of that republic and democratical government;

look at the profound political science, whether foreign or domestic, which has marked all its measures; look at the astonishing influence which it has obtained, and the unshaken confidence which it has inspired, in all foreign courts; see how steadily it has gone on establishing a permanent and powerful naval force; observe how carefully each succeeding House of Representatives has continued on, and carried to perfection, the good measures begun by former Houses of Representatives; in short, let my Lord JOHN RUSSELL behold a nation swelled up from three millions to twelve millions of people in the space of fifty-two years, exchanging half a dozen gun-boats for a powerful and the most complete navy as the world ever saw; and exchanging a few trading sloops and brigs, for a commercial marine, scarcely surpassed by that of England herself: let my Lord JOHN RUSSELL look at these things; and, let him remember, that these have all proceeded from a parliament chosen once in every two years; and, if he thus observe, and thus remember, these objections will be instantly swept from his mind.

But a great, and, perhaps, the greatest argument in favour of short Parliaments, is, that they naturally and necessarily tend to the *peace of the community*; to the preventing of discontents from breaking out into violent actions; and, of course, to prevent the necessity of that unnatural force, and all the expenses of that force, which were wholly unknown to our fathers, and which, if we now do our duty, will be equally unknown to our children. In all human institutions, in everything which is the work of man, in the conducting of all governments, there will arise, whether from error or from the bad passions of men, wrongs, either real or imaginary, done to the millions who are governed. And is it not taught us by our very natures, and by all the experience of our lives that resentment against wrong-doers, or imaginary wrong-doers, is *in exact proportion to the smallness of the hope of redress*. This hope is small in proportion to the greatness of the *length of the time* when the redress can

be obtained. When legislative assemblies are elected at shortly-recurring periods, the people who suffer, or who think they suffer, from their enactments, wait with patience for the election to come; because then they know that the power of obtaining redress will return to their own hands; but if the period be *distant*, their patience is insufficient to restrain their resentment, and they resort to an expression of that resentment, in a manner inconsistent with the peace of society and the security of property; and physical force is required to prevent anarchy from coming and overthrowing all the orders in the state.

Hence we behold a republican government beginning and continuing on for fifty-two years; we see great cities rising up under it; we see the monstrous error and evil of paper-money (in imitation of England) come to destroy contracts and to transfer property; we see violent political struggles from time to time arising; we see the country invaded at all points by the most powerful nation in the world; we see the capital burnt by our own hands, and the President compelled to flee from it; we see great sufferings in various towns and districts, arising from these causes; we see the several states at times engaged in serious contentions from rivalry; we see the commerce pitted against the agriculture, each striving for the mastery; yet in the whole of the fifty-two years, we see not one single riot under this republican and democratical government; and we see not one single solitary instance of military force being necessary to protect the property or the person of any man; while, under our own kingly and aristocratical government, we see three hundred barracks, or inland fortresses or depositories of the military force necessary for the protection of persons and property; while we behold in those hives of admirable industry, which distinguish our country, always a place of deposit for this military force. Why this difference, so disgraceful to us; why this difference? Not because that is a republican and democratical government, while ours is a kingly government; but because the

people under that government have been truly represented; and, especially, because the duration of its parliaments have been *short*.

It has been said that, though ours are called *seven-year* parliaments, they have, in fact, not been, for many years past, more than about three or four-year parliaments. Ah! but this, instead of being an alleviation of the evil, is a great aggravation of it. *The uncertainty* in which we constantly are in this respect, is worse even than an assurance of the continuation of evil. With the exception of the cases of the demise of the crown, the people well know that new elections have not taken place in order to benefit them; but in order to effect some purpose which, nine times out of ten, must be injurious to them. In America the new Congress is elected on a day appointed by the constitution for the purpose. If wrong exist, the people know the very day when the redress will come; and this is their sure and certain cause of uninterrupted peace; and of that constant and implicit and willing obedience to the laws, for which our forefathers were so famed throughout the world, while, for ages upon ages, they knew of no force other than that of the sheriff's wand and the constable's staff: and what reason upon earth is there that we and our children should not see these happy days again?

Thus far, as to *the reason* of the thing: thus far without any appeal to authorities, or the formally expressed opinions of men; and, if I were to stop here, I am persuaded, that, with a very few exceptions, the whole nation would condemn the declaration which Mr. STANLEY has made against a repeal of the Septennial Bill. But, now, let us see a little what the *law* says about this bill, and about the grounds upon which it was passed. Now, then, Mr. STANLEY is to learn, that, according to the ancient laws and usages of the kingdom, a House of Commons *never continued to exist for more than one year*; that, every time a House of Commons was called together, it was a *new House of Commons*; a House of Commons newly chosen; but then, the

STUARTS sometimes did not call any House of Commons together. Therefore, at what is called the glorious revolution, the bargain made with the newly-chosen king, was, that a Parliament should in future be called once in every three years at the furthest. This bargain, Mr. STANLEY will find expressed very clearly in an act passed in the year 1694, being chapter the 2. of the acts passed in the sixth year of the reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. This act, which has always been called the TRIENNIAL BILL, stands in the statute book, in the following words:

TRIENNIAL BILL.

AN ACT FOR THE FREQUENT MEETING AND CALLING OF PARLIAMENTS.

“Whereas by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent Parliaments ought to be held; and whereas *frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happiness and good agreement of the king and people*:” we, your Majesties’ most loyal and obedient subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesties that it may be declared and enacted by the King’s and Queen’s most excellent Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from henceforth, a Parliament shall be holden *once in three years at the least*.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That within three years at the furthest, from and after the dissolution of this present Parliament, and so from time to time for ever hereafter, within three years at the furthest, from and after the determination of every other Parliament, legal writs under the Great Seal shall be issued by directions of your Majesties, your heirs and successors, for calling, assembling, and holding another *new* Parliament.

III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from henceforth no Parliament whatsoever, that shall at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held, *shall have any continuance longer than for three*

years only, at the furthest, to be accounted from the day on which, by the writs of summons, the said Parliament shall be appointed to meet.

IV. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That this present Parliament shall cease and determine on the first day of November, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, unless their Majesties shall think fit to dissolve it sooner.

This act continued in force until the year 1715; that is to say, the first year of the reign of GEORGE the First, who was the first king of the house of Hanover. Then it was that this bargain made with King WILLIAM was cancelled by another act, which stands in the statute book, being chapter 38, 2d statute, of 1st GEORGE the First; and this act is called the SEPTENNIAL BILL, and it stands in the statute book in the following words:

SEPTENNIAL BILL.

AN ACT FOR ENLARGING THE TIME OF CONTINUANCE OF PARLIAMENTS, APPOINTED BY AN ACT MADE IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY, INTITULED AN ACT FOR THE FREQUENT MEETING AND CALLING OF PARLIAMENTS.

"Whereas in and by an Act of Parliament made in the sixth year of the reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary (of ever blessed memory), intituled *An Act for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments*, it was among other things enacted, That from thenceforth no Parliament whatsoever, that should at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held, should have any continuance longer than for three years only at the furthest, to be accounted from the day on which by the writ of summons the said Parliament should be appointed to meet. And whereas it has been found by experience that the said clause hath proved very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses, in order to elections of members to serve in Parliament, and more violent lasting heats and animosities among

"the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before the said clause was enacted; and the said provision, if it should continue, may probably, at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and the security of the Government:" be it enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That this present Parliament, and all Parliaments that shall at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held, shall and may respectively have continuance for SEVEN YEARS, and no longer, to be accounted from the day on which, by the writ of summons, this present Parliament hath been, or any future Parliament shall be, appointed to meet, unless this present, or any such Parliament hereafter to be summoned, shall be sooner dissolved by his Majesty, his heirs, or successors."

Now, we have not only these acts before us, but we have the grounds upon which they were passed; and we are smarting under the stripes which we have had laid on upon us in consequence of the last-quoted act. You see, that the first act was passed, because "frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement between the King and people;" and I have shown you how they have tended, and how they have preserved that happy union and good agreement between the Congress of America and the people of that country. Why, then, was this act repealed? Why was that act abolished which was made for the purpose of causing "happy union and good agreement between King and people?" Look at the *Septennial Bill*, and you will see, that the chief ground was, that these frequent elections might favour the designs of "a restless popish faction" to renew the rebellion, and cause an invasion of the country from abroad. This was a false and base pretence; but, allowing it to have been a ground really then existing, does that ground exist now? You know that it

does not exist; and that here there is not the smallest pretence in the world for continuing this bill in force.

Another pretence was, that frequent elections* were "grievously burdensome" by the "*great expenses*" which new elections occasioned. So, you see, that bribery, corruption, and boroughmongering, had begun at this time; and this bill was intended to render them *less expensive to the boroughmongers*. But can this pretence apply NOW, when a bill has been passed to divide the polling places, to confine the polling to *two days*, and to reduce the expenses of an honourable candidate to next to nothing, even for a county? A rich villain may still squander his money in the bribing and carrying of voters; but there is no need for an honest and honourable man to expend any money worth speaking of. Therefore this pretence is taken away; and, to continue this bill in force *now*, would be to discover a settled design to coerce the people, and to compel them to submit to acts of injustice.

I pray you, to remark on the flagitious character of the transaction of this *Septennial Bill*. The members of the House of Commons, of that day, had been chosen by the people to sit for three years, and no more: and they, without any new election, without consulting the people in any manner whatsoever; they, aided by the King and by the Lords, **CHOSE THEMSELVES TO SIT FOR FOUR YEARS LONGER**; and this, too, in the face of the Act of Parliament under which they were assembled, and which Act declared, "that frequent and new parliaments "tend very much to the happy union "and good agreement between the "king and people." So unjust, so daring, so open, so flagrant, an act as this, never was committed before in the world; and it has been followed by all the natural consequences of an act of this character. It soon took from the people all real voice in choosing their representatives: it was immediately followed by a monstrous waste of the people's money: the servants of the King soon became the masters of the

House of Commons: unable to get the money from the people fast enough in taxes, the King's servants and their Parliaments proceeded to the borrowing of money; a great standing army has been necessary to collect the taxes to pay the interest of their debts; and thus, at last, we find ourselves with three hundred barracks, with a standing army, in time of peace, of a hundred thousand men, and with a debt of eight hundred millions, taking from us, and from our children, the very bread that we ought to have to eat.

What pretence can there be now, then, for the keeping in force of this act, which was clearly and unequivocally an act of daring usurpation? What pretence can there be for keeping this act in force NOW? and yet, Mr. STANLEY is daring enough to tell us, that he and the rest of the King's servants are *bound* to prevent its repeal! I have heard (for I have not seen it in print), that Mr. SPRING RICE (who is one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, I believe) told the electors at CAMBRIDGE that the *Septennial Bill* was a very bad thing *before the Reform Bill was passed*; but that *now it* would be attended with no evil consequences; that the Reform Bill having passed, it would not be necessary, therefore, to repeal the *Septennial Bill*; in short, that the Reform Bill required seven-year Parliaments, and that the Septennial Bill was mischievous only before this Reform Bill was passed. If it be true, that Mr. SPRING RICE did utter words to this effect, I greatly fear, that Mr. STANLEY was the true organ of Lord GREY himself upon this occasion; and if so, the people will be roused with indignation from one end of the country to the other. But, will my Lord GREY give his countenance to this daring declaration; and will he, after that, have the hardihood to look his insulted country in the face? I am sure that he will not. Will HE hold the language that Mr. SPRING RICE is said to have held at CAMBRIDGE? Will HE say, that the causes of confusion, litigation and expense having been removed, there is *now no need* to shorten the duration

of Parliaments? Will HE say, that the suffrage having been extended, the nomination boroughs having been suppressed, and the expenses of elections having been reduced to nearly nothing, there is no need now of those frequent and new elections which our ancestors deemed to be the means of a happy union and good agreement between the King and the people? Will HE say these things? I trust, for the honour of the human frame, that he will not. If, unhappily, he were to be so lost to every sentiment of sincerity and of justice, this insulted people would, with one voice, ask him, Did you not bring in a petition for a reform of the Parliament in 1793? Did you not, in that petition, pray for an extension of the suffrage; pray for a suppression of the nomination boroughs; pray for members to be given to great towns, which had then no members, and additional members to the counties; did you not pray for something to lessen the expenses of elections; did you not pray for all, and more than all, that you have provided for in this REFORM BILL; and did you not, upon the supposition that all that should be granted, conclude your petition with the following prayer, and to that prayer put the name of CHARLES GREY?

*"And finally to SHORTEN THE DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS, and by removing the CAUSES OF THAT CON-
FUSION, LITIGATION, AND EXPENSE,
with which they are at this day con-
ducted, to render frequent and new
elections, what our ancestors, at the
revolution asserted them to be, the
means of a happy union and good
agreement between the King and peo-
ple: and your petitioners shall ever
pray."*

Oh God, no! Lord GREY never can, with this staring him in the face, openly give his sanction to Mr. STANLEY's declaration of war. He will perceive that, he had, in his petition of 1793, prayed distinctly for all the changes which have been made by this Reform Bill; and yet he deemed all that not enough, without the addition of shortening the duration of Parliaments. It is impossible that he can now attempt

to maintain himself in place, and at the same time to uphold and perpetuate the monstrous usurpation of the Septennial Bill. Upon whatever other point he may make a successful stand, here he must give way, or fall prostrate before the unanimous indignation of the country.

The only question relative to this matter, upon which any doubt is left in my mind, is this: whether Mr. STANLEY were actually authorised by Lord GREY to make this declaration against the rights of the people. That fact will, probably, be ascertained in a very short time; and if it be ascertained that he had Lord GREY's authority, then we may safely assert that *the storm is about to begin!*

To be sure, the servants of the King have so long been in the habit of treating the House of Commons with contempt; the House has been so long their obedient tool; the members have so long been accustomed silently to acquiesce in the notion that the King's servants had a right to be able to command a majority of the House; that no member had a right to expect a bill to pass, unless it were brought in under their protection or sanction; that there was a local situation of distinction in the House, which of right belonged to the servants of the King; that it was proper to address them by the names of their offices, and as superiors of the other members of the House; that it was presumption in any other member of Parliament to attempt to move in any business of importance, in the absence of these servants of the King; and that, in short, the House of Commons were called together merely for the sake of form, to give a legal sanction to the acts by which the money was taken out of the pockets of the people, and disposed of at the mere will and pleasure of these servants. So long have these notions prevailed, so submissive and so abject has been the demeanour of the House of Commons, that, when one reflects on the matter, one is not so much surprised at the daring temerity of Mr. STANLEY. I trust, however, that he is destined to experience a correction of these notions

in his mind ; I trust that he is destined to see his arrogance repressed, and that, defective as the Reform Bill unquestionably is, it will be found to have drawn together a set of men, a large part of whom will scorn to crouch down and own themselves to be the servants of the servants of the King.

To such a state of degradation have we fallen, so completely have we been bereft, bit by bit, of all the principles which were so firmly fixed in the breasts of our ancestors, that the people seemed to have abandoned the idea of the House of Commons being anything other than the mere instruments of the King in the hands of his servants. Even upon subjects of trade, taxes, commerce, and agriculture, where there has been any mitigation or alteration, which any classes of persons deeply interested in these matters, wanted to obtain, they have, for many years, looked upon the *House of Commons* as having no more influence in such matters, than any equal number of hackney-coachmen or scavengers. Deputations of opulent men have come up crouching even to the underlings in office ; petitions to the Treasury ; petitions to the Board of Trade ; petitions to Boards of Admiralty, of Taxes, of Excise, of Customs ; but no more thinking of petitions to the House of Commons on such subjects ; no, not so much thinking of them, as of petitions to the bastards of the very office-sweepers. What, that ever was heard of amongst men, could be such a libel on the House of Commons, as to see a deputation from the parish of St. JAMES, going, with the two members for the city at their head, to beg the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* to take off some taxes for them ; and to hear him graciously promising, that "*his Majesty's Government* would take the matter into their serious consideration ?" seeming to take it for granted, that he and his co-servants had the right and the power to take off taxes at their pleasure ! How often have the members for Kent and for Sussex gone creeping to the King's servants, to beg them to postpone the payment of the duty on hops !

Amongst the other consequences of the *servility* of the House of Commons ; of this sort of *acknowledged superiority* in the servants of the King, is, the scandalous practice of the House meeting *by night*, instead of adhering to its standing orders, and meeting *by day*. Upon the face of the matter there is something so contrary to reason, so at open war with all the habits and customs of men who have to transact business of importance ; there is, in the meeting and sitting by night, something so hostile to all these, that one naturally wonders how the monstrous practice could ever have taken place. But, when we look into the history of the matter, we shall find, that, like the other shameful things which I have mentioned, it has proceeded entirely from the *servility* of the several Houses of Commons, which have sitten during the last fifty years. The House having become, in fact, the servants of the servants of the King, it soon became to be treated like a mere mass of servants ; and as menial servants are made to wait patiently for the arrival of their masters, so it became the custom of these servants to wait for the arrival of their masters. These masters had other business to perform ; that business occupied the daylight ; and the masters stood in need of *exercise*, on horseback, or otherwise : this exercise required day-light also to take it in ; and thus a hundred times have I myself seen the divers servants of the King, one after another, taking their ride in the parks, and terminating that ride at the door of the House of Commons, where their servile attendants were waiting for them. Thus, by degrees, growing more and more haughty and more and more insolent, in proportion as the Houses of Commons became more and more servile, it, at last, came to that odious pass, at which it had arrived when the last Parliament separated, and when the kingdom beheld about three hundred junior noblemen and baronets and other country gentlemen of great estate, sitting in humble waiting for the arrival of the clerks in office, and spending night after night in listening to their contemptible coun-

tentions; knowing at the same time, that there was a place for guttling and boozing and smoking, under the very same roof with themselves; whence, as occasion served, they saw the gorgers and guzzlers come tumbling down to give votes affecting the properties, liberties, and lives, of millions! And, is this mark of servility to *continue*? Is the new House of Commons to bear this stamp and imprint of degradation? Are the people of this kingdom to see, in the continuation of this shameful practice, that their interests, that the safety of their properties, liberties, and lives, are thus still to be considered as matter of secondary importance, or of no importance at all, compared with the business of the counting-house, the stock exchange, and of the clerks in the several offices?

Oh, no! There can be *no peace* in this kingdom; there can be no *patient waiting* under this mass of suffering, unless the people have a *thorough confidence* in the righteous intentions of the House of Commons; and that confidence it is impossible that they should have, unless that House BEGIN by asserting the perfect independence of all its members; by those members *proving* that they acknowledge no superior; by coming back to the practices of those times when the Parliaments were independent of the servants of the King; and by resolutely resisting every attempt, however slight or indirect, at aristocratical or regal dictation or interference.

After beholding all this servility for so many years, well may an arrogant man, like Mr. STANLEY, imagine, that he is able to say, beforehand, what the House of Commons shall, and what it shall not, do. If it were to be the base and cowardly thing which he seems to anticipate, the end, which he appears to have in view, would not, however, be answered. The indignation of the people, *in conjunction with the paper-money*, would baffle all his expectations, and would soon convince him of that of which Lord GREY ought already to be convinced; that there is now but one course of safety left; and that that

course is, a yielding to the just and reasonable demands of the people, and such a yielding *in time*.

WM. COBBETT.

POULETT THOMSON,

AMONGST HIS "CONSTITUENTS" AT MANCHESTER.

It appears that BAXTER, the two POTTERS, SHUTTLEWORTH, and DYCE, the last of whom is a Yankee, an alien by birth, and not even a denizen in England, got POULETT THOMSON down to MANCHESTER, on Monday last, the 24. of December; that knowing well, that they could not venture to exhibit him before *the public* of MANCHESTER, they took him to THE EXCHANGE, a very spacious and magnificent place, well known to be the place of resort of all the opulent persons of that very opulent town. Here, under the screen of a power of exclusion, which naturally kept at a distance everything bordering on poverty, they thought they had him *safe*; and that here, at any rate, they might assure themselves of something like an appearance of general approbation of the choice that they had made. Here, however, both they and he received a reproof, a disavowal, a disowning, a mark of reprobation, the most decided that has been given in the case of any member returned to this Parliament. He did, indeed, (and I am very glad of it,) *escape personal violence*; but that *worse punishment*, which is inflicted by hootings, by groanings, by hissings, by scoffings, by scornings, and by being pursued by these marks of dislike, distrust, and contempt; this punishment, the newspapers say, he received in a degree more severe than such punishment has, perhaps, ever been inflicted upon mortal man before; and from this magnificent pile, having unbounded riches evinced in its very structure, he had to sneak hastily away, amidst the reproaches and execrations of the working people assembled in the streets, from whom he, at last, took shelter, I suppose, at *the sign of the "Three Golden Balls."* Mr.

STANLEY, on the day of his *manifesto*, mentioned MANCHESTER, as having given a proof of the attachment of *opulent men* to the present servants of the King and their system, and as having *rejected* wild and destructive politicians. In the overboiling of his arrogance and his insolence, he forgot, that this rejection included Mr. LOYD and Mr. HOPE; but, if he forgot it, the opulent people of MANCHESTER have not forgotten it; and, whatever he may think of the matter, there is hardly to be found, amongst the richer classes at MANCHESTER, a man that would not have *preferred me* to POULETT THOMSON.

The conduct of Mr. LOYD and of Mr. HOPE, and of their supporters, was manly, open, honest, and sincere, from the beginning to the end of the whole transaction. I did not hear of a single low or foul act committed, or attempted, by any of them; and (leaving myself out of the question) it is a deep disgrace to the town of MANCHESTER, that it should have chosen a *placeman*; *any* placeman; but particularly a placeman of such equivocal principles, and of endowments so very childish. The intriguing partisans of Mr. THOMSON set forth the *great advantage* that MANCHESTER would derive from being represented by a man *belonging to "His Majesty's Government!"* This is of a piece with all those servile notions, of which I have spoken so much at large, in my answer to the STANLEY-MANIFESTO. It may, indeed, be of great advantage to BAXTER, to SHUTTLEWORTH, to the POTTERS, and to DYER, to have a member upon whom they have claims for places, pensions, and other good things for themselves and their relations; but what *advantage* can it be, either to the rich or the poor, generally speaking, of this prodigious hive of industry and of real wealth? That which is wanted by them is a *righteous House of Commons*; and, of course, it became them to have a member worthy of such an assembly; and, if the rich people of MANCHESTER be not already convinced, they soon will be convinced, that there will be no secu-

rity for their property, and for its quiet descent to their children, other than that which is to be derived from the acts of a House of Commons which shall *begin its works* by showing its resolution not to be under the dictation of, and not even to recognise *any deference* whatsoever, either local, visible, or mental, for, the servants of the King. Unless the House *begin* to show this its determination, it will not have that confidence from the people, which, and which only, can enable it to produce anything worthy of the acceptance of the country; and I venture to say that, before this day six months, every rich man of MANCHESTER will be of this opinion.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Battle, 17, Dec., 1832.

SIR,—With feelings of high gratification your friends at Battle have learned, from the newspapers, that you have been elected a representative of the people in Parliament; and they have requested me to tender to you their respectful and heartfelt congratulations on that important event.

To us, Sir, this announcement is peculiarly a matter for exultation; only two years ago the harpies of corruption denounced you as an instigator of the incendiary, and us as being your associates in crime; but "*out of evil comes good*;" the events of that period led to the trial, instituted against you by the malicious Whigs, and to your signal triumph; and now that God of justice, who "bringeth to nought the devices of the wicked," has enabled us to behold you promoted to one of the really highest offices which a human being can fill, and *your enemies* laid prostrate before the powerful tribunal of public opinion.

We rejoice, too, Sir, in your election, because we regard it as a happy omen of the restitution of our country's rights, and because we know that it gladdens the heart of the agricultural labourer, who foresees that he will have, as an advocate in the great council of the nation, an able and an honest man.

We trust, Sir, that the Almighty Disposer of events will spare your life, that you may become, not one of an assembly whose members hurry from their midnight orgies to bind still faster the fetters of an enslaved people; but a member of a virtuous and efficient legislature, assembling in the *broad glare of day*, to represent the wishes and promote the interests of a free and an enlightened nation. I am, Sir,

your obedient humble servant,

JOHN GROVES, Jun.

MR. COBBETT'S ANSWER.

Bolt-court, 25. Dec., 1832.

SIR,—Numerous as are the cities, towns, and villages, in the kingdom, which are known to me, I know not one from which a letter, like that which you have addressed to me, could have come, to give me greater pleasure. I never shall forget the zealous, the prudent, and the truly just and humane conduct of the people of the town of Battle, who always occur to my mind when I am thinking of instances of fidelity and of public spirit. It was my endeavours to put a stop to the conflagrations in the country; it was my endeavours, made for this purpose, at that town, which was to have been made the means of my own destruction, and which might have been caused to effect that destruction, had it not been for the honesty and the spirit of the people of that town.

I trust, with you, Sir, that the assembly, which is now about to exist, will perform its labours by daylight; and, if it do not, most solemnly assure the people of Battle for me, that the fault shall not be mine. I do believe, that the agricultural labourers will be inspired with hope and with confidence by the event, which appears to have given such gratification to the people of Battle. As far as my ability goes, that hope shall not be disappointed, nor shall that confidence be found to have been misplaced; and, Sir, while I beg you to thank my friends at Battle in my name, I beg you to accept for yourself, an ex-

pression of my great personal respect and regard.

I am, Sir, your faithful friend
and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

AH, AH!

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

"SIR,—Having voted for *Dr. Lushington* in the *Tower Hamlets*, on his profession of *very liberal sentiments*, I cannot conceal from you my disgust at finding that he, with *Mr. Fowell Buxton*, voted *plumpers* for *Mr. Byng*; thus tacitly voting *against* the most upright, patriotic, and zealous man that has been in the House of Commons for years. *Dr. Lushington* may be assured such conduct will not pass unnoticed by the electors of the *Tower Hamlets*. I have heard very many expressions of contempt on the subject from those who voted for him; and I even expect his committee, will let him know their opinion of it pretty freely.

Your obedient servant, R. S."

These poor fools of the *TOWER HAMLETS* will find it very difficult to convince anybody that they care much about the doctor's conduct. They knew all about him before they chose him; and he has done, in this respect, no more than what they ought to have expected him to do. His hatred of *HUME* is instinctive, like the hatred which a rat has of a cat. The doctor has long had free access to the cheese loft; and, of course, he is not going to keep out of it for the sake of the fools in the *TOWER HAMLETS*. If they were deceived by the "*liberal profession*," of a judge of the Consistory Court, I will warrant it that the doctor will find the means of satisfying them that he did right in voting against *HUME*.

LOWER STILL!

I THOUGHT, when I inserted the account of *BURDETT* and *HOBHOUSE* going at the head of a *parish-deputation*, in order to obtain an electioneering puff to screen them against the turnips and

cabbages, that I was giving an account of "*the lowest thing on earth*;" but the following, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of 26. December, is still lower.

"Sir,--After what has passed at the Westminster and Bath elections, the following circumstance should, I think, be made public:—On Friday, the 21., *Sir John Cam Hobhouse* tendered his vote as an elector of Middlesex, at the polling-booth, King's Cross; but, *owing to some irregularity*, his name was not inserted in the *polling register*. The presiding officer, Mr. Ellis, was applied to on the subject, who decided that *Sir John could not vote*; on which the Baronet remarked, 'that it was of little consequence, as he intended to have given his vote in favour of *the two candidates at the head of the poll*,' meaning, of course, Mr. HUME and Mr. Byng.

"I am, Sir,
your obedient servant,

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

"Mr. Ellis, the presiding officer, as well as the polling-clerks, *will confirm this statement*."

"Dec. 24, 1832."

The salary of Secretary at War, together with fees, or something or another, may yield, perhaps, five or six thousand pounds a year; and I put it to any man worthy of the name of *gentleman*, from his education, and from his place in society, whether he would have done a thing like this, to get ten times that amount, unless he had been going to banish himself for life the next day! What! after having done, and notoriously done, everything in his power to keep Mr. HUME out of Parliament; after having, together with the other servants of the King, been contriving and plotting for months how they should effect this object; after BURDETT had declared that he would have nothing to do with JOSEPH HUME; after BYNG had declared that he preferred Lord HENLEY to Mr. HUME; after all this, to go, *when he saw HUME at the head of the poll*, to vote for him! But, besides this, here is a falsehood upon the face

of the thing; or there is something even worse than that; for, if he had not qualified himself as a voter, he must have known it before he went under pretence to give his vote; and it is clear that he hatched this pretence for the purpose of having a ground to make this publication, and thereby to soften, if possible, the resentment of Mr. HUME, and to screen himself against future showers of cabbages and turnips. After all, however, the thing to be most astonished at here, is, how anything in the *shape of man* could bring itself to make a publication like this! It is quite impossible that he should not have known, that the public would see that it proceeded from the meanest of all possible motives; impossible that he should not have known that every one would clearly see, that he had hatched up this story for the express purpose of softening the anger of HUME; impossible that he should not have known, that he was exhibiting himself, crawling upon his belly and licking the dirt off HUME's shoes. But, still if one reflects, there is little room for wonder, even at this; for, as SWIFT said, a hundred years ago, "A sense of shame and a belly filled by the public money, were never yet companions for a single hour." Mr. HUME has had a narrow escape; and, it is an escape for his life; for, never again will a combination between these two factions be formidable to him, if he now do his duty in a manner that is clearly pointed out to him by the base treachery and inveterate hostility which he has now experienced. Their hatred towards him is unquenchable by any means but one; and that one is his putting an end to their getting at the public money.

THE SPEAKER.

THE newspapers are speculating on who is to be the Speaker; and I shall just observe upon the subject, that he ought to be no placeman, no pensioner, no sinecure-man, no grantee, and one not connected with those who are wallowing in wealth drawn from the public resources; and that, as he is to be "the

first commoner in England," he ought, in all respects, to be worthy of the name, and ought, by no means, to enter on his office with the expectation of being rewarded with a pension.

RENFREWSHIRE ELECTION.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

Read, Electors ! Read !

"The male population above twenty-one years in the under-mentioned places who are non-electors, have been canvassed for their opinions as to the present candidates for Renfrewshire.

BEHOLD THE RESULT!!

PLACES.	For Mr Bontine	For Sir M. S. Stewart.	Neutral.
Johnstone,	1,100	23	6
Kilbarchan,	426	6	8
Lochwinnoch,	292	13	
Kilmacollin and Parish,*	207	7	
Bridge of Weir,	160	1	
Houston and Parish,	360	1	
Crosslie,	60	0	
Pollokshaws,	526	12	
Barrhead,	435	3	
Neilston,	300	1	
Mearns,	245	8	
Eaglesham,	273	5	12
Total,	4,384	80	26

"Electors, pause, read and reflect again! Four thousand three hundred and eighty-four men for Mr. Bontine, and only eighty individuals, including his own tenants, for Sir M. S. Stewart.

"Was it not the non-electors who enfranchised you? They did so, that you might act with and for them, as well as for yourselves. Their destinies are now in your hands—their eyes are upon you—they claim to be heard in the exercise of your sacred trust, and their united prayer is **"VOTE FOR BONTINE!"**

" Paisley, 13. Dec., 1832."

TO MR. COBBETT.

*Atlanton House, near Hollytown, N.B.
1. Dec., 1832.*

DEAR SIR,—I observe, that in your widely-circulated *Register* you have

* In the seven for Sir Michael in this parish there are six of them his own tenants.

taken notice cursorily of my *woods* here, and also of my *Treatise on Planting*; and as you promise, within a short time, to give a more detailed account of Scotland, and of the various improvements which you found had been made there, I beg leave to trouble you with a few observations on what I happen to have done for *arboriculture*; an art, which I am certain you will not pass over in silence as a brother arboriculturist.

Although the science of chemistry has been, for nearly fifty years, successfully applied to agriculture, and although it has, by that means, been raised from the rank of a *mechanical*, to that of a *scientific art*; yet it was not until the publication of my *Treatise five years* since, that any attempt was made to render the same service to *arboriculture*, in any language. This improvement has been brought about, partly by means of vegetable physiology and anatomy, and partly by chemistry.

Had I made such an attempt in a dry didactic essay "on the application of physiology to tree-culture," no one would have read the book. But by fortunately selecting the popular topic of **PARK-PLANTING**, in order to illustrate, in the most striking manner, the true principles of **GENERAL ARBORICULTURE**, and the knowledge and preparation of soils, those principles have been diffused in so wide a manner, as could scarcely have been anticipated; not only all over Great Britain and Ireland, but over most of the countries of Europe. (See the *Preface*.) In treating of soils for the purposes of tree-culture, it was impossible not to give considerable information, that equally applied to husbandry; and, therefore, the scientific as well as the practical agriculturist, will perhaps find here more that is new to him in his own department, than in books written for the express purpose. See particularly **SECT. VI.** "On the preparation of Soils; on Manures; Composts, &c," including the notes belonging to it—also the notes on other sections, *passim*.

Besides being the first writer who ever applied science to **GENERAL PLANTING** (as the most eminent critics have

admitted), I have, in the department of park-improvement, discovered one very attractive art, and remodelled another, by placing the latter on fixed principles. The art which I have discovered is that of *at once delineating real landscape* with nature's own materials, and giving immediate and complete effect to any given number of pictures. The art which I have remodelled, on principles of science never before applied to it, is the art of *removing large trees in parks*, and insuring their perfect success at a very moderate expense; and that art being rendered scientific, I have been enabled to apply it, with the fullest effect, to the art first mentioned. It is true, about a century ago, KENT had the merit of striking out landscape gardening, and adding one more to the number of the fine arts; and his successor, BROWN, had the merit of bringing it into high repute; but as they both adopted merely the common methods of planting, the grand feature in all landscapes, namely wood, in order to become effective, could be introduced into their designs only in large and unshapely masses, which fifty or sixty years were required to mature; so that the important object of cutting out, and delineating the intended pictures, was, of course, left to the ingenuity of another generation.

In effecting what is thus so very cursorily described, you will observe, that I have not merely developed principles and deduced theories, but have exhibited practice to some extent in my own park, consisting of about 100 acres, in which there is water of considerable magnitude, and very great variety of surface in the ground. By this practical example it has been clearly shown to what a height of both utility and ornament the new art may be carried, on a greater scale, or on a lesser, than I have chosen. Above all, it is remarkable, that in vigorous growth, the removed trees (both in copses and park-wood), after thirty years' experience, are found, not only to rival, but strikingly to exceed, that of those raised after the ordinary method. The causes of an effect so very desirable, but so contrary to the

fate of removed wood in England, solely proceed from my having developed more truly, and followed more accurately than others, the *principles* laid down from the *laws of nature*; and that will become sufficiently apparent to an attentive reader of the Treatise in question. To this I may add two facts, which will probably appear not less extraordinary to the English planter, and which are referable to the same source. The first is, that I never in my life-time supported a tree by props, cordage, or any other material. And the second is, that I never had, in the course of thirty years, one tree *blown down* in this park.

Notwithstanding the statement just now given, I think, that neither the principles nor the practice of these two arts will be thoroughly understood, or successfully followed in England, for at least twenty years to come. There is so much quackery to be found in every department, even in those of the most scientific character, that they will run great risk of being treated as the mere wonder of the day, and, like other wonders, soon be forgotten. The persons alone, who can save them from this fate, are the British land-owners, men in general of superior education, and very liberal ideas; but *they never open a book if they can help it*. The consequence is, that the treatise which contains the *principles* of these new arts is committed to the hands of persons of inferior information, such as their overseers or foresters, to whom a Greek manuscript would be equally intelligible. The practical details of the system are all they can comprehend, and these very imperfectly; neglecting altogether the *scientific principles* on which those details are founded; so that they are like men at sea without a compass, and without a suspicion that it is necessary to guide them, in what they, of course conceive to be merely a *mechanical art*. In park-planting the general error they commit is, in the "selection of improper subjects," and in the removal of trees always *too high* in proportion to their girth, and *too large altogether*, considering their own entire want of skill; for which reason, while great *expense* is incurred, little success

attends their efforts, with consequent vexation and disappointment to their employers, who attribute the miscarriage to the imperfection of the art, and not to the ignorance of the operators. Thus probably, until some distinguished PROFESSOR of both arts shall arise, who, uniting the rare qualities of a skilful physiologist, a practical planter, and a master of landscape, in one and the same person, I fear, that the arts in question, however calculated to be useful, will remain a dead letter to the British public. Should this person acquire but the one half of the patronage bestowed upon BROWN, and less than the half of his self-sufficiency, he might bring into repute a system, which, being founded in NATURE, cannot err, and therefore cannot mislead its votaries.

As a planter yourself, and a writer on planting, I hope you will dedicate an entire *Register*, or at least a considerable part of one, to these new topics.

I remain, dear Sir,
your faithful and
obedient servant.
H. STEUART.

PUBLIC DINNER AT OLDHAM.

THE electors of Oldham, on Thursday last, had a public dinner at the Swan Inn, in celebration of the triumph of radical reform in their borough, in the return of Messrs. Fielden and Cobbett. Both the great rooms were crowded with company, and a cheerful evening was spent in celebrating an event on which not England only, but Europe looks with interest. John Fielden, Esq. M. P., William Eagle, Esq., and John Cobbett, Esq., were among the parties, not inhabitants of the town, present at the entertainment. When the cloth was removed, Mr. Joshua Milne, of Crompton, took the chair, and after an appropriate introduction, gave the first toast.

"The people, the only true source of power."—Three times three.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, that as nothing from him could enhance the estimation in which the gentleman whom he was about to propose was

held by all classes in Oldham, he would, without further preface, give

"Our respected guest and representative, John Fielden, Esq."—Three times three."

Mr. FIELDEN rose and said, gentlemen, for the kindness which you have just shown, in drinking my health as your representative, I return you my thanks; I return you my thanks for the high honour you have done me in making me your representative. By that act of kindness and of confidence I am laid under the greatest and most lasting obligations to you. (Loud cheers.) Under the consciousness of my own unfitness for so high an office, it is a great consolation to me that I have not sought it, and that I have accepted it, determined, under all circumstances, to do my best to promote your interests. It is a consolation to me to be convinced that you will give me credit for attempting to do my best, and that you will bear with me and my defects. (Cheers.) To be thus associated with such a body as the reformers of Oldham, is, indeed, a distinguished honour. And when I look at the company by whom I am now surrounded; when I take a retrospective view of what they have done and suffered; when I consider the violence with which they have been abused, condemned, calumniated, and persecuted; and when I consider the occasion which we are now celebrating, it gives me a full conviction, if anything were wanting to give me that conviction, that the cause in which you have suffered, is the cause of truth, is a cause of having at heart the happiness and well-being of the human race. (Loud cheers.) I know many persons in this borough who have been prosecuted, persecuted, hunted down like wild beasts, only for earnestly pleading and suing for that reform, for which the whole nation has now cried aloud with one voice. The reformers of those days took sure ground, the ground of radical reform. The cause of reform has triumphed at last, in some degree, by the united efforts of Whigs, and Liberals, and Radicals; but those who had taken

that ground, the radical reformers, are the only really consistent party in the kingdom. The Reform Bill is passed. Thus far, we have succeeded; and to guide our future progress it is necessary to pause here and inquire what has been the cause, the immediate active cause of our success. That cause is the overwhelming distress of all the productive classes of the country. When we look at the labouring classes, we find them involved in distress unprecedented in the history of our country, compared with the same degree of exertion. Never was labour made before so productive as at present in England; never was there before distress so severe and so universal among the producers. Their employers, at the same time, are also in the greatest distress. Their profits are continually falling off; the wages of their men fall off in consequence, from their positive inability to pay. They are not blamable—it is not in their power to give more. In my own trade there is a fabric which we make; and though the wages are very low in money, we give in kind as much as we did when the wages were eight times their present amount, a proof that it is not the master who gets the profit of robbing the workman. The distress is common to them both; and this distress has brought about the Reform Bill: this distress has brought forward the bit-and-bit reformers and the Whig reformers, to join the people; and thus we have got the Reform Bill; but we have not yet got the reform. The cause of the Reform Bill was excessive taxation; this taxation was caused by the debt; and the charge of the debt was enhanced threefold by Peel's bill; for we have three times the quantity of goods to make, to pay the same amount in money which we paid at the close of the war. Seeing, then, that taxation is the cause of the distress, and that the Reform Bill has done nothing yet to remove that cause, the question is, what use are we now to make of it? What we want is practical and immediate relief. The distress and ruin of all the productive classes are so great, that it has placed us on the brink

of a precipice; and, if nothing be done to guard us, we are sure to be cast down it. There are a great many remedies proposed; and it is of the first importance that the radical reformers particularly should be clear, correct, and united in opinion, as to the proper course to be pursued. Some insist on an alteration of the corn-laws, proposing, either by the repeal or the modification of those laws, to give us cheap bread. There are men, certainly not the friends of popular liberty, everlastingly dinning into the ears of the manufacturers the necessity of a repeal. The cry is well-sounding; and it is very desirable that, by some alteration, the manufacturer should be better compensated than he now is. But this project seems to me to be calculated to divide the people, and to be suggested in order to divide them, and thereby to lessen the effect which the manufacturers, acting together for the purpose of reducing taxation, would have in obtaining real relief from our distresses. There is a large part of the people to whom the corn-laws are necessary, in consequence of an oppressive taxation. It is impossible that, without this protection, the farmers of England could, since the peace, have pursued their occupation. There had been, in fact, an agreement entered into; the agreement was this, that if the landlords would join the Government in contracting the loans, at the close of the war they should have the protection of a corn-law. When the peace came, the corn-law was passed, the object of which was to keep up the price of wheat to 80s. the quarter. This law was put into operation; it succeeded but partially in protecting the land, whilst it caused great distress among the people. The cries of distress, and repeated applications to Parliament, caused a modification to be made, and a new law was framed giving 60s. instead of 80s., as the standard. Now here was at once a breach, as respected the land, of that thing called national faith. National faith has been here broken in favour of the fundholders, and to the prejudice of one great productive interest of the country.

What I am endeavouring to guard you against is, joining in the clamour for the repeal of the corn-laws, as a separate object, to keep up which clamour is the constant aim of those who are adverse to real reform. My decided opinion is, that the repeal of the corn-laws, unaccompanied by other measures, would give us no relief. We have here good lands, partly uncultivated, and partly ill-cultivated. We have thousands in a state of pauperism, only asking permission to cultivate that land, and consume its produce; and we have a Government saying, "You shall not till the land, you shall not cause it to bear its increase, but we will tax this land to furnish you the means of going out to distant and unhealthy climates, most probably there to perish miserably." We have sufficient land, we have labourers sufficient to produce corn here cheaper than we can have it produced anywhere else, including the cost and the waste of conveying it into this country; and how monstrous is the system, which, while it keeps a portion of the people idle upon this unproductive land, employs another portion as idly in bringing corn at a great charge from foreign and distant countries! There must be another cause than our numbers, why we cannot raise corn at as cheap a price here as abroad; and this cause is that taxation which compels the farmer to pay his taxes by the high price of his corn, or to go without remuneration for his labour. The proper course then is to supplicate, or if necessary to insist, that the taxes be reduced. It is most important to keep straight on this point: for if we take the other course, then we become a divided people; then farmers and manufacturers are arrayed in hostility to each other, and all that tyrants seek is accomplished. The reduction of taxes, which the farmers will seek in common with us, gives that relief which we all stand in need of. The reduction of taxes will enable the manufacturer to gain more profit at a less price. The reduction of taxes will enable the manufacturer to have better profits with higher wages; and by the reduction

of taxes, and raising of wages, the working men will be doubly relieved. I always feel a diffidence in addressing a public audience. On this occasion I came rather to hear than to speak. I came to ascertain your opinions, and to receive your instructions, and having thanked you once more for the kindness of your reception, I will now sit down with the expression of my anxious hope that the Reform Bill may be made effective for the practical purposes for the sake of which you have supported it. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN next proposed the health of Mr. Cobbett, which was acknowledged by Mr. John Cobbett.

We regret we have no room for further detail, beyond a short statement of the instructions which Mr. Fielden received from his constituents.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Shaw, told him, on getting into the house to take the national ledger in his hand, and examine how it happened that we were 800 millions in debt; to learn how the money *actually* borrowed had been spent; and to see if there was none of it which we were honestly entitled to get back. He told him to tell the House that these were the instructions which he received from the electors of Oldham, by the mouth of one who nominated him; and to add that there were twenty thousand of the rough-heads of Oldham prepared to support those instructions by all the means left them by the constitution.

Mr. FITTON, of Royton, inquired of the lawyers present whether the constitutional remedy for the sufferings of the people was not to give *grievances* the precedence of *supply*.

Mr. J. COBBETT and Mr. EAGLE having both answered in the affirmative; this course was recommended to the adoption of Mr. Fielden.

TREVOR'S DEFEAT!

(From the *Durham Chronicle* of the 14. inst.)
DURHAM CITY ELECTION.

POOR Mr. TREVOR! His glory departed on Wednesday; and on Thursday he left the city to seek consolation,

we understand, in the retirement of Wynyard. So, all his boasting—all his gentle blessings on adverse freemen—all the prayers he has uttered within the last six months—and oh! worse than these, the confident predictions of the sagacious conductor of the *Advertiser*, have ended in his discomfiture! Well-a-day! Not even the benedictions of the church, the votes of the choristers, the smiles of the Bishop of Bristol's lady's-maid, the greasy favours of his Lordship's cook, the frowns of Mr. Leybourne, or the Christian zeal of the reverend Historian of the Valdois—nothing could carry him farther up the poll than the bottom thereof: Poor, ill-used child of grace—to be so scurvily rejected at the hands of those to whom he might have been a saintly protector from the demoralization of "beer," and a pattern in the paths of temperance, good converse, and politeness! Verily, our very bowels yearn with pity for his fall. His bones must have been almost as grievously shaken as Alderman Thompson's by the tumble. He must never attempt to climb again—or his next fall may be his death. We complain only of one part of his conduct more immediately connected with the three days of the election. It is said that the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who had (like Mr. Trevor) a great aversion to swearing, was about to quit his court at the end of a term, without taking leave of the bar, when a young barrister exclaimed, "He might have said D—n you;" overhearing which his Lordship stepped back, smiled, bowed, and retired. Now what we disliked most in Mr. Trevor's electioneering life, was the manner of his leaving it. He did not, on the last day of the contest, when *his* term was over, condescend to appear before the electors, even to say, "D—n you!" To be sure, he might have been influenced by prudential breeches-pocket considerations in stopping away, as his reverend friend who nominated him was present, and might, in his magisterial capacity, have fined him 5s. for swearing, which would have been a grievous affliction, *plus* his other losses.

On the contrary, the administering of the last bitter pill, for the cure of the scarlet fever, was confided to the taper fingers of "the Galen of our modern days," who, having helped to bring him into the world, was appropriately enough employed to send him out of it again.

But to drop this strain, and to adopt a tone more suited to the melancholy condition of Mr. Trevor's pitiable case. He has been defeated—and defeated by the resolution and firmness of men who showed that they had virtue enough to resist the temptations held out from Wynyard and Seaham Harbour, and to despise the anathemas thundered against them from the Cathedral Church of Durham. Corruption supported Mr. Trevor on one side, and terror on the other. The meanest arts, the most viperous menaces, were alternately employed to cajole and intimidate. The freemen were attempted to be bought off by work in Lord Londonderry's collieries,—and many of them were so,—and the tradesmen of the town were threatened with the loss of the college custom if they dared to vote against the sanctimonious impostor whom the Rev. Mr. Davison, in mockery we presume, thought proper to designate as a friend to the privileges of the people of Durham! Lordly prelates and their menials were associated in this becoming occupation—and it is with feelings of regret we hear that one Prebendary, in particular, distinguished himself by the zeal with which he exerted himself in behalf of Mr. Trevor amongst those whose plighted faith should have guarded them from such intrusion. It is needless to say, that these efforts were, in frequent instances, successful in their object. We blame not the voters for this, but the individuals who, having shown such an unseemly contempt for moral obligation in others, almost provoke the conclusion that its ties do not fetter their own actions.

But if men in a situation to be coerced by the stern hand of clerical power were compelled to vote contrary to their consciences, and inconsistently with their known political opinions, and were, on

such grounds, objects rather of sympathy and compassion, than of scorn and contempt, what can we say of the conduct of men whose situation in life is of the highest—who are rich in worldly possessions—above the cares of the times—beyond the reach of priestly vengeance, or the grasp of aristocratic hostility—albeit great sticklers for reform—clamourers for the bill at one county meeting, and, at another, castigators of the people for their supineness in demanding the “pepper and salt” necessary for our political existence—what shall we say when we see such men—even “GEORGE TOWNSEND FOX, ESQUIRE,” of the South Bailey, Durham, and of Westoe, South Shields, bartering his public character for the world’s contempt, and voting for the nominee of a boroughmongering lord—one of the fiercest destroyers of the “pepper and salt”—to exclude a staunch supporter of “the Bill,” and by so doing to neutralize the voice of the city of Durham in the legislature? To condemn truckling on the part of a poor man, and to pass over in silence the pitiful baseness of this traitorous act on the part of a rich one, were to reverse the principles of justice,—to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. But we cannot gulp the monster; and we hold him up as a mark and warning to others. *Richard* says, “Great men have greater sins.” Mr. Fox, degenerate to his name at least, is a living proof of the truth of the apophthegm.

To conclude, we can only remark, that while many instances have occurred, in reference to this election, to prove the necessity of the *ballot*, the result shows the advantage of taking the power of returning members to Parliament out of the hands of the boroughmongers and placing it in those of the people. Mr. CHAYTOR is a tried reformer; and in addition to Mr. HARLAND being the son of one of the oldest and best reformers in the kingdom, his speech gives token that, in electing him, the inhabitants of Durham have secured the services of a well-informed, intelligent, and able man.

WOLVERHAMPTON ELECTION.

Mr. NICHOLSON felt himself called upon in the first place cordially to thank the returning-officers for the very impartial and satisfactory way in which they had performed their arduous duty. He had to thank the candidates for the kind and gentlemanly feeling which had been manifested towards him; he was satisfied although he was at the bottom of the poll, and he was aware that he did not leave a particle of ill feeling behind him. He came among them a perfect stranger, with nothing but public principle to recommend him; he had stated at the conclusion of his printed address, that if those principles were echoed by the electors of that great borough, he was willing to go to the House of Commons. There was one thing in which that borough took a proud pre-eminence even over the great metropolis. Mr. Grote, than whom there was not a more able or correct man, had complained in one of his addresses that he *did not fear an open enemy*, but that he had been assailed by the thousand tongues of slander; it was a proud thing, however, for Wolverhampton, that not a handbill had been circulated attacking private character. They had answered the appeal which he had made to them in a manner most gratifying to his feelings, and he cordially thanked them. The only difference between him and Mr. Whitmore was, that he (Mr. N.) had stated his sentiments clearly in thirteen distinct propositions, and Mr. W. felt it right before he pledged himself to have the benefit of the great council of the nation, and to be guided by its deliberations. (Hear, hear.) The necessity of fair discussion had just been proved by the speech of the rev. gentleman whom they had had the pleasure of hearing; there was not a syllable in that speech in which he did not cordially agree; but whether he should go farther than the rev. gentleman, was another question. There was a gentleman connected with the press there present, and he trusted he would do full justice to that admirable speech. Mr. Leigh had said that he would support Mr. Whitmore precisely on the grounds which he (Mr. N.) had laid down, and Mr. Whitmore had done himself great injustice in not stating distinctly that he would bring in a bill to remove the laws that oppressed the Dissenters. No doubt it was a matter for “future consideration;” but Mr. Leigh had said that he would not support Mr. W. if he did not bring in a bill to do away with church-rates. (No, no.) The only difference between him and Mr. W. was, that he (Mr. N.) had made up his mind; it was not a matter for discussion; he had decided it; the Dissenters had protested to the world that they would not bear the burden any longer. Therefore was it that the army cost ten millions, and that half a million was voted in the last Parliament

to increase the army for the purpose of collecting that tax in Ireland. (Cheers.)

Mr. LEIGH observed that his remarks applied to church-rates, and not to tithes.

Mr. NICHOLSON resumed: He would not accept their votes for seven years; he was content with three; and it was his duty then to come and say to them, "Here is your trust; if I have not discharged my duty faithfully, reject me and send another." (Loud Cheers.) The necessity of the ballot had been most satisfactorily proved within that week, in that very county; Stafford and Dudley, and he believed he might add Walsall, had presented the disgraceful and iniquitous scenes of men being publicly bought, like cattle, with the very public money; bought like sheep in the pen, at the price of from 1*l.* to 20*l.*, and the man that waited longest got the most money. (Shame.) He appealed to the hon. member Mr. Whitmore: if he would not bring in a bill to enable the electors to give their votes *without being subject to this flagitious attack on their morals, and whether he would not save the country from the foul stain which the scenes at Stafford had fixed upon a portion of its inhabitants.* He entirely differed with Mr. Whitmore on the subject of the Corn Laws; Mr. W. was connected with the landed interest, and was deeply concerned in the existence of a *protecting duty.* Mr. W. had spoken of himself *as a farmer*—as a cultivator of the soil; now he would suppose that Mr. W. *supplied that immense population with food.* Mr. W. had said that a protecting duty was necessary, but he, Mr. N., maintained that *every shilling of such duty was taken out of their pockets.* He had a little calculation in his pocket, which he would lay before them; he would suppose that *Mr. Whitmore supplied the population of Wolverhampton with bread;* he would take that population at 30,000; and suppose that their bread cost them 80,000*l.* a-year, at the rate of 1*s.* per week for every individual. Mr. Whitmore was for putting 10*s.* upon every quarter of wheat; and taking it for granted that their bread cost them 80,000*l.* a-year, at 10*s.* a quarter, there was a direct *tax of 13,000*l.* a-year in the shape of protecting duty, which Mr. W. put into his pocket as a farmer,* and, be it remembered, they paid. (Loud cheers.) He only brought this forward to show how deeply injurious to a manufacturing population were monopolies. He would tell them the history of monopolies: when one of the sovereigns of England wanted money, he went down to the merchants of London, and obtained it from them, and he had nothing to give in return but some exclusive privileges; thus the *East India Company had obtained its charter, and had made itself a great nuisance to England.* Mr. N. here entered into the statements respecting the price of tea. With regard to taxation, Mr. N. continued, the taxes in round numbers might be stated at 50 millions, and

almost all of that sum came from the poor man. (Shame.) Tea, sugar, coffee, and the other necessities of life, were taxed from 100 to 300 per cent. *He would repeal the whole of that system of taxation, which demanded money from them, and put a tax on property, which no one could object to. The German, Dutch, and French Kings, and the whole of the Buonaparte family, had their property in the British funds, and did not pay one farthing towards the expenses of the state.* Was it not just—was it not necessary, then, that the whole system of taxation should be changed! There was the *mall tax equal to four millions a year, so that out of every shilling which they earned, 8*d.* went for taxes; they had to labour four days in the week for taxes, and the other two for the necessities of life.* (Shame.) Let them take off these taxes, and open a free trade in corn, and the happiness of the people would be increased tenfold; they would have some chance of seeing old England happy, as she had once been; there would be money for food, money for clothing, and above all money for educating the rising generation. (Cheers.) There were many in that great town powerful enough to assist in that great work, and he entreated them to put their shoulder to the wheel. Let them give the poor that best of gifts—education, and they would make them peaceable; the instructed would control the ignorant, and they would have no riots. (Loud cheers.) His only object was to see the wants and feelings of that great town properly represented, and if Mr. Whitmore carried their voice faithfully to the House of Commons, they would never see his face there again except to congratulate them on the fifty-fold power which they had acquired. Mr. W. was well versed in all the practices and customs of the House (and sorry he was to say that there was scarcely one good one), but he now went in not on the old system; they had commenced a new era in legislation, and there was scarcely an order on the books of the House that he (Mr. N.) would not rescind. *He had seen millions of the public money voted away by only about 50 members, with as much coolness as if they were passing a mere turnpike act. He would begin business a little earlier in the day; he would have as little candle-light as possible, for it had been said "in darkness their deeds are evil."* (Cheers.) He did not believe that he had left a single enemy behind him in that great town; he was sincerely rejoiced that they had put the burden on the shoulders of Mr. Whitmore; and if, at any future time, an opening in their representation, from any cause should occur, though Middlesex or London were to offer to return him, he would refuse, if the inhabitants of Wolverhampton required his services. (Loud cheers.)—It had been suggested to him to entreat of them to keep the public peace; Mr. Whitmore was now their servant (perhaps they might not like the term), but

at all events, he was their ambassador, charged with their wishes and their wants, and as such they were bound to respect him. *If Mr. W. would adopt as his own the thirteen propositions which he (Mr. N.) had laid down, they had given their member thirteen jobs to do—(laughter)—and by doing them, he would support Mr. Fryer, who, he was sure, would do every thing for the good of the people. He should be delighted to hear that Mr. Whitmore carried their voice faithfully to the House; it would not be a child's whisper, but a voice of thunder—the voice of 100,000 men, living in a circle of 15 miles. (Loud cheers)* He hoped that in future they would select men from among themselves; that they would not go to London; he did not indeed see the necessity of going *even twelve miles*. It was a great mistake to imagine that great wealth or extensive learning was necessary to qualify a man to be a member; let him be a man of *practical knowledge, of integrity, of courage, and of sufficient ability* (and they had many such amongst them), and he was quite competent to represent them. Mr. N. concluded by again thanking them for the public spirit which they had manifested in his cause, and by again exhorting them to attend to the education of the rising generation, at the same time promising *any assistance* that lay in his power. (Loud and continued applause.)

NORTH LINCOLN ELECTION.

(From the Morning Chronicle of the 22. inst.)

THE proceedings at the North Lincoln nomination appear, from the report of them in *Drakard's Stamford News*, to have been exceedingly important. The candidates are Sir W. Ingilby, the Hon. Mr. Pelham, and Sir Robert Sheffield.

Here we have a repetition of the proceedings in Middlesex. Sir W. Ingilby is a decided reformer, and Mr. Pelham is a half-and-half reformer, while Sir R. Sheffield is a conservative. The gentleman who proposed Mr. Pelham gives a plumper for him, and the most of the Whigs are, we understand, to follow his example.

I think (said Mr. Boucherett) Mr. Heneage has rather insinuated that I vote for Mr. Pelham, and give him a plumper, merely because I stand here and propose him, and not because of his political conduct. Now, as to the votes that have been given by Sir W. Ingilby in the House of Commons, I have no objection to them, with but one exception. However, as

to that only one, it is not necessary for me to say anything; but I do object to the inflammatory language which Sir William has used during the canvass through the country. (Hear, hear, hear.) Neither Mr. Heneage nor the other gentleman who seconded him, in nominating Sir W. Ingilby, has defended him in the violence of his conduct, and of his speeches. I repeat, that I object to his violence and inflammatory language, and it is on this account that I withhold my support from him on this occasion. I differ from Sir Robert Sheffield, and I differ from Sir W. Ingilby. I agree with Mr. Pelham, and I vote for him.

This is Dr. Lushington and Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor all over.

Sir William Ingilby said,

I came among the people to see whether they would join me, and stand up against the tyrannical opposition that has risen up against me; and I am proud to say that my coalition will beat the coalition of all the Tory lords and parsons in the county. (Cheers.) I am sorry to find that my hon. Friend, Mr. Boucherett, has taken this public opportunity to find fault with me and my language. Many people of delicate nerves and susceptibilities I know have done so; but what part was I to take when called before the people in the manner I have been? for I knew, in the month of June, that a secret conclave of tyrannical aristocrats, with their respective chaplains (laughter), met in London, at the Thatched House Tavern, for the laudable purpose of turning me out of the representation of the county.

Sir William proceeds to disclose the motives for the coalition against him:—

I would ask you, gentlemen, he says, why have I obtained among the middle and lower classes more interest and influence than any other man in the county? Why, because I have spoken a language in which there is no trickery. I have denounced the place and pension list, and I have laid open to odium the particulars of that immense mass of money extracted out of the pockets of the people to maintain an idle aristocracy and priesthood; and the reason of the opposition to me is, that one party fear they will lose the thousands per year they are pocketing, and the other party are afraid of having the sinecures they receive from that edifice (pointing to the cathedral) withdrawn from them. (Hear, hear.) Many persons talk about my political aspirations. Why, I would say to them, what are those political aspirations but the general good of mankind? (Hear, hear.) Have I ever trespassed upon the rights and liberties of the people? No, I have never done it; but I have always fearlessly, honestly and openly advocated their rights, and that one occasion to which my friend Mr. Boucherett alludes, was the motion that I made respecting the militia; but if I stood in the same situation again, and saw the people labelled by the

Lord Lieutenant of the county, I would again bring forward my motion in the House of Commons (cheers); and I am glad to learn that my friend Mr. Boucherett cannot find any better ground for refusing me his support than my motion respecting the militia. (Cheers.)

Mr. Pelham differed with Sir W. Ingilby about triennial Parliaments and the ballot. It was bad to influence votes; but the ballot was also bad because we suppose it prevents voters from being influenced. But Mr. Pelham's arguments will satisfy no one who has not made up his mind against evidence. His creed may be summed up in the concluding sentences of his speech:—

If, said he, I am fortunate enough to be again returned to Parliament by your free choice, I will certainly do my utmost to gain a thorough reform in the church—a thorough reform in the law—and, in fact, wherever reform is wanted. (Cheers.) I will always assist as much as lies in my power the liberty of the subject (continued cheering); and I will support the present Ministry. I consider that both the high Tories and the ultra-radicals are now very dangerous men, because the ultra-radicals may destroy that reform which the majority of the people of England wish for, and the others will impede its progress in every way they can. You know my opinions; do not therefore hesitate to come up and assist in returning me to Parliament. I repeat, I refer you to my votes in Parliament, as an earnest of what will be my future conduct. (Three cheers were given for Mr. Pelham at the close of his address.)

Mr. Tennyson exposed the warfare against Sir William Ingilby in a masterly manner:—

Is there, he said, the slightest doubt, but that, if the electors of this northern division of the county were left to exercise their own free will, my honourable friend, Sir William Ingilby—that tried and efficient reformer—that honourable baronet who has so long and faithfully served the people—would be returned to Parliament almost by the unanimous voice of the whole electoral body. (Cries of "He would!" &c.) But he is met, as he has told you, by a conspiracy of individuals, who have subscribed large sums of money, and who have endeavoured to associate themselves for the purpose of opposing him in every possible way. And why? Because he ventured to attack my Lord Brownlow in the House of Commons. From what has fallen from Mr. Boucherett, it appears that that was his ground for the opposition against him. Now, gentlemen, what are the political aspirations of Sir Wm. Ingilby? He proposes to administer an efficient and searching reform in the church (great cheering), and he propo-

ses also to enable you to give your votes at all future elections freely, by establishing the vote by ballot. (Hear, hear). These are the grounds I apprehend, on which all this violent opposition is got up against my friend, Sir Wm. Ingilby. These are the grounds on which it seems Mr. Boucherett opposes him; these are the grounds on which I suppose all the other gentlemen who formerly supported Sir William have now withdrawn their support. We have heard that his inflammatory language is an objection to him. Mr. Cobbett told you that that was his ground of opposition, and believed it was the general cause of it amongst his former friends. (Laughter.) Why, the inflammatory language, as it is called, is such as you have heard from him to-day, and it was called forth by the very conspiracy of which I have spoken—by that association of squires and priests who have arrayed themselves against him, and now hope to triumph over him. (Cries of "True, true.")

The following speech discloses volumes:—

Mr. BOUCHERETT replied at some length to Mr. Tennyson, and in the course of his observations said, that in writing the letter to the secretary of the Market Rasen dinner, he had only exercised a right which he would not resign, whether called upon by a high Tory or a "low Radical." (Hear, hear, and confusion.)

Mr. TENNYSON asked if Mr. Boucherett meant to apply the term "low radical" to him.

Mr. BOUCHERETT—Yes, I did.

Mr. TENNYSON—Then I tell that hon. Gentleman, though it cost all our friendship, that I return to him my scorn and contempt—I throw at him that scorn and contempt in the strongest language in which I could imply it—and I beg that he will deal with it as he may deem fit. (Great applause, and some confusion.)

Some one in the crowd asked, "What does he mean by low radical?"

Mr. TENNYSON continued—I thank that Gentleman for his question, which I now repeat; and I beg leave to ask Mr. Boucherett another question—Did he authorise, or was he privy to, the publication of his letter in the shape of a hand-bill, which has been so extensively circulated by the friends of Sir Robert Sheffield?

Mr. BOUCHERETT—No, I was not; I never heard of its being published until a few days ago.

Mr. TENNYSON—Then I should like to know who furnished the copy of that letter which is circulated by the friends of Sir Robert Sheffield, whom Mr. Boucherett has not the manliness to support. What is the pitiful course he is adopting? He tells you, my honourable Friend attacked in Parliament Lord Brownlow; that he used inflammatory language. He wrote that letter, I assume, for the purpose of supporting Sir Robert Sheffield, and yet he is not man enough to confess it. Let

any man holdly state his opinions, as Mr. Pelham, and, I am bound to say, Sir Robert Sheffield, have done: but here is a gentleman who writes one way and acts another. I cannot descend to defend myself from the calumnies that honourable Gentleman has stated against me; but, for your satisfaction, I will say it is true that I did state at the Lambeth Meeting, that, for the present, I did not think the ballot was desirable. I do not admire the ballot on principle, and I wish I could see the day when we should have no tyrannical landlords making it necessary. I would that every Englishman could act as openly and honestly as, by the blessing of God's providence, I am enabled to do; for I never give a vote one way and promise it another. But after that meeting I came down into Lincolnshire to aid my honourable Friend, and here I heard of the most scandalous goings on, which converted me to the ballot. Even this morning I heard an additional fact of undue influence. (Cries of "Name.") Well, I will name: Mr. Gordon, son of the dean of Lincoln, wrote to a tenant at Middle Rasen to say that he understood he had promised a plumper to Mr. Pelham, but he demanded that the tenant should give one vote to Sir Robert Sheffield. (Loud cries of "Shame.") Perhaps Mr. Boucherett thinks this an honest proceeding! He thinks his tenants are his vassals! Let him tell me he does not! He knows it is his opinion: he thinks his tenantry are to be driven to the poll like a flock of geese. He tells me I changed my opinion of the ballot to save my election for Lambeth; let any man inquire into the feelings of the people there as to my chance of success before I declared myself favourable to the ballot, and they will find my support was equally effective as now: I do not believe I gained a single vote by that avowal, while on the contrary I raised against myself a violent Tory party. Having said this much in explanation of what has fallen from Mr. Boucherett, I will only tell him in conclusion that I do not wish to quarrel with him: as to his phrase "low radical," it does not fit me, and I am regardless of it; but if he does not retract what he has said, I must abandon him as he has abandoned me. With reference to the transmission of the retort, it was sent to a provincial paper by a short-hand writer, and as a matter of convenience between journalists, an early copy, I believe at my recommendation, was sent to a London newspaper. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. BUCHERETT—With respect to the phrase "low radical," I applied it only to the political conduct of Mr. Tenneyson. I conceive his conduct to be of the low radical class, and I believe those persons are quite as great tyrants as the Tory aristocracy. I mean by low radical, the advocates of the ballot.

Mr. TENNEYSON—Surely, as a staunch reformer you will have some respect for that honest man, Lord Althorp; and he is a friend to the ballot.

Mr. BUCHERETT—I mean that low radi-

cals seek a reform, not for the purpose of restoring the constitution, but of destroying it. (Loud uproar, and cheering from the Pinks.)

So it appears that all who support the ballot are low radicals. We suppose there will be a split in the Cabinet as well as among the reformers, ere long; for Lord Althorp must feel somewhat uneasy, when he hears men who share his opinions, held up by pretended Whigs as low radicals.

So the Whigs and Tories are united against Sir William Inglisby in North Lincoln, on these grounds.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I REQUEST all gentlemen who have to write to me, to address their letters to me at BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET, and at *no other place*. Whatever may be the place from which I may date to them, I desire them to address their letters to me *at Bolt-court*; and I notify that I will receive no letters not directed to that place. I hope that this notification will be sufficient; and that nobody will direct letters to me at any other place. It signifies not at what place I date my letters from, that is the place to direct to, this will save a great deal of trouble, and a great deal of disappointment.

Several gentlemen have written to me for TREES, and I have none of any sort to dispose of.

Mr. COBBETT'S ANSWER to the WHIG-MANIFESTO (promulgated by Mr. STANLEY at LANCASTER), against such members of the new Parliament as shall propose *a repeal of the Septennial Bill*, or as shall propose the adoption of *the Ballot*, will be published at Bolt-court, on *Thursday*, the 10. of January, *price threepence*; and, that it may be circulated widely, at 3s. 4d. for 20 copies, and at 12s. 6d. for 100

copies. It will contain as much print as is usually contained in a two-shilling pamphlet.

COBBETT'S TOUR IN SCOTLAND, including the four Northern Counties of England, will be published on Thursday, the 10 of January, in a neat volume, price 2s. 6d., bound in boards.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DEC. 21, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

IRVINE, J., London, master mariner.
WEAVER, T., South-st., Spitalfields, cheesemonger.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

PEACHEY, J., Regent-street, ironmonger.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WILKINSON, J., Eamont-bridge, Westmoreland, clock-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMSON, F., Melcombe-place, Dorset-sq., builder.
AYNSLEY, G., North Shields, grocer.
BACK, H., Margate, grocer.
BECKENSALL, J., Oxford-st., wine-mercht.
BROWN, B., Leeds, flax-spinner.
CLARKE, J., Birmingham, coal-dealer.
COURTNEY, T. and G., Old Jewry, clothiers.
EDNEY, J. jun., Merton, Surrey, victualler.
GILBERT, J., Regent-street, Westminster, bookseller.
HOWELL, E., Bread-street, wine-merchant.
PHILLIPS, H., Thame, Oxfordsh., innkeeper.
REYNOLDS, W. B., Birmingham, draper.
SURR, J. jun., Belfast, merchant.

TUESDAY, DEC. 25, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

TYDEMAN, W., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, saddler.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, F., Watford, Herts, grocer.
CRUNDALL, J., Brixton-road, builder.

EVANS, H., Narberth, Pembrokeshire, corrm-merchant.

FENSHAM, J., Portman-street, Portman-sq. carver.

FREETHY, T., Acton, Middlesex, carpenter.

HARDWICK, J., White Hart yard, Tottenham-court-road, horse-dealer.

HUNT, G. F., High-street, Wapping, and Martin's-lane, Cannon-street, oilman.

LEAHY, W., Grove, Great Guildford-street, Southwark, engineer.

PHILLIPS, P., J. Cohen, and J. Phillips, Birmingham, and Dublin, jewellers.

PROCTOR, E. K., Hermes-street, Pentonville, engraver.

REES, J., Bristol, bookseller.

ROBINSON, W., Stockport, flour-dealer.

SMITH, N., Warminster, innkeeper.

SMITH, W., Portsea, draper.

STOCKALL, J., Kidderminster, coal-mercht.

WILLIAMS, G., Henrietta-st., Maryboune, boarding-house-keeper.

WILLIAMS, J., Liverpool, builder.

WRIGHT, H., Southampton-street, Camden-town, surgeon.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

McNAB, A., Cupar, Fife, coach-maker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 24.—We had a good supply of wheat to-day from Kent and Essex, but very little from the Suffolk coast. The major part being damp in hand, was exceedingly heavy sale, at a decline of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter, but fine dry samples supported last week's prices; still nothing like a clearance could be made, as the demand was very slack, which is generally the case at this season.

The arrival of barley was large during last week, considering the abundant supplies there had been in the previous fortnight; and the extremely depressed state of the malt trade, has materially tended to the reduction in the price of barley, which was full 1s. per qr. lower to-day on the fine malting qualities, as well as on the stained sorts; a few prime bright samples obtained 34s., but from 31s. to 33s. were the general prices for that description, and from 23s. to 25s. for the tinged and discoloured, and even at those quotations a considerable quantity remained on hand at the close of the market.

Oats went off slowly, and in small quantities, at an abatement of from 6d. to 1s. per qr., except on very fine fresh corn.

In beans and peas there is no alteration.

Wheat	60s. to 62s.
Rye	32s. to 33s.
Barley	26s. to 28s.
— fine	36s. to 38s.

Peas, White	38s. to 46s.
Boilers	42s. to 43s.
Grey	36s. to 38s.
Beans, Small	35s. to 40s.
Tick	33s. to 35s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
Feed	18s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.	
Sides, new ... 44s. to 48s.	
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to —s.	
Mess, new ... 80s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to —s. per cwt.	
Carlow ... 82s. to 88s.	
Cork ... 80s. to 82s.	
Limerick ... 80s. to 82s.	
Waterford ... 78s. to 80s.	
Dublin ... 76s. to 78s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 50s. to 78s.	
Gloucester, Double ... 46s. to 60s.	
Gloucester, Single ... 44s. to 50s.	
Edam ... 48s. to 50s.	
Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 66s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Dec. 24.

This day's supply of each kind of stock was, for that of a Monday, very limited; but, owing to the carcass markets, and most of the cutting, or retail, butchers' shops being still heavily stocked with their last week's supplies, the trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With beef and mutton at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with veal and pork at Friday's quotations.

The beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts; the two former principally steers and oxen, the latter of all ages, in both sexes, chiefly from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and our western districts; with a few Hereford steers and oxen, Scots, Norfolk home-breds, Town's-end cows, &c., from various quarters.

Full three-fifths of the sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South Downs, and different white-faced crosses; about one-fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters, with a few horned Norfolks, Herefords, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 1,023; sheep, 7,580; calves, 36; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 28.

The arrivals this week are moderate, but the market is dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

On the 5th of January will be published

THE FIRST NUMBER FOR 1833, OF
THE ATHENÆUM
LONDON JOURNAL OF LITERATURE,
AND THE FINE ARTS,

Price Fourpence.

THE ATHENÆUM is the largest literary paper, and contains Reviews, with copious extracts, of all important New Works, Reports (some exclusively and by authority), of all that is interesting in the proceedings of the Learned and Scientific Societies; with Abstracts of the more important papers. Authentic accounts of all Scientific Voyages and Expeditions; Original Papers and Poems: Criticisms on Art, Critical Notices of Exhibitions, New Prints, the Opera, Concerts, Theatres, &c.; Biographical Notices of Distinguished Men, with Miscellanies—including all that is likely to interest the informed and intelligent.

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THE ATHENÆUM is confined *exclusively* to subjects connected with Literature, Science, and Art; and each yearly volume forms a perfect history for the period, of all that is of permanent interest to the informed and intelligent. It places the reader, however, far distant, on an equality, in point of information, with the best-informed circles of the Metropolis; and, the Proprietors being wholly unconnected with the book-trade, it will be found valuable to Members of Literary Societies, to Reading-rooms, Book-clubs, and to all Gentlemen, as a guide to the purchase of New Works.

N.B.—It is earnestly requested, that such persons as intend to become Subscribers for the New Year, will give their orders forthwith to a local Bookseller; as, in consequence of the delay at the beginning of this year, the Proprietors were under the necessity of reprinting no less than seven numbers.

END OF VOLUME LXXVIII.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt court, Fleet street.

